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WITH AN ACCOUNT OF
OUR RECORDS, LAW-BOOKS, COINS, &c.

BY W. ^KNICOLSON, LATE BISHOP OF CARLISLE.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
A LETTER TO THE REVEREND WHITE KENNET, D. D. IN DEFENCE
OF THE ENGLISH HISTORICAL LIBRARY, &c.

A NEW EDITION, CORRECTED.

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HISTORICAL LIBRARIES

VIEW AND CHARACTER

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PRINTED IN SCOTLAND

OUR RECORDS, LAW-BOOKS, COINS, &c.

THE NATIONAL ANTIQUITIES OF SCOTLAND

OF THE NATIONAL ANTIQUITIES OF SCOTLAND

A NEW EDITION, CORRECTED

LONDON:

MDCCLXXV.

TO THE MOST HONOURABLE

THOMAS WATSON WENTWORTH,

MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM, EARL OF MALTON,

VISCOUNT HIGHAM OF HIGHAM FERRERS,

BARON ROCKINGHAM OF ROCKINGHAM,

BARON OF MALTON OF WARTH AND HARROWDEN,

LORD LIEUTENANT AND CUSTOS ROTULORUM, OF THE

WEST RIDING OF THE COUNTY OF YORK,

AND

CUSTOS ROTULORUM OF THE NORTH RIDING OF THE SAME,

KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER,

AND

ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL,

T H I S N E W E D I T I O N

O F B I S H O P N I C O L S O N ' S

ENGLISH HISTORICAL LIBRARY,

I S M O S T H U M B L Y I N S C R I B E D.

THOMAS WATSON WENTWORTH

MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

IN SENATE JANUARY 1862

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE LAND OFFICE

FOR THE YEAR 1861

ALBANY: PUBLISHED BY THE STATE OF NEW YORK

PRINTED BY THE STATE OF NEW YORK

1862

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T H E P R E F A C E.

THIS second edition of the following papers is purely an effect of the earnest demand, which my stationer assures me, the publick has made for it, for whose sake I wish the additions now made to the former impression, were more considerable, than the employments which my thoughts have necessarily been engaged in for several years past, have allowed me to make them. Under my present circumstances, all that I can do is to point out the chief repositories of latent English histories and records; where others, of equal inclination and better leisure, may assuredly meet with that satisfaction, which perhaps they vainly seek for here. I shall begin with those libraries which are in this neighbourhood, where I now reside, of London and Westminster; and shall afterwards make some little enquiry after the contents of such as are at a greater distance.

In the list of these, the Cottonian may be well entitled to a precedence; since a very competent * judge has assured us, that this alone affords more and better materials for the composition of a general history of England, than all the other libraries of the kingdom put together. Mr. Richard James, fellow of Corpus-Christi college in Oxford, was first employed (by the generous founder himself) in drawing up a catalogue of the Manuscripts in this Collection; but he, being greedy of making extracts out of the books of our history for his own private use, passed carelessly over a great many very valuable volumes. Others were afterwards taken by Archbishop Usher and Sir William Dugdale; but they likewise left the work extremely imperfect. About twenty years ago, it was more successfully undertaken by Dr. Tho. Smith, to whom the public is indebted for a † printed catalogue; which, though of exceeding great use, must be still acknowledged to want a finishing hand. This industrious person confesses, that he found it a very wearisome and endless task to tribe all the particular charters, bulls, letters, pedigrees, &c. which he shews by a specimen of it in ‡ two single volumes. The contents of the whole (so far as I am concerned in them) are an immense treasure of Saxon remains, chartularies and leger-books of our English cathedrals and monasteries, lives of saints, descents of noble families, synodical constitutions, and acts of parliament, histories, annals and short chronicles; the greatest part whereof were picked up (by Sir Robert Cotton himself, in an expensive and indefatigable labour of || forty years continuance) out of the dispersed spoils of several of our dissolved monasteries. These stores were considerably increased, in the founder's own time, by the private benefactions of Sir Francis Bacon, Mr. Lambard, Mr. Dee, and Mr. Camden; as they were afterwards by Christopher Lord Hatton, and others. How inexhaustible these are, has been already observed to us by some of the most learned foreign writers; such as Henschenius, Mabillon and Paperbrochius, in the lives of primitive saints; as well as Peireskius and Du Chesne, in matters relating to the history and laws of this kingdom. Like assistances have hence been had by our own antiquaries of the greatest names; by Camden, Speed, Usher, Selden, Ware, Dugdale, Dodesworth, Burnet, Gale and Wharton: And Mr. Wanley will shortly convince us, that the mine is yet as rich as ever.

The next post of honour is justly due to the noble Harleian Library; which, after so much industry as was used in the collection forementioned, is truly amazing. We have here another treasure (of the like, and many ways superior, kind with the former) gathered in less than a quarter of Forty Years; and at a much greater distance from the general overthrow of our sacred (or, at least, harmless) magazines of learning. It is not my present business, were it possible for me, to reckon up all the helps that divines, lawyers, physicians, architects and philologists may hence have for the furtherance of their respective studies; in biblical books and writings of the fathers; in treatises on all parts and branches of the liberal arts and sciences; and these

* J. Usher. Præf. 2d Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 2.
|| Hist. Bibl. Cotton.

† Fol. Oxon. 1696.

‡ Augustus II. and Nero, C. III.

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in almost all known languages, ancient and modern: The whole collection of MSS. amounting to about two thousand and five hundred volumes. What concerns my English historian, whose share in this admirable fund is much the largest, is, to be told that here are—1. Many valuable copies of our ancient histories and annals; Gildas, Nennius, Fulcard, Ælfred of Beverly, Asserius, Menevensis, Malmesbury, Sim. Dunelmensis, Jeoffrey of Monmouth, Chronicles of Canterbury, Bernewelle, Bermundsey, Bury St. Edmund, Evesham, London, Winchester, Pipewelle, Waverley, Alnewick, Theokesbury, &c. Roger and Ralf (Higden) of Chester, Walsingham, Trivet, Rudburn, Rievallensis, Gir. Cambrensis, W. Gemeticensis, Robert of Avesbury, Roger Hoveden, Henry Huntingdon, J. Fordun, Tho. Stubbs, P. de Langefoft, Robert of Gloucester, Marianus Scotus, Flor. Wigornienfis, Tho. de la More, Mat. Paris, Eadmerus, Adam Murimuth, R. Montensis, J. Pike, R. de Reading, Tho. de Elmham, Joh. Wallingford, Walter of Coventry, W. de Gisburn, Tho. Sprot, Joh. Castor, (Fiber or Bever) Monk of Westminster, Sigebertus Geblacensis, John Hardyng, Tho. Beckinton, Hugo Floriacensis, Joceline of Brakelond, and many others, both in English and Latin; being all either the Originals (as they may be called) upon Parchment, or else transcribed by learned men from the most authentic books. 2. Chartularies and ledger-books of monasteries and other religious houses, hospitals, guilds and fraternities; as of Bury St. Edmund, Shaftsbury, Ewelme, St. Mary's and St. Peter's at York, St. Alban's, Sally, Rufford, Kirftede, Ely, Waltham, St. Bee's, Wilton, Ramsey, Hagmonde, Dunmow, Christ-Church, and St. Austin's at Canterbury, Spalding, St. David's, Hyde and St. Cross near Winchester, Reading, St. Werburg near Chester, Castle-Acre, Stanley, Whalley, Vale-Royal, Dunstable, and many others: Statutes of several collegiate churches and colleges; as Hereford, Windsor, Canterbury, Magdalen College in Oxford, Durham, Wells, Chester, Exeter, &c. Besides the chartularies of private families, or persons of nobility and worship; such as Mortimer, Pierpoint, Berkeley of Wymundham, Langley, Cheddre, Gaynesforde, Darelle and Londres, Buffy, Q. Anne of Boyleyne, &c. 3. Papers of state and instructions to ambassadors; the rolls, acts and journals of parliament; books of privy-council; trials; speeches; letters of our princes and their ministers; accounts of national expences, and books of the household and civil list; inventories and indentures of the jewel-house and wardrobe; state of the mint, of the navy and land forces, in several reigns, &c. In short, great numbers of office-books of many kinds; which, having been long alienated and strayed, are here recovered and preserved from destruction. 4. Visitations of the kings at arms, throughout all the counties of England: Together with particular tracts on the order of garter; processions at the coronations, and funerals of our princes and nobility; tournaments and triumphs; with all other matters wherein the courts and officers of arms are concerned in England, Wales, Scotland or Ireland. 5. Near fourteen thousand original charters, deeds, &c. not only of religious houses, but of the nobility and gentry; wherein are tenures, customs and boundaries of numberless estates and manors, rights of tythe, wills, inquisitions, verdicts, &c. To which are to be added, a thousand rolls, or ancient records, of matters of like nature; besides five hundred more belonging to the exchequer of Wigmore, and still preserved in Brampton-castle. 6. Collections out of old MSS. histories and records by Sir Symonds D'Ewes and other antiquaries; several of which are Adversaria for the said knights intended histories of Suffolk, Essex, &c. Copies of Domesday, the Liber Rubeus and Niger of the exchequer; and transcripts of very many of the other most valuable records of this kingdom. 7. Letters from foreign protestant ministers, Calvin, Melancthon, Osiander, &c. to our Archbishops, Parker, Grindal, &c. with their replies, and epistles of other men of learning and eminence of elder dates; of Tho. Becket, Peter de Vineis, P. Blesensis, Gilbert of Sempringham, Honorius of Canterbury, &c. 8. English law-books; as Fleta, Bracton, Briton, Vetus Registrum Brevium, Hengham, &c. with year books, readings and reports, in very great abundance. 9. Lives of saints and other holy men, or so reputed: As, of Augustin the monk, and his six immediate successors (with those of St. Mildred and St. Adrian the abbot) by Josceline; of Edward the Confessor, by Ælfred of Rieval; St. Cuthbert, by Bede; St. Dunstan, by Osbern; St. Anselm, by Eadmer; St. Alban; St. William, Abp. of Yorke; St.

St. Tho. Becket; St. Godric; Robert de Betun, Bishop of Hereford; St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln; St. Gilbert of Sempringham; Venerable Bede; St. Radegund; St. Wulstan, of Worcester; St. Ælfric, Anchorite of Haselberge, by John Prior of Ford; St. Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. 10. Many books and records in the Saxon and ancient English tongue; of the usefulness whereof the world has already had a taste given it by Dr. Hickes, who takes frequent occasion of doing right to this inestimable library.

For the honours and descents of our nobility, and other persons of distinguished rank and quality, the English historian ought to have recourse to that of the College of Arms, or ^{Heralds.} Heralds-Office, as it is usually called. Here he will be sure to meet with, 1. Great plenty of visitations of the several counties, by their respective kings at arms; as Cook, St. George, Dugdale, Bysh, &c. 2. Many books of the pedigrees, coats of arms (both in colours and trich) crests, quarterings, marriages, funerals, monumental inscriptions, &c. of our own and foreign princes, nobility, knights of several orders, and inferior gentlemen; with new grants of arms, to such whose personal services had merited those distinctions. 3. Divers volumes treating on the rights and privileges of earls marshals, and other great judges and officers in the courts of justice and chivalry; with claims and pretensions of kings, heralds, and serjeants at arms. 4. Books of Collections from the records in the Tower, and the evidences of private families, by Sir William Le Neve, Mr. Vincent, Mr. Glover, &c. Amongst which there are three volumes of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, relating to the antiquities of the county of Essex. 5. The Duke of Norfolk's presses have some ancient and fair copies of the histories and chronicles of Nennius, Bede, Monmouth, Higden, Wethamstede, Trivet, Tayster, Cogeshale, Hemingford, &c. as also lives of some few of our saints, kings, and other great men. P. Langtoft's chronicle is among the books given by Mr. Sheldon; and, in the Earl of Anglesey's benefactions, there is a large description of England (with fair draughts of its cities and great towns) written in 1588, by W. Smith, rouge dragon.

Other libraries in London and Westminster (though not of equal consideration with these ^{London.} three) will highly deserve to be consulted. For, 1. The Royal Library, now removed from St. James's to Cotton-House, has several venerable copies of our most ancient histories; as those of Bede, Affer Menevensis, Malmesbury, M. Paris, Neubrigenfis, Brutus, Rievallensis, H. Huntingdon, Hoveden and Walsingham. 2. In Sir James Ware's collection (now in the possession of the Honourable Mr. Bridges) there are, besides the rich treasury of Irish historians, the following general writers on the affairs of England: Matt. Westminster, an excellent copy; Elias de Trickingham's annals; the chronicle of John Shyrburn, from Brute to Henry the Sixth; an anonymous chronicle, from 1066 to 1292. Another in (old English) from Brute to Henry the Fifth: Higden, translated into English by John Trevisa; a chronicle of the church of St. Paul in London, ending at the year 1294; and M. Paris, collated with other MSS. Of these that are more confined to particular men and places, there is a fair register book (in parchment) of W. Greenfield, Archbishop of York; an ancient history of the nunnery at Godstow; the life of St. Cuthbert, according to the Irish account; of St. Guthlac, by Felix monk of Crowland; and a treatise on the miracles of St. Swythen, by Lantfred. 3. In the Norfolkian, at Gresham College, good copies of H. Huntingdon, and M. Trivet; several lives of saints, and legers of religious houses; large collections by Camden, Archbishop Usher, J. Selden, &c. Pleadings in parliament, and reports from inferior courts of judicature. 4. In that of Lincoln's Inn, a good many readings and other discourses on several nice subjects in law; proceedings in circuits, and in the court of Hustings (against the Lollards, and other heretics) on some special writs, &c. given by the Lord Chief Justice Hales. 5. In the late Earl of Peterborough's, some fair books touching titles and achievements of honour.

A meagre account of the manuscripts in the famous Bodleian library at Oxford was long since ^{* Oxford.} published by Tho. James, its first keeper: but the numbers of these have been wonderfully increased since that time, by the many large additions made by Archbishop Laud, the Lord

Hatton, Mr. Selden's, and Mr. Junius's executors, &c. All the said accessions have been noted in a later * catalogue; which acquaints us, That (amongst the 1300 MSS. given by the Archbishop) many are Saxon and old English, highly subservient to the undertaking now under our consideration: That here are no less than 150 volumes of R. Dodesworth's collections, bequeathed (in the year 1673, with other good MSS.) by Thomas Lord Fairfax, Baron of Cameron: That Fr. Junius, F. F. left above an hundred transcripts and composures of his own, which exceedingly illustrates the darkest part of our antiquities, &c. J. Leland's (given by W. Burton) are mostly published by Mr. Hall and Mr. Hearn, as will be observed in its proper place; and R. James's benefaction consists chiefly of his own collections. The Museum Ashmoleanum makes now a most noble appendix to Sir Thomas Bodley's larger work; as being richly fraught with a numerous croud of manuscripts and medals (as well as other † rarities in art and nature) collected by that worthy person, whose name it deservedly bears. The chief books here, relating to English history and antiquities, are either the founder's own Adversaria; or somewhat of the like kind by Sir W. Dugdale and Mr. A. Wood. What helps we might hope for from private college libraries, in this university, was also attempted to be shewn by ‡ T. James; and the stores of his time have not yet had any considerable growth. All that I know, worth the rehearsing, is, — That there are some few copies of our old histories (of good note) at this University: That the like may be seen of Bracton, and Hoel Dha's Laws, at Merton: That the register of St. Frideswide's is in Corpus Christi; as are also the Burton annals, and the Chronicon de Mailros, published by § Mr. Fulman, with ten volumes of Bryan Twyne's collections, and two of Miles Windfor's: and that there are eighteen such, of the Lord Herbert's at Jesus.

Cam-
bridge.

T. James pretended to reckon up all the manuscripts in the public library at Cambridge, when he produced his forementioned list of those in the private colleges at Oxford: but his account is now antiquated and out of date; nor do I know any promising hopes that we have of any better, than was lately given us in the Oxford Catalogue, which is also very imperfect. All that it can tell, to our present purpose, is, that there are here two notable copies (one whereof is given by Archbishop Parker) of Geoffrey of Monmouth's history; one of Gildas; and another of King Ælfred's Saxon Paraphrase on Bede. The gentlemen of that university were the more || shy in joining their stocks in this general catalogue; because they were projecting another like volume of their own, wherein we are yet to expect a more full view of their manuscripts, and those of Lambeth, and other places here omitted. Hitherto likewise they have only suffered us to peep into three or four of their college libraries: Whereof the most valuable (beyond all comparison) is that of Bennet or Corpus Christi; which shews multitudes of Saxon homilies and laws, lives of English saints, statutes of cathedrals and collegiate churches, &c. the munificent benefaction of Archbishop Parker. At Trinity, we have some good copies of Bede, Malmesbury, Higden, and a few more of our chief historians: In Sidney, the like of Bede and Hen. Huntingdon: In Caius, a good one of old Geoffrey of Monmouth, with other miscellaneous volumes of historical matters, given by Mr. William More, sometime fellow of that college; as also visitations and other books of heraldry, given by Sir John Knight: in Emanuel, several volumes (relating to the affairs of Edward the Third's reign) collected by Joshua Barnes; and an apology for the Earl of Essex's conduct towards Queen Elizabeth, written in the year 1600.

Dublin.

In the library of Trinity College in Dublin, there is a very great variety of MSS. of all kinds. Those that are most worthy of our English historian's notice, are; an ancient vellum copy of Bede's ecclesiastical history; a Saxon chronicle, from the incarnation to the year 1002; history of the foundation of the university of Cambridge, by Nic. Cantlow (or de Cantilupo) a Carmelite friar, who died at Northampton in 1441. John Scot's history of the same; the lives of St. Alban, St. Guthlac, St. Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury, St. Tho. Becket, &c. History of Brute, in English; R. de Diceto; R. Niger; Flor. Wigorniensis; J. Monmouth; Gildas's Eulogium, compared with several other copies by Archbishop Usher, Malmesbury, Higden and Walsingham.

* Catal. Lib. MSS. Angl. & Hib. fol. Oxon. 1697.
Oxonio-Cantabr. Lond. 1600. § Fol. Oxon. 1684.

† See Dr. Plot's Hist. of Staffordshire, p. 277.
|| See Mr. Wanley's Pref. to the Oxford Catal.

‡ Ecloga

Our English cathedrals have no great stores : The richest is at Canterbury, wherein are some fair transcripts and ancient copies of Saxon laws and history, registers, rentals, and treasurer's accounts (as high as King John's reign) of the priory of Christ Church, and abby of St. Augustine's, priory of Dover, &c. besides W. Somner's books, mentioned elsewhere. At York, we have only copies of Sim. Dunelmensis and Bracton : At Durham, Bede's history, and his life of St. Cuthbert : At Winchester, the lives of King Edward the Confessor and Tho. Becket : At Worcester, (besides ancient records belonging to that church) Glanvil and Briton : At Salisbury, Jeoffery of Monmouth : At Litchfield, observations on Queen Elizabeth's time and favourites, under the title of *Fragmenta Regalia* : And at Exeter, Henry of Huntingdon.

The laudable emulation which is daily increasing amongst the nobility of England, vying with one another in the curiosities and other rich furniture of their respective libraries, gives chearful hopes of having the long hidden monuments of antient times raised out of their present dust and rubbish; and that thereby, amongst other public benefits, the exploits of their own great ancestors may be set in a better light. To give the reader a glimpse of these : In the Duke of Kent's library, there are old register books of Godstow, Whitby, Evesham, Newport-pagnel, St. Neot's, and the priory of Coln : In the Earl of Derby's, Sir Thomas More's life, by Ra. Ba. In the Earl of Carlisle's, the lives of St. Cuthbert, (in old English metre) and Tho. Becket : In the Earl of Denbigh's, the register of the abby of Fountain's and John Harding's Chronicle : In the Lord Viscount Longueville's, treaties of peace and commerce by Henry VI. Edward IV. Henry VII. Henry VIII. Edward VI. Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth; many material memorials (on those heads) omitted by Mr. Rymer; the state of Scotland and Ireland, several counties of England and Wales, courts and offices, under the government of Queen Elizabeth; pedigrees of our kings and ancient nobility; discourses on particular points of law and politics; and (not to mention many other things of less note) copies of the rolls of parliament, from Edward I. to the end of Henry VII. In the Lord Willoughby of Brook's, history of the lives, descents, and succession of the Lords of Cobham, (and two more noble families) by Fr. Thynne; register of the benefactors to Christ's Hospital in Abingdon, by Fr. Little. Unspeakable must the additions be, which will shortly be made to these gleanings, out of the wealthy (and still growing) stores of the Earl of Sunderland, Lord Somers, Lord Halifax, &c.

As yet, the present Bishop of Ely's library is universally and most justly reputed the best furnished of any (within the queen's dominions) that this Age has seen in the hands of any private clergyman; the reverend and learned proprietor, having from his youth been peculiarly diligent in collecting the fairest editions of the Greek and Latin classics, fathers, councils, ecclesiastical and civil historians, law-writers, confessions of faith, and formularies of worship, in all languages, ancient and modern, books of physick, surgery, mathematicks, &c. in one word, the choicest *Supellex Libraria* that could be met with (by himself, or his friends) in public auctions, or the shops of private stationers, at home, or abroad. Amongst his many thousands of printed volumes, there are several of our British histories, which have been heretofore in the possession of men of the most eminent learning and skill in those matters; by whom they have been enriched with such marginal notes, as always render them very valuable to a curious antiquary. Some hundreds of manuscripts here are also which will be serviceable to our English historian's purpose; whereof I can now only give this short sketch : 1. For the Topographical description of particular counties or towns, books of old tenures in the counties of Dorset and Berks; of several manors in Norfolk; of customs and surveys in those of Westham and Playes in the county of Essex; of the ancient and present state of the principality of Wales, Dukedom of Cornwall, and county palatine of Lancaster; J. Norden's collection for the histories of Berkshire; charters granted to the town of Shrewsbury, with a catalogue of its bailiffs from 1372 to 1614; pedigrees and descents of the royal and most noble families of England; register book of the city of Westminster, &c. 2. Copies of our general histories, no less than three of Jeoffery of Monmouth; two of Hen. Huntingdon, Robert of Gloucester, John Capgrave, R. Higden, in Latin, and printed (A. D. 1495.) in English

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English. 3. For those of particular reigns, several volumes of letters to and from King Henry VIII. Cardinal Wolsey, Lord Burleigh, &c. Instructions to ambassadors, and other ministers in foreign courts, by the said King, and (his daughter) Queen Elizabeth; inventory of this Queen's jewels, in the sixteenth year of her reign, &c. 4. For the general church history, Bede (the very best copy which perhaps is any-where extant) with other good helps; whereof the very learned and worthy Dr. John Smith, prebendary of Durham, will shortly give a more ample account: And, for that part which respects the times at, or since the reformation, here are volumes of letters and discourses, states of questions, and narratives of facts, written by Parkhurst Bishop of Norwich, and other eminent prelates and divines, of our own and foreign nations. 5. For the ancient state of particular churches and dioceses, chartularies, and ledger books of the monasteries of St. Alban's, Bromholm, Kington, Langley, &c. two of Westminster; one of the abby, and another of the charters granted to the new corporation (of dean and chapter) by King Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth; register of (Booth, Fox and Bonner) three of the bishops of Hereford; and of Ely, beginning at Bishop Alcock; another book of charters and confirmations of grants to the said church of Ely; and to several religious houses in the county of Norfolk; old statutes and customs of the church of St. Paul in London; state of Christ Church in Canterbury, from 1285 to 1327. Many historical accounts (of all kinds) relating to the city and church of Norwich. 6. The lives of St. Cuthbert, Edward the Confessor, and other Saxon saints. 7. Law-books, in great plenty: As several excellent copies of Glanvil, Bracton, Henghams and Briton; year-books and assize-pleas of Edward the Second and Third; reports in the reign of Henry VI. and his successors, &c.

Private
Persons

Many more of the like assistances may be had from the libraries and studies of other private persons, whereof I shall only give a few cursory instances; large collections of matters transacted in the reigns of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, are to be found in Sir William Glynne's: A defence of Richard III. in Mr. Wagstaff's: Sixty volumes of prerogative, law and honour, in the late Sir Henry St. George's, and Mr. Le Neve's: Numberless papers of state in Mr. Evelyn's many volumes of historical collections, chiefly relating to Yorkshire, in Dr. N. Johnson's; now offered by his son to be deposited (on a reasonable consideration) in the dean and chapter's library at York: Sir R. Naunton's *FRAGMENTA REGALIA*, and an antient treatise of the baronage of England, in Mr. Secretary Bromley's: W. Burton's history of Leicestershire, much enlarged by the author; Caxton's chronicle, in Mr. Chetwynd's: *Ethelwoldus Lindisfornensis*, *Afferius Menevensis*, *Carodocus Lancarvonensis*, *Tho. Eliensis*, &c. Lives of most of our Saxon saints, Sir Thomas Herbert's history of the Cathedral at Rippon, &c. in Mr. Gale's: Bede, Malmesbury, Monmouth, and Gir. Cambrensis, in Mr. Theyers: Multitudes of charters and old MS. books and rolls, relating to the endowment and possession of the (once) collegiate church of St. Mary's in Warwick, in the library of the said church: Fr. Thynne's original history of Dover Castle and the Cinque Ports, together with a great many tracts touching the ancient (as well as modern) state of the royal navy of England, in the late Mr. Pepys's: Chartulary of the abbey at Reading, history of the church at Durham, continuation of Bishop Godwyn's book *De Presulibus*, &c. in M. H. Worfeley's: Instructions to several of Queen Elizabeth's ambassadors, and a visitation to the county of York (A. D. 1584.) by the King at Arms, in Mr. Thoresby's at Leeds, &c. It were an endless labour to search for all that might be ranked under this head, since the chief publisher of the Oxford catalogue (who must be allowed to guess better than any other man living, in these matters) assures us, that the titles of about thirty thousand MS. volumes are recounted in that Book; and yet there are as many more, in England alone, which are not there mentioned.

Records.

The greatest improvement that I dare promise my reader, in this edition, is to be looked for in the Third Part, wherein our English records are most professedly considered: and here I cannot, in justice, avoid the magnifying those advantages which I had, of looking into these venerable registers of ancient times by the special care and goodness of the House of Lords.

About * ten years ago, their Lordships were pleased to appoint a Committee to inspect the methods of keeping records in offices, and how they are kept; and to consider of ways to remedy what should be found amiss: for which purpose the Lords Committees were impowered to send for such officers, and hear such persons thereupon as they should think fit, being afterwards to report their opinions to the House. This committee was yearly renewed in several following † Sessions of Parliament; and the Lord Halifax, then Lord in the chair, and a principal promoter of this good work, duly reported the progress made in execution of this trust. The first of these reports set forth, That a great number of rolls in the Tower had no calendars or abstracts made of them; viz. *Rotuli Normaniæ, Franciæ, Vasconiæ, Walliæ, Romæ, Scotiæ, Alemanniæ, & Hiberniæ*: That the making of these calendars would require a careful perusal of all the entries upon these rolls, by the clerks that are employed therein: that the committee were humbly of opinion, that it would be a public service to have this done; that in Cæsar's Chapel, under the leads in the White Tower, multitudes of records in several reigns, some relating to state matters, and others to proceedings in courts of justice, were laid in confused heaps; and, if care were not speedily taken of them, would be in great danger of utter perishing: that it would be a public damage, as well as dishonour, to the kingdom, to suffer such monuments of antiquities to be lost: that the preserving of them, would be too great a work to be undertaken by the keeper of the records, unless there were allowances made to him for a sufficient number of clerks, who understand the languages and hands wherein the records are written, and are capable of making abstracts of them under the care and direction of that officer: that it does appear, by the writs *de calendariis faciendis, de rotulis & scriptis in recto ordine ponendis, & expensis clericis ministrandis*, that these allowances have been anciently made to clerks attending the office of records within the Tower: and, lastly, that if these records were made clean, and reduced into order, the same might be placed in the room where the present office is kept, at a small expence. Hereupon, it was immediately § ordered, That the Lord Treasurer should lay the said report before her Majesty, humbly moving her to give directions thereon. The next || session, the Lord Treasurer Godolphin gave the house an account, that her Majesty had signed a warrant, directed to Sir Christopher Wren, Knt. surveyor general of the works, William Lowndes, Esq; John Anstis, Esq; William Petyt, Esq; Peter Le Neve, Esq; and William Grymes, Gent. requiring them, or any three of them, to repair to the Tower of London, and there to view and inspect Cæsar's Chapel, and examine how, and in what manne the records there might be preserved; as also the place where the present office is kept in the said Tower, and what works were necessary for the receiving, placing, and digesting of the said records: that, upon the report of these commissioners, the said Lord Treasurer had ordered 150l. for providing presses, drawers, and shelves for the records in Cæsar's chapel; and the demolishing a room, which, having been lately on fire, was thought to be dangerous: and that William Petit, Esq; was appointed to supervise the digesting, &c. of the said records, with power to take in three clerks for that service, at 150l. *per ann.* from Michaelmas 1704, over and above a chief clerk at 100l. viz. Mr. George Holmes. The lords committees continued their care, for some winters following in the progress of this affair; and, after occasional enquiries in and about five sessions, the fore-mentioned noble Lord reported, ‡ That great progress was made in sorting and digesting the records in the Tower; especially since Mr. Topham was admitted into the office of keeper of records: that the confused heap, which before lay covered with dust, was now thoroughly cleansed, and put into chests and shelves, in order to be sorted: that the rolls, from the first year of K. John, to the last of Edward IV. and the escheat-bundles, from Henry III. to Richard III. were placed under their proper years, and a catalogue made of them: that abstracts were made of the Norman, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish rolls; with alphabetical indices of the names of persons and places: that depositions in chancery, of the reign of Q. Elizabeth, &c. were bundled up alphabetically: that several things still remained to be done, for putting all in right order; as abstracts of some foreign rolls, patent-rolls, close-rolls, *chartæ antiquæ*, &c.

* Dec. 10. 1703.
† April 20. 1709.

‡ Dec. 15. 1705. Jan. 7. 1706, &c.

§ March 30. 1704.

|| Nov. 10. 1704.

That the clerks were then employed in this work ; and that, when it is finished, the records in the Tower will be in very exact and good order : That the shelves and presses were so well made, and the office fitted up in such a manner, that the records are very dry ; and, lastly, that there is room made for a great number of other records which may be transmitted hither. This was the last report that was made from the committee, which had any relation to the Tower : Where, I can truly assure our English antiquaries and historians, great improvements and discoveries had been daily made since that time, and are yet daily making. Whilst I am writing this preface, I have the perusal of this indenture, 9 Ric. II. transferring the records from one keeper to another ; wherein is a full calendar of all the rolls then in being. This is just now happily recovered out of the rubbish in the White Tower ; and agreeing pretty exactly with our present calendars of the rolls of former reigns, is a demonstrative proof, that the said King Richard was not afterwards such a destroyer of our public records, as some have represented him. Other reports were made concerning the state of the two treasuries of the Queen's Bench ; the perishing condition of some records in the Chapter-house at Westminster, and of all in the office of the old Court of Wards in Fish-yard : But of these, with others that fall under the cognizance of the said Lords, mention is made elsewhere.

There is very little alteration made in the order of the chapters of the three following parts of this English Historical Library ; a single one being only transplanted. The chapters of the First Part stand as they did, in the following rank.

1. Of the general geography, state and antiquities of England.
2. Of particular descriptions of counties, with their cities and great towns.
3. Of the histories that relate to the times of the old Britons and Romans.
4. Of the histories and other monuments that relate to the times of the Saxons and Danes.
5. Of the English historians since the conquest.
6. Of the writers of particular lives of our kings since the conquest.

In the Second Part, treating only of our ecclesiastical Histories and Records, are these nine chapters :

1. Of the affairs of the British church.
2. Of the historians of the English-Saxon church ; from the coming in of Augustine the monk, to the conquest.
3. Of our church-historians from the conquest to the reformation.
4. Of the histories of the reformation, and our church affairs to the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign.
5. Of accounts of our bishops in general ; and their particular sees.
6. Of the lives of particular bishops, and other eminent churchmen.
7. Of the histories, chronicles, cartularies, &c. of our ancient monasteries.
8. Of the histories of our universities and writers.
9. Of ecclesiastical courts, and their registers.

The seven chapters of the Third Part bear these titles :

1. Of proclamations, orders of council, and other papers of state, within the verge of the King's court, and palace royal.
2. Of acts, ordinances, journals, &c. of the two houses of parliament.
3. Of the records of the King's courts at Westminster.
4. Of records of assize, sessions of the peace, and other inferior courts in England and Wales.
5. Of law-writers, year-books, and reports.
6. Of conveyances, deeds, and other evidences, in the hands of private subjects.
7. Of English medals and coins, from the conquest to the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

T H E
E N G L I S H
HISTORICAL LIBRARY.
P A R T I.

C H A P. I.

Of the General Geography, State, and Antiquities of ENGLAND.

WHATEVER crime it might be anciently in private men to be skilled in maps and charts of whole countries, (that being thought a piece of knowledge proper only for princes and great generals) it is now a mighty defect in the modish accomplishments of the age to be otherwise; and every body is so much a politician, statesman, and warrior, that there is no conversing in the world without an intimate acquaintance with all the four quarters of the globe. It is not my business at present to furnish out instructions for the speedy attainment of this kind of learning; nor to explain gazettes and monthly mercuries; that is done abundantly by other hands. The sole design of this chapter is the pointing at such ancient and modern writers, as have described, at large and by wholesale, the lands and territories, cities and highways, natural history, politics, antiquities, &c. of England.

Ptolemy lived, as (1) all agree, in the beginning of the second century; and therefore we may safely call him the first geographer that mentioned any thing of the British islands. (For the little florid accounts which we have from Julius Cæsar or Tacitus, ought not to come into this reckoning: nor ought any thing that has been transcribed from them by Strabo or Pomponius Mela, by Solinus or Pliny, carry any higher value.) And well he may seem to be so; since the maps which Maginus and others have drawn by his tables, sufficiently shew, that, when he wrote, geography was but in its infancy. So much of him as relates to us, has been lately published by Dr. (2) Gale, who has also given us his own learned notes upon that part of the book.

If Antoninus's Itinerary were truly the composition of that great emperor, whose name it bears, there would be no controversy in placing it next to Ptolemy's tables: but (3) Vossius gives it too severe language to deserve the honour it had sometime gained in the world, and, in plain terms, calls it a bastard. However, let it be written by Antoninus, Antonius, or (4) Æthicus; it is of an ancient date, and shall here keep the station and repute it has gotten among as learned and wise judges as have hitherto condemned it. That part of his work which concerns Britain, has been amply treated on by three of our own countrymen; Mr. (5) R. Talbot, sometime canon of Norwich, whose manuscript commentaries, much enlarged by Dr. Caius,

(1) H. Lluyd Fragment. fol. 35. a. Jo. Ant. Maginus, p. 4, &c. (2) Append. ad Hist. Brit. p. 735. & 787.
(3) De Hist. Lat. in vitâ Livii. (4) Vide Usserii Hist. Eccles. Brit. p. 42. (5) MS. in Coll. Ben. Cantab. & Bibl. Cott. de quo vide Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. par. II. p. 135. & J. Pitts, p. 737.

PART I. are now in the library at Caius College in Cambridge; Mr. William (1) Burton, school-master at Kingston upon Thames; and Dr. Tho. (2) Gale, the then learned and worthy master of St. Paul's School in London, afterwards Dean of York.

Liber Notitiarum. The Liber Notitiarum comes next in order; and the last mentioned (3) learned person has obliged us with as much of it as is for our purpose. He has also given us what may seem to have any relation to this country, out of an old anonymous geographer lately published at Paris, together with a list of the hides or tenements in the several counties of England in the days of our Saxon kings. And these, I think, are all the remains of our old geography, and the sum of what was penned before the conquest, that looked this way. For, with what confidence soever (4) J. Pitts may report it, I do not believe that ever venerable Bede wrote any book, *De Situ & Mirabilibus Britanniae*; or that any such thing is, or ever was to be had in the library of Bennet College. His ecclesiastical history (as paraphrased in the English Saxon tongue by King Ælfred) is indeed there; and the first chapter in it bears a title which might impose upon the good man, or his informer, who is often guilty of more groundless mistakes than this.

Since the conquest. From the conquest down to the reign of King Henry the Eighth, our English geographers have either been few, or the want of printing has occasioned the loss of most of them. Leland says, he once saw, in the library at St. Paul's, a description of England written in the Saxon tongue by Coleman; who, if he be the same man with Colemanus, Monk of Worcester, writer of St. Wolstan's life, may justly challenge a precedence: but Gyraldus Cambrensis's four books of the Topography of Britain, and his Itinerary, (both which (5) are said to be in Bennet library) are the first I can otherwise hear of. And I doubt I shall only hear of them, for they seem to be the same with his Itinerary and Topography of Wales. John Leland (6) says also he does not question but there was such a book as the former of these. But all his industry could not ferret it out. Ralph de Diceto's Treatise (7), *De Mirabilibus Angliæ*, seems to be as rare a piece as either of the former; and is perhaps, laid up with John Horminger's (8) *Commendations of England*, or, as Bale calls it, *de Divitiis & Deliciis Angliæ*. Of the same stamp, I fancy, is William Thorn's (9) *Chronicle of all the countries, as well as bishopricks and abbeyes, in England*; John de Trevisa's (10) *Description of Britain*; and William Buttoner's (11) *Antiquities*, collected out of the old charters, leiger-books, epitaphs, &c. of the whole kingdom. Caxton's is the only thing of its kind, which I can assuredly say we have; as being long since published with his (12) *chronicle or Fructus Temporum*. Will it be any inducement to the reader to peruse this author's work, to hear him recommended by (13) Bale, under the character of *Vir non omnino stupidus aut ignavia torpens*?

In Henry Eighth's reign. Since the beginning of Henry the Eighth's reign, our eldest general geographer or antiquary, is said to be (14) Tho. Sulmo (some call him Sulemanus, other Solimountes) a Guernsey man, who died at London, A. D. 1545. The year following a much greater man of the profession (Sir Thomas Elliot, one of King Henry's ambassadors and Sir Thomas More's friends) (15) died also, and left behind him a learned and judicious commentary *de Rebus Memorabilibus Angliæ*. This work gained him the repute of a most accomplished antiquary in the opinion of J. (16) Leland, who is almost immoderate in his praises. But Humphrey (17) Lhuyd, being a little disgusted at his Pytannia, could only allow him the modest character of *Vir non contemnendæ eruditionis*. Contemporary with these two, was George Lilly, son of William Lilly, the famous grammarian, who lived sometime at Rome with Cardinal Pool; and published the first exact (18) map that ever was drawn of this island.

John Leland. The chief ornament of this king's reign, was John Leland, his library-keeper and canon of Christ-Church, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more largely elsewhere. Among the

(1) Fol. Lond. 1658. (2) Append. ad. Hist. Brit. p. 787. (3) Id. ib. p. 744, 746, 748; & 4to. Lond. 1709. Op. posth. (4) Page 136. (5) Id. p. 280. (6) Assert. Arthur. fol. 33. a. (7) Pitts, p. 233. (8) Id. p. 398. (9) Id. p. 529. (10) Id. p. 567. (11) Id. p. 645. (12) Fol. Lond. 1515; (13) Cent. 8. cap. 43. (14) J. Pitts, p. 733. (15) Id. p. 734. (16) De Encom. virorum illustr. p. 18. (17) Fragment. fol. 5. a. b. (18) J. Pitts, p. 740.

many voluminous writings he left behind him, those that have any relation to the general **PART** description of England, are his (1) Itinerary in five volumes (which J. (2) Pitts seems to have subdivided into a great many other treatises) and his (3) *Cygnea Cantio*. The latter of these is a poetical piece of flattery, or a panegyrick on King Henry; wherein the author brings his swan down the river of Thames, from Oxford to Greenwich, describing, as she passes along, all the towns, castles, and other places of note within her view. And the ancient names of these, being sometimes different from what the common herd of writers had usually given, therefore, in his commentary on this poem, he alphabetically explains his terms; and by the bye, brings in a great deal of the ancient geography of this island. His Itinerary is lately published, in a deal of thin volumes, by Mr. (4) Hearne; who gives the reader good diversion with some learned discourses and letters of his own. His author's notes are dry and sapless; and will abundantly convince the world, that Mr. Camden could not, had he been so disposed, filch any thing out of so beggarly a store-house.

Persons of greatest eminence in this sort of learning, under Queen Elizabeth, were **Qu. Eliz.** Humphrey Lhuyd, John Twyne, William Harrison, and William Camden. The first of these was born at Denbigh, where he afterwards practised physick, and wrote many excellent treatises. He was an intimate acquaintance of Ortelius, whom he assisted in the edition of his ancient geography, furnishing him with maps of England and Wales. And because he therein disagreed from the opinions of some former antiquaries, in the position of several of the old cities, forts and rivers, he sent him also his (5) *Commentarioli Britannicæ Descriptionis Fragmentum*; which gives reasons for all the uncommon assertions he had there laid down. He shews in it how imperfect all the accounts of this island are, which we have from the Roman writers, and how dark, for want of a little skill in the old British language. From thence he derives most of our ancient names; and herein he is much followed by Camden, as himself, in other matters, is a great follower of Leland. John Twine, schoolmaster, and sometime (6) Mayor of Canterbury, was so considerable in antiquities, as to deserve a very high place among J. Leland's (7) worthies; and appears indeed to have been a man of extraordinary knowledge in the histories and antiquities of this kingdom. The only thing of his that is published is his treatise (8) *de Rebus Albionis, Britannicis atque Anglicis*: but his grandson Bryan gave several other of his manuscript collections to Corpus Christi College in Oxford; where they still remain. William Harrison, chaplain to Sir William Brook, Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, with great pains and good judgment collected, *A Description of the Island of Britain, with a brief Rehearsal of the Nature and Qualities of the People of England, and such Commodities as are to be found in the same*. Which in three books, has been (9) several times printed together with R. Holinhead's Chronicle. Besides these, it is said, George Coryat, rector of Odcombe, and father to Thomas Coryat of famous memory, wrote a (10) description of England, Scotland, and Ireland, in Latin verse, which he dedicated to Queen Elizabeth.

But the glory of this queen's reign, as well as her successor's, and the prince of our English antiquaries, was Mr. Camden, whose life has been written at large by Dr. Smith, Mr. Wood, and Dr. Gibson. So that I need not here mention any of its particulars. His *Britannia* is the book which chiefly respects the subject of this chapter; and may honestly be stiled the common (11) *fun*, whereat our modern writers have all lighted their little torches. In Latin it had many (12) editions during the life of its author, who continually polished and improved it; it was first translated into English by Philemon Holland, who gave two (13) editions of it in that language. The former of these appearing while Mr. Camden himself was alive, I am apt to believe, with Tho. (14) Fuller, that many of the additions and interpolations, which were then charged on the translator, might not only come in by the author's own permission and consent,

W. Camden's *Britannia*.

(1) MS. in Bibl. Bodl. (2) Page 743, 744. (3) 4to. Lond. 1545. 8vo. 1658. (4) 8vo. Oxon. 1710, &c. (5) 8vo. Colon. Agrip. 1572. & Anglice (*The Breviary of Britain*) 8vo. Lond. 1573. (6) Athen. Oxon. vol. I. p. 160. (7) 8vo. Encom. Viror. illustr. p. 83. (8) 8vo. Lond. 1590. (9) Fol. Lond. 1577, and 1587. (10) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. par. II. p. 141. (11) Vid. H. Spelm. Gloss. in voce *Heraldus*. (12) 8vo. Lond. 1582, 85, 87. 4to. ib. 1590, 94. fol. ib. 1607. (13) Fol. Lond. 1610, 1637. (14) *Worthies of Eng.* p. 128. in Warwickshire.

PART I. but were also placed there by his directions, and are as truly his proper work as any other part of the text. But, in the second, Holland himself frequently turns antiquary, taking upon him to correct, add, and explode what he pleases. These corruptions have been all noted in a late (1) English edition of the work; wherein, it is hoped, effectual care has been taken to do the great author all the honour and justice he has merited from his countrymen. Some early attempts were made by an envious person, one (2) Brook or Brookmonth, to blast the deservedly great reputation of this book; but they perished and came to nothing; as did likewise the terrible threats given out by Sir Symonds D'Ewes, that he would discover (3) errors in every page. As little to be regarded is that scurrilous invective, which Fuller has most unworthily inserted into his church-history: a work wherein (if the author had been capable of any such thing) a man would have expected nothing but what looked like truth and gravity. There is now no danger of his suffering by the injuries done him by Holland; and, I think, very little from the (4) unskilful epitome of the book drawn by Vitellius a foreigner, and long since published at (5) Amsterdam. The excellent publisher of this last edition has, in his preface, done right to himself as well as his author; in acquainting the reader with the method and rules observed in his great undertaking. Mr. Camden's text, he assures us, is preserved entire; freed from the interpolations of his first translator, which nevertheless are still submitted to their sentence apart, in the bottom of each page. Our British antiquary was doubtless one of the most consummate writers in his way, and carried on his work to a greater degree of perfection than any foreigner ever did on the like subject: but it was not begun and perfected at once; it had many improvements from his own hand, and we assuredly know, that he would have gratefully accepted such new and farther discoveries as are here made. How heartily thankful, for example, would the good man have been for Mr. Lhwyd's fresh treasure of antiquities in Wales, or for Mr. Ray's notice of the plants peculiar to each county in England. In a word, Sir Robert Cotton was not a better friend to his person, than Dr. Gibson has been to his memory.

Camden's Remains. To this we must here add another work, which is now generally ascribed to Mr. Camden; but at first carried only in its title page the two last letters (M. N.) of both his names. This is his Remains concerning Britain, its Languages, Names, Surnames, &c. Afterwards it was enlarged by John Philpot, Somerset-herald; it has had many (6) impressions, and has been confidently, and without any scruple, fathered upon our great antiquary. There are in it a deal of good collections touching the languages, money, surnames and apparel of our British and Saxon ancestors: but his list of proper names might be considerably enlarged and corrected by what (7) Scottelius and (8) Dr. Gibson have written on that subject. As for his allusions, rebus and anagrams, he himself feared they would pass for foolish fopperies; and I do not care for thwarting, without good reason, any of his opinions. The conceits in impressions, apophthegms, poems, epigrams and epitaphs, are endless, and therefore hardly worth registering in a work of this nature.

With this fanciful treatise let me join Mich. Drayton's Poly-Olbion; which affords a much truer account of this kingdom, and the dominion of Wales, than could well be expected from the pen of a poet. The first (9) eighteen of these songs had the honour to be published with Mr. Selden's notes; the other (10) twelve being hardly capable of such a respect.

J. Speed, and other late antiquaries. To our late antiquaries, Mr. Camden has been the same thing as Homer was of old to the poets of Greece. They have usually borrowed or stolen their whole stock from him. J. Speed, it is true, was a person of extraordinary industry and attainments in the study of antiquities; and seems not altogether unworthy the name of *summus & eruditus Antiquarius*, given him by (11) one who was certainly so himself. His maps are extremely well; and make a noble apparatus (as they were designed) to his history. But his descriptions of the several

(1) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 411. (2) See A. B. Usher's Letters, p. 496. (3) Fol. Lond. 1695. (4) Vid. Not. in Ælfr. mag. vit. p. 33. (5) In 12mo. 1639. (6) 4to. & 8vo. Lond. 1637. (7) De Ling. Germ. lib. 5. tract. 2. (8) In Append. ad Chron. Saxon. (9) Fol. Lond. 1612. (10) Fol. lb. 1622. (11) Sheringham de Angl. Orig. page 42.

counties are mostly short abstracts of what Camden had said before him, saving only that of Norfolk, which, he owns, though he is not always so civil to his chief benefactor, he had from Sir Henry Spelman. I am apt to believe he was not much in Sir Henry's debt; since it is likely the *Villare Anglicum*, afterwards published in Sir Henry's name, and said to be composed by him and Mr. Dodesworth, was chiefly drawn out of Mr. Speed's alphabetical tables on the back of his maps. The like must be said of Edw. Leigh's short treatise of (16) England described, &c. which is a small handful of gleanings out of the same common field. Of the like complexion is a good share of Fuller's (17) *Worthies*, which pretends to give an account of the native commodities, manufactures, buildings, proverbs, &c. of all the counties of England and Wales, as well as of their great men in church and state; though this latter looks like the principal design, and makes up the greatest part of the volume. It was huddled up in haste, for the procurement of some moderate profit for the author, though he did not live to see it published. It corrects many mistakes in his ecclesiastical story; but makes more new ones in their stead. The best things in it are the catalogues of the Sheriffs, and the lists of the gentry, as they were returned from the several counties, twelve only excepted, in the 12th year of Henry the VI. His chief author is Bale; for the lives of his eminent writers; and those of his greatest heroes are commonly mis-shapen scraps, mixed with tattle and lies. But the boldest plagiarist in the whole pack, is R. Blome, the pretended author of the *Mock* (19) *Britannia*; or, *A geographical Description of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.* a most entire piece of theft out of Camden and Speed. Mr. Ogilby designed a most noble description of England in three volumes; the first whereof, which only is (20) published, contains an ichnographical and historical account of all our great roads, on one hundred large copper cuts. The second was to have given us the like view of our cities; and the third should have afforded us a topographical description of the whole kingdom.

Besides these volumes in print, there are many vast bundles of collections, relating to the general geography and antiquities of this nation, which still remain in manuscript, and are the peculiar treasure of our publick and private libraries. Such are those of H. Ferrers, Esq; a great friend and assistant to (1) Mr. Camden; one large volume whereof (relating to the pedigrees of our nobility and gentry) is now in (2) the Heralds Office at London, and others are scattered in private hands. Many more of the like kind are referred to by Sir William Dugdale: as those of (3) R. Glover, (4) Jo. Hanson, (5) S. Kniveton, (6) A. Vincent, Sir (7) Hen. Spelman, Sir R. (8) St. George, and others; and he has also left a fair number of his own compofure, which were kindly deposited by himself in his son Ashmole's Museum at Oxford. His copartner Dodesworth's are in Bodley's library. The late Sir John Marsham took good pains in writing an historical list of all the boroughs in England, which send members to the parliament; and it lies ready for the press, in the hands of his brother, Sir Robert Marsham. We are likewise indebted to them that have been at the expence of making surveys of the whole kingdom, in order to the affording us more accurate maps than those which had formerly been drawn at random. After the useful endeavours of Saxton and Speed, great sums were expended this way by Seller and Morden, at whose charges some pilfering interlopers have set up to vend more correct maps of England, as they call them, which are in nothing different from theirs, but in some few changes of the bearings of towns, new currents of rivers, &c. all of the same value, and discovered by the same art, with the *Painter's Wife's Island*. Mr. Adams's large map, with the contraction of it afterwards, must also be acknowledged to be done with good pains, judgment, and exactness. 'Twere to be wished his *Index* (9) *Villaris* had no more errors nor omissions in it: But we are not without hopes, but that the mighty improvements which have been made upon this, by the industrious and learned Mr. Aubrey (10), may shortly be published.

(16) 8° Lond. 1659. (17) Fol. Lond. 1662. (18) P. 2. (19) Fol. Lond. 1673. (20) Fol. Lond. 1612.
 (1) Camd. Brit. in *Warwickshire*. (2) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. pag. 504. (3) Monast. Angl. Tom. II. p. 18, 66, 246, 851, 869, &c. (4) Ib. p. 41. (5) Ib. p. 50, 184, 607. (6) Ib. p. 85. (7) Ib. p. 70, 154, 298, 449, 506. (8) Ib. p. 78, 196, 642. (9) Fol. Lond. 1680. (10) MS. in Museo Ashmol. Oxon.

PART
I.
Natural
History

The natural history of England was a thing never dreamed of, till the Viscount of St. Albans, Sir Francis Bacon, began to publish his own discoveries in experimental philosophy; and, by his great example and success, set some lesser heads a working. It was this great man who first observed to our English philosophers, that we wanted two parts in three of a just natural history; which he calls *Expatiation Naturæ & (11) Artis*. Under the former he ranks all the uncouth and uncommon occurrences in simple nature; and, under the other, her several modifications, and the many useful and instructive discoveries that are made of her, in arts mechanical. And yet what is it, upon the whole, that we have hitherto had on either of these subjects? Dr. Childrey's (12) *Britannia Bæconica* does promise an historical account of the natural rarities of England, Scotland, and Wales; with observations and deductions answerable to the rules laid down in Lord Bacon: But his volume, not to say a hard thing of him, is manifestly too small for the performance. There are two small tracts about our English mastiffs, and other extraordinary animals, as well as plants, written by Dr. Caius; which are printed with his treatise (13) *de Libris propriis*. Sir Hugh Platt's (14) *Jewel House*, and Dr. Merret's *Pinax* (15) are also rather short catalogues of our natural curiosities, than just treatises upon them: For no such thing has yet appeared. We have indeed a pretty good stock of materials towards the raising of such a fabrick, if we could but meet with a judicious and daring architect. The late honourable and famous Mr. Boyle has, in several of his tracts, made large discoveries of the nature of our frosts, snow, hail, and other meteors. Our flying and creeping insects have been carefully marshalled and examined by Dr. Lister (16); who also has notably informed us of the most abstruse phenomena in our springs and (17) mineral waters, as Dr. Plott likewise has (18) done, and has reduced our land and sea (19) shells into the best classes that are any-where extant. Our (20) fowl, (21) fish, and (1) quadrupeds, are well tribed by Mr. Willoughby and Mr. Ray. Our earths, metals, and other fossils, have been inquired into by (2) Mr. Webster, and others. Our formed stones, which have been strangely neglected by the naturalists of former ages, will, we hope, shortly be very thoroughly and satisfactorily treated on by the ingenious Dr. Woodward; who, by what he has already (3) published on that subject, has rather raised our expectations, than removed our doubts. To supply our present want of his larger work, which I know to be in a great forwardness towards the press, the late Mr. Lhwyd obliged us with his methodical (4) *Lithophylacii Britannici Ichnographia*; wherein he has happily tribed these amusing curiosities under the following heads: 1. *Lapides Crystallini, iisque affines*; amongst which he reckons our Bristol diamonds, and other spars, *Selenitæ* or Muscovy glass, talk, petrifying incrustations, &c. 2. *Lapides Corallini*. 3. *Lithophyta*; under which title are comprehended the mineral impressions of ferns and other plants, upon coal and slate stones, as well as the resemblances of several parts of the trunks of trees and solid wood. 4. *Fossilia Turbinata*; spiral or wreathed shells of the sea and rivers, whereof the astonishing varieties of the sailors, *Nautili* or *Cornua Ammonis*, are the most considerable. 5. *Bivalvia*; fossil oysters, scallops, cockles, &c. 6. *Crustacea punctualata*; the sea urchin, and star-fish, with the spikes, Dr. Plott's *Lapides Judaici*, and other parts of both. 7. *Tubulosæ*; the vermicular kind. 8. *Mala-costraca*; fossil lobsters, or crabs, or parts of either: Very rare. 9. *Ichthyodontes Cuspidati*; sharp-pointed teeth of sharks and other dog-fish. 10. *Ichthyodontes Scutellati*; the grinders of the same, miscalled by the ancients *Bufonitæ*, or toad-stones, *Siliquastra*, &c. 11. *Xylostea*; bones of fishes, which fall not under the foregoing or following title. 12. *Ichthyospondili*; single *Vertebræ*, or joints in the back bones of fishes, called by some of our rusticks *Fairy Salt-fellers* and *Hour-glasses*. 13. *Effigiata Anomala*, five incertæ classis; into which he throws, for the present, the *Belemnitæ* or thunderbolts, *Crines Veneris*, &c. He confesses, that this draught, being hastily made, ought not to be admitted as just and complete; protesting that

(11) *De Augment. Scient. Lib. 2. cap. 2.* (12) 8vo. Lond. 1661. (13) 12mo. Lond. 1652. (14) 4to. Lond. 1652. (15) 8vo. Lond. 1665. (16) *Tract. de Aran. & Not. in Goedart.* (17) *De Fontibus Medicat. Angl.* 8vo. Lond. 1684. (18) *De Orig. Fontium*, 8vo. Oxon. 1685. (19) *Hist. Conchyliorum*, Fol. Lond. 1685, 86, &c. ad 1691. (20) Willoughby's *Ornithology*, Fol. Lond. 1678. (21) *Hist. Ichthyology*, Fol. Oxon. (1) *Joh. Raii Synopsis Anim. &c.* 8vo. Lond. 1693. (2) *Metallographia*, 4to. Lond. 1671. (3) *Nat. Hist. of the Earth*, 8vo. Lond. 1695. (4) 8vo. Lond. 1699.

He only offers it as a sketch, to be enlarged or abridged, as future observations shall direct. PART
I.
The book concludes with six letters, in elegant Latin, on the nature and origin of these odd substances; with twenty-one tables of copper cuts, representing to the reader's view the choicest rarities described in the several foregoing classes. Mr. Beaumont ought also to be reminded of the thoughts he once had of (1) setting forth a particular tract to this purpose; no man being better qualified for such a performance. Mr. Ray has put our Botanists upon daily searches after new plants; since his (2) Synopsis has told them what numerous discoveries have been lately made by Mr. Lhwyd in Wales, Mr. Lawson in the northern counties in England, &c. The like encouragements our Naturalists have from his and Mr. Willoughby's Ornithology to make further enquiries after the many hitherto undiscovered species of birds; since it is easily observable, that the authors of that work having had the greatest assistance from Mr. Johnson and Mr. Jeffop, both Yorkshire men, there are in it more discoveries of new kinds from the North, than from any other quarter of the kingdom. To all these must be added the many ingenious informations communicated, from most parts of the nation, in our Philosophical Transactions; especially from some of the fore-mentioned chief naturalists of this age, Dr. Plott, Dr. Lister, and Mr. Ray.

Some general accounts have been given of our English polity and frame of government; wherein our historian ought to be well versed and conversant; especially in those that are written by statesmen, and such as may be presumed to have well understood the affairs they treat on. Sir Thomas Smith's (3) Commonwealth of England has met with good applause, having been frequently printed both in English and Latin. There was also another small treatise, intitled, The Authority, Form, and Manner of holding Parliaments, lately (4) published in his name; but some have questioned, whether it be rightly fathered. Upon this latter subject we have a printed account of the opinion of Mr. Camden, (5) together with those of Doderidge, Arthur Agard and Francis Tate. Sir Walter Raleigh has likewise written, as he used to do on all other subjects, most judiciously and (6) acutely upon the prerogatives of our parliaments; and Sir Robert Cotton's (7) Posthuma are full of learning on the same topick. Innumerable almost are the treatises on the powers and constitution of these great councils; whereof those that follow have been reckoned of chief authority. 1. Hen. Elsing's (8) Antient Method and Manner of holding Parliaments in England. 2. Henry (9) Scobel's Remembrances of the Methods, &c. in the House of Lords. 3. Mr. John (10) Selden's Privileges of the Baronage of England, when they sit in Parliament. 4. W. Hakewell's (11) Modus tenendi Parliamentum, &c. 5. Arthur, Earl of (12) Anglesey's Privileges of the House of Lords and Commons stated. 6. Thomas (13) Hunt's Argument for the Bishops Rights in judging in Capital Cases. 7. Letter of a (14) Gentleman, &c. shewing that the Bishops are not Judges in Capital Cases. 8. Dr. Stillingfleet's Answer to the said Letter, reprinted in the Second Part of his (15) Ecclesiastical Cases. 9. Lex (16) Parliamentaria, of the Law and Custom, &c. by G. P. A good abstract of all the rest. Dr. Chamberlain's Present State of England has been so well received, as to admit of a new edition almost yearly, ever since it was (17) first published. It has been indeed, of late, very coarsely treated by a nameless scribbler, of Observations on the Times: but he seems to have been hired to the drudgery of penning such unmannerly reflections, by a gentleman who had newly published another book, much fuller of mistakes, under the like title.

As to what concerns our nobility and gentry, all that come within either of those lists, will allow that Mr. Selden's (18) Titles of Honour ought first to be well perused, for the gaining of a general notion of the distinction of degrees, from an emperor, down to a country gentleman: and, after this, the volumes of Sir William Dugdale's (19) Baronage of England; Heraldry.

(1) Confid. on the Theory of the Earth, p. 4. (2) Synopsis Method. 8vo. Lond. 1690. (3) First published in English 4to. Lond. 1583. (4) 8vo. Lond. 1685. (5) High Court of Parliament, 8vo. Lond. 1658. (6) Vid. Hen. Spelm. Gloss. p. 451. (7) 8vo. Lond. 1679. (8) 12mo. Lond. 1675. 3d. edit. (9) 8vo. Ib. 1689. (10) 8vo. Ib. 1642. (11) 12mo. Ib. 1671. (12) 8vo. Ib. 1702. (13) 8vo. Ib. 1682. (14) 8vo. Ib. 1679. (15) 8vo. Ib. 1704. (16) 8vo. Ib. 1698. (17) 8vo. Lond. 1668. (18) Fol. Lond. 1672. (19) Fol. Lond. 1675; and 1676.

PART I. which gives an account of the lives and prowess of all our English nobility, from the coming in of the Saxons, down to the year 1676. Whatever relates to the knights of the most noble order of the garter, is compleatly shewn us by Mr. Ashmole, in his most elaborate and perfect (1) work on that subject. For inferior ranks we have them in the books of heraldry that have been published by Wyrley, Brooks, Vincent, Dugdale, and especially Guillim; of the (2) two last editions of whose book it is observed, that R. Blome has so disguised and spoiled it, that if the author, or authors of it were living, they would scarce know it. What is missing in these, will be abundantly supplied out of the great treasury of MS. collections in the heralds college at London; wherein are innumerable inscriptions, arms, epitaphs, pedigrees, lists of precedence at coronations and funerals, &c. as likewise in the Cottonian and Harleyan libraries.

C H A P. II.

Of particular Descriptions of Counties; with their Cities and great Towns.

IT is so much the general humour of mankind to be fond of their native soil, and places of their chief residence and abode, that historians must not pretend to be so far of a different composition from their neighbours, as not to be subject to the common frailty. They are as liable to discover their dotage, in this particular, as other ordinary mortals; and thence it comes that Ingulfus's history is so full of Crowland, W. Newbrigenfis's of Yorkshire, M. Paris's of St. Albans, &c. whenever any shadow of an opportunity is offered. It is from the same principle that we have few counties in England, whose records have not been carefully sought out, and endeavours used to preserve them, by some of their sons; who have usually proved more happy in such undertakings (as having gone about them with most hearty zeal and application) than any of our more general writers. Those that I have met with of this kind, are here drawn into order and rank, according to the following alphabetical lists of our several counties.

Berks.

Berkshire has not hitherto, that I know of, had its general antiquities, nor its natural history, collected by any body. Only, the castle and chapel of Windsor, have been at large treated on by the excellent pen of Elias Ashmole, esquire, in his history of the knights of the garter, before mentioned. In that work he told us, That he designed a more compleat history of the castle; and that he had made collections in order to it: which collections are now in his Museum at Oxford; where are also very considerable materials (of his own gathering) for a general history of Berkshire.

Bedford.

Bedfordshire is under the like misfortune; though the history of Dunstable (of which in its proper place) and other records are not wanting, to furnish out materials for such a work.

Bucks.

Buckinghamshire has had the happiness to have some of its borders (about Ambrosden, &c.) curiously described, and its antiquities preserved by the ingenious (3) Dr. Kennet, whose Parochial Antiquities will be duly valued, as long as ecclesiastical history bears any repute amongst us.

Cam-
bridge.

Cambridgeshire. A little of both the natural history and antiquities of this county is touched on by Sir William Dugdale, in his history of the (4) imbanking and draining of divers fens and marshes, both in foreign parts, and in this kingdom. A catalogue of the indigenous plants of Cambridgeshire, was long since published by (5) Mr. Ray; augmented afterwards by Mr. Stonestreet, and Mr. Dent. There is also a MS. history of this county by Mr. Laire

(1) Fol. Lond. 1672. (2) Fol. Lond. 1660, and 1679. (3) 4to. Oxon. 1695. (4) Fol.—Lond. 1662.
(5) 8vo. Lond. 1660.

of Shephred, near Royston: whose son intends to deposit it in some of the college libraries in Cambridge. The writers upon the affairs of the university belonging to another place.

Cheshire was long since described by Lucian, a monk, soon after the conquest; whose work is cited by (4) Campden, as a piece of great rarity, and good value. S. Erdeswick, the great antiquary of Staffordshire, seems to have written also something of the history of this county; as is intimated by his MS. book, in the hands of several gentlemen of Staffordshire, which begins thus: (5) "Having disposed with myself to take a further view of the shires of Staffordshire and Chester, &c." A third description of this county (geographical and historical) was written by W. Smith, Rouge-dragon, pursuivant at arms, and left in the hands of Sir Ranulph Crew, sometime lord chief-justice of the King's Bench; whose grandchild (Sir R. Crew) afterwards published it. A fourth was compiled by W. Webb, M. A. and sometime town-clerk of Chester; which was thought worthy the publishing by that judicious antiquary, Sir Simon Archer of Tamworth. These two last were afterwards printed together, under the title of (6) *The Vale Royal of England*, by Daniel King; who took care to have the work beautified with several cuts of heraldry and topography. The accounts given of this King by (7) Mr. Fuller, and the (8) Oxford antiquary, are very widely different: so that whether he was *lux patriæ*, as the former styles him, or (in the other's plain English) a silly fellow, and an errant knave, I know not. Sir Peter (9) Leicester's historical antiquities were also, no doubt, chiefly intended to do honour to this county: for though the first book pretends to treat of the general affairs of Great-Britain and Ireland, its true design was to introduce (what alone comes to be handled in the second) the antiquities of Cheshire, and chiefly of Bucklow hundred. The contests which hereupon happened betwixt Sir Peter and his kinsman, Sir Thomas Manwaring, are not worth the remembering, as belonging rather to the men of the law than history. There is an old MS. history of the earldom of Chester, quoted (out of Bennet library) by Mr. (10) Selden; the sum whereof, I imagine, has been published by Judge Doderidge, in the history he (11) wrote of the ancient and modern estate of this earldom, together with that of the principality of Wales, and dutchy of Cornwall. In this treatise Sir John, with a great deal of industry and exactness, calculates the ancient and present revenues of this palatinate; but is not so curious in clearing up its original history. This defect is since very much supplied by the labours of the late (12) ingenious Mr. Harrington, who has left behind him several excellent remarks on that subject, together with other good collections relating to the antiquities of this county. Several books, says (13) John Pitts, were written by Henry Bradshaw, a benedictine monk, who died A. D. 1513. *De Antiquitate & Magnificentia Urbis Cestriæ*. All which, I am apt to believe, are swallowed up by another work, says that gentleman, his *Life of St. Werburg*, which is still to be had in several of our libraries.

Cornwall. The survey of this county is so exactly taken by (14) R. Carew, esquire, that there will be only occasion for posterity carefully to continue a work so excellently begun; and to which Mr. Camden acknowledges himself indebted for the chief light he had in these parts. This book, with large additions, was lately in the possession of Mr. Chiswell, bookseller in London; who proposed to oblige us with a new edition. It is now, amongst many other valuable curiosities of the like kind, in Mr. Rawlinson's library. There was also an historical account of this county in MS. penned by J. Norden (who, Mr. Camden (15) tells us, did sometime travel into this part of the kingdom) in the hands of the learned Dr. Gale. Sir John Doderidge's *History of the Dutchy* has been already mentioned in Cheshire.

Cumberland. There is a manuscript description of this county, written by one Mr. Denton of Cardew, about fifty or sixty years ago, which seems to be done with good care and judgment; copies whereof are in the hands of several of the gentry. It chiefly treats of families, pedigrees, conveyances of estates and manors, &c. but occasionally handles some other

(4) Britan. in Chesh. MS. in Bibl. Bodl. (5) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 275. (6) Fol. Lond. 1656. (7) Worthies of Engl. p. 184. in Chesh. (8) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 163. (9) Fol. Lond. 1673. (10) Titles of Hon. p. 729. (11) 4to. Lond. 1630. (12) See Camd. Brit. N. E. p. 566. (13) Page 690. (14) 4to. Lond. 1602. (15) Camd. Epist. p. 72.

PART I. antiquities of a more general nature and higher date. Some observations have also been made lately, relating to the natural history of Cumberland; which may very probably, ere long, come into as many hands. The antiquities of the city of Carlisle are collected by Dr. H. Todd, prebendary of that church; and are now, or should be, in the possession of the mayor and aldermen.

Derby. **Derbyshire.** The mines of this county should, methinks, invite some of our inquisitive naturalists to give us as particular an account of the metals and minerals, as Ed. Manlow, sometimes steward of the works, has done of the miners, in his book, entitled, (1) Customs of the (2) Barge-Moot-Court; which has been improved by T. Houghton in his (3) Collection of the Laws, Liberties, &c. of the Mines and Miners of Derbyshire. I should also think the wonders of the Peak are as proper a subject for a philosopher to write on in prose, as they can be for the most exalted poetry of either (4) Mr. Hobbs or (5) Mr. Cotton; and that Buxton-Wells deserve a better describer than antiquated (6) John Jones. There is a MS. in the Museum at Oxford; which bears the title of Phil. Kinder's Natural History of Derbyshire; but it is only (as the author himself there calls it) a short prologue to an intended future history, and has little in it worth the consulting, or looking after.

Devon. **Devonshire.** — Northcot, baronet, is reported to have written a Description of Devonshire; the manuscript whereof is all along quoted by Tho. Fuller in his Worthies, when he comes to treat of that county; though he says nothing of him amongst its writers. Tho. Risdon's Survey, or Chorographical Description of Devonshire, was common in MS. among the gentry of that county; and is now published in print, 8vo. London, 1713. It is said one (7) Westcote either wrote another survey; or, at least, had a hand in that which was composed by Risdon. I wish this Westcote be not the same man with Dr. Fuller's Northcote; for he is often further mistaken than from West to North. The remarkable Antiquities of the City of Exeter were published by (8) Richard Isaac; but, as a (9) worthy person observes, the book is a dry collection, and full of mistakes; there being nothing worth the perusal which had not been before remarked in J. Hooker's Description, reprinted in Holinhead's Chronicle.

Dorset. **Dorsetshire.** Unless Mr. Etrick, who obliged the late publisher of the Britannia with some of his remarks, will furnish us with the antiquities of this county, I cannot tell from what quarter we are to expect them. Mr. Rawlinson will assist the undertaker with two volumes of MS. extracts of Records; with several pedigrees of its chief families.

Durham. **Durham.** Dr. E. Wilson has furnished us with a taste of its natural history, in his (10) Spadacrene Dunelmensis: but the collections made by Mr. Mickleton, are perhaps the only papers extant which treat of the civil affairs of this county, as distinct from the ecclesiastical; and indeed, considering the whole was anciently, and the greatest part is still the church's patrimony, the matter is not much to be wondered at. The city of Durham is described in a MS. old English, or Saxon Poem, in (11) Sir John Cotton's library; wherein are great store of materials for the history of this city and county.

Essex. **Essex.** There is a report of J. Norden's having written a survey of this county, a thin folio MS. in Sir Edm. Turner's library, and that Mr. Strangman has attempted the collection of its antiquities: but, whatever their performances may have been, we had cause to hope for good things on that subject, from Mr. Ousley, who has given a specimen of his work in what he has communicated in the new edition of Camden: but he is dead, and in what hands his papers are left, I know not. The Description of Harwich with all its Appurtenances and Antiquities was written by Silas Taylor, author of the History of Gavelkind, who was a store-keeper at that port, A. D. 1665. The book was never printed; and where it is to be had in manuscript, my (12) author does not inform me; but Mr. Samuel Dale can tell the curious reader.

(1) 8vo. Lond. 1653. (2) Bergemoot is the truer writing. (3) 12mo. Lond. 1687. (4) De Mirabilibus Peccis 4to. Lond. 1666. (5) 4to. Lond. 1681. (6) 8vo. Lond. 1572. (7) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 517. (8) 8vo. Lond. 1681. (9) Wh. Kenner's Life of Somn. p. 20. V. Holinsh. Chron. p. 1007. p. 1028. (10) 8vo. Lond. 1675. (11) Vitellius, D. 20. (12) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 465.

Glocestershire. Whether the Chronicon Claudiocestræ, written by (1) Andrew Horn, a supposed citizen of Gloucester, God knows when, speaks wholly, or at all, of the affairs of this county, is mighty uncertain: but we are pretty sure that (2) Sir Matthew Hales made large collections to that purpose, though he did not live to fit them for the press. Proposals were also (3) long since published, for printing the antiquities of Gloucestershire, by Mr. Abel Wantner; who, meeting with the discouragements that were suitable to the man's busy meddling in things beyond his sphere, was content to enjoy the fruits of his labour himself, the public not admitting of his services. The city of Gloucester's military government has been accounted for by (4) John Corbet; and the laws and customs of the miners in the forest of Dean, by an (5) anonymous writer. The late Sir Robert Atkins, knight, left behind him a durable monument (so says his epitaph) in the (6) Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire: many of the materials whereof were, to my own certain knowledge, gathered by Dr. Robert Parsons, late chancellor of the diocese, in the alphabetical order of parishes, wherein they now stand; and he had also transcripts of the charters of foundation and endowment of the bishoprick, the like of the dean and chapter of Tewkesbury, and other monasteries, of St. Bartholomew's hospital, &c. which makes so large a figure in the whole work: though perhaps the copy of King Charles the Second's to the city, and some other records relating to the present state, may be Sir Robert's proper collection. The prospects of the seats, and draughts of the arms, of the nobility and gentry, are also valuable ornaments, entirely owing to the worthy gentleman himself.

Hampshire. The county is yet undescribed: but a description of the city of Winchester, with an historical relation of divers memorable occurrences touching the same, is said to have been written by (7) John Truffel; who was himself sometime alderman of that city, and continued S. Daniel's history. I guess it to be too voluminous to appear in print, rather than, as (8) Dr. Kennet presumes it, too imperfect. Something to the same purpose was likewise written by Dr. Bettes; whose book is still in MS. As are also, I suppose, Mr. Butler's remarks on the monuments in this antient city. A general Survey of the Isle of Wight, part of this county, was written by (9) Sir Francis Knollis, knight of the garter, and privy-counsellor to Queen Elizabeth; a manuscript copy whereof was in the library of the late Earl of Anglesey. There is also a (10) fragment, of seventeen quarto pages, entitled, Antiquitates Insulæ Vectæ, in Bodley's Library, among the MSS. of Richard James, fellow of C. C. C. in Oxford, an eminent antiquary; who died at Sir Thomas Cotton's in Westminster, A. D. 1638, an imperfect piece, T. T.

Hartfordshire. A (11) Chorographical Description of this county was published by John Norden, gentleman; whom we shall again meet with in Kent and Middlesex, as we have had already occasion to mention him in other counties. Its (12) Historical Antiquities have been, with great labour and cost, collected and published by Sir Henry Chauncy, knight, serjeant at law; who, in the course of his practice, had frequent opportunities of viewing the patrimonial records of the most antient families in his neighbourhood. This gave the first rise to his design; which he afterwards carried on by a farther search into more publick evidences in leiger-books, and other old manuscripts, as high as Domesday. After a general description, with lists of their earls, sheriffs, &c. he travels through every particular parish of each hundred; and gives the history of the manors, advowsons, and endowments of the churches, succession of their incumbents, &c. Some digressions, a little foreign to his purpose, have increased the bulk of his work; but he hopes that every good christian reader will excuse his being in a religious transport, when he sets his foot on holy ground; and more particularly, when he comes to the place of the sufferings of our first martyr St. Alban. The Swan's Tale, written by Vallance, is lately reprinted by Mr. Hearne, wherein some parts of Hartfordshire are briefly and elegantly described, in imitation of Leland's Cygnæa Cantio.

(1) J. Pitts, p. 823. (2) See his Life, by Dr. Burnet, MS. in Bibl. Hosp. Lincoln. (3) A. D. 1683. (4) 8vo. Lond. 1651. (5) 12mo. Lond. 1687. (6) Fol. Lond. 1712. (7) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 380. (8) Life of Somn. p. 21. (9) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 288. (10) Id. ibid. p. 525. (11) 4to. Lond. 1593. (12) Fol. Lond. 1700.

PART

I.
Hereford.

Herefordshire. Silas Taylor, before-mentioned in Essex, spent four years in collecting the antiquities, pedigrees, epitaphs, &c. of this county, and his papers are now in the famous Harleyan library. The (17) ransack he made, during the times of usurpation, in the libraries of the cathedral churches of Hereford and Worcester, might furnish him with a greater plenty of materials, than (it may be) a man will easily meet with at this day: and therefore his collections are (18) justly recommended as a good apparatus for any that shall hereafter write on the same subject.

Hunting-
don.

Huntingdonshire. Sir Robert Cotton is reported to have (19) written that description which John Speed has published of this county. But the late learned publisher of Sir Robert's (20) Life, says, it is only probable, from the great store of collections that he had made out of Domesday, &c. to that purpose, that he had projected such an history. He does not believe that he ever finished any thing of that nature.

Kent.

Kent. Let "this be observed for the honour of Kent, says an (1) ingenious and learned gentleman, native of this county, that while other counties, and but few of them, have met with single pens to give the history and description of them, ours has had no less than four writers, to celebrate the glories of it:" Lambard, Somner, Kilburn, and Philpot. He will not, I hope, take it ill, if we enlarge the catalogue. Both Bale and Pitts expressly reckon the *Itinerarium Cantiae* among John Leland's composures; so that I should think he bestowed something of more care than ordinary in disposing the remarks he made on this county. W. Lambard's *Perambulation of Kent*, was indeed the first account which was (2) published; and it was not only highly applauded by Camden, and other chief judges of such matters, but gave the hint to many more men of learning, to endeavour the like services for their several counties. It was not well approved by the gentlemen of the Roman communion. Reiner (3) particularly censures it as a work undertaken, and carried on, with a design to expose the lewdnesses and debaucheries of the late inhabitants of the monasteries of that county; in describing whereof, he thinks, many things are spitefully misrepresented. Mr. Somner (4), it appears, fully proposed to have given us the antiquities of the whole county; and had certainly made very great progress towards the completing the work, as appears by his manuscripts, now in the library of the cathedral church of Canterbury. It is not doubted but he would mightily have enlarged W. Lambard's *Perambulation*; and he gives us some specimen of his design to correct also his errors, by marking such as came in his way, in some of his (5) treatises already published. However, we are not wholly deprived of this great work, some part of it having been lately published under the title of (6) *A Treatise of the Roman Ports and Forts in Kent*; wherein, and in Dr. Gibson's notes upon it, we have as intire a discourse as we could wish for on that subject; rectifying a great many mistakes in Camden, Lambard, Philpot, &c. and discovering the true situation of those ancient places. Philpot's (7) *Villare Cantianum* was not written by Thomas Philpot, whose name it bears, but by his father John, Somerset Herald; who is only owned to be author of the additional history of the High-Sheriffs of the County: And what faith, a learned (8) countryman of his puts the question in my mouth, can be given to him, that could afford to rob his own father of the credit of his book? Kilburn's (9) *Survey of Kent*, you may take (10) Dr. Kenner's word for it, is all modern and superficial. Another survey of the county, in proportion to the rest of the same author's, was drawn by John Norden; which none have hitherto thought worth the handing to the press, and few have reckoned so considerable as to mention it. To these, I think, we may add John Weaver's (11) *Funeral Monuments*; a great share of them having been collected in the dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester. But let the reader never forget the remark made on him by (12) Mr. Wharton; that he has most scandalously mistaken the numeral letters and figures in most of the inscriptions

(17) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 465. (18) Hist. & Antiquit. Oxon. Part II. p. 368. (19) Tho. Fuller's Ch. Hist. lib. 6. p. 295. and Hist. of Waltham, p. 12. (20) Th. Smith, Vit. D. R. Cotton, p. 23. Vid. & Bibl. Cor. Tiber. E. 8. 81. (1) Kenner's Life of Somn. p. 38. (2) 4to. Lond. 1570, 1596, &c. (3) Apost. Bened. in Angl. p. 162. (4) Kenner's Life of Somn. p. 33, 34, 35. (5) Antiq. of Canterb. p. 77, 88, 381. (6) 8vo. Oxon. 1693. (7) Fol. Lond. 1659, and 1664. (8) Kenner's Life of Somn. p. 37, 38. (9) 4to. Lond. 1659. (10) Life of Somn. p. 37. (11) Fol. Lond. 1631. (12) Angl. Sacr. Par. I. p. 668.

he transcribed, which makes it hazardous for an antiquary to rely upon his authority. Both **PART I.** Mr. Somner's excellent (13) *Treatise of Gavelkind*, and Silas Taylor's (14) *History of the same*, ought also to be referred to the catalogue of this county's historians and antiquaries; as explaining an ancient custom, whereof there are now hardly any remains elsewhere within the king's dominions. The *History of the City of Canterbury* seems to have been penned long since by Will. Gillingham, a benedictine monk of that place; who is (15) said to have written *De Rebus Cantuariensibus*, about the year 1390. John Twyne (16) mentions some collections that he had made tending to illustrate the antiquities of this city: But Mr. Somner assures us, he could no more meet with them than with those of Tho. Spot, mentioned by Bale. But its everlasting monument is, W. Somner's (17) *Antiquities of Canterbury*; or a Survey of that ancient City, with its Suburbs and Cathedral: a work which secured the honour of all that the title-page mentions, from the levelling fury and madness of the time wherein it was published; and is deservedly recommended, both by the author's enemies and friends, as a piece most exquisitely perfect in its kind. This book was (18) published again, some years ago, by the late industrious Mr. N. Battely, with such additions and corrections, as the author thought necessary to leave behind him: But these are not so considerable, as the learned writer of Mr. Somner's life had represented them. This was fit to be premised, that the worthy publisher might not be defrauded of the due reputation of, what is intirely his own, the second part of this volume; which bears the title of *Cantuaria Sacra*, and, relating wholly to the affairs of the church, will have its place amongst our ecclesiastical writers. However, there is an elegant posthumous discourse, written by this gentleman's brother, the late Archdeacon Battely, which is called (19) *Antiquitates Rutupinæ*, and properly belongs to this part. It gives the reader a most entertaining account of the ancient Rutupinæ and Regulbium, with other cities and ports on the coasts of Kent, well known to the Romans, whose money and other utensils, is here daily discovered, and was plentifully collected by the curious author. The Spaw-waters at Tunbridge are treated on by Lod. Rowzee and P. Madan, MM. DD. And the *Chronicle of Rochester*, collected chiefly from the *Textus Roffensis* mentioned elsewhere, is written by Edm. Bedenham, Esq; MS.

Lancashire. A few years ago Dr. R. Keurden sent out proposals for the printing his *Brigantia Lancastriensis Restaurata*, or, A History of the honourable Dukedom or County Palatine of Lancaster; which, he told us, was composed, and laid ready for the press, in five volumes. I know not how the design came to miscarry; but to imagine that the vastness of the undertaking slackened its pace. It were to be wished the industrious author would oblige us with an abstract of such discoveries in it as are purely new to us, and his own. There can hardly be any danger of his meeting with better encouragement and success upon such a fresh attempt: whereas it could not well prove otherwise than a very clogging method to propose the taking off a volume or two of general preliminaries, before we came at, the main business, the antiquities of Lancashire. Some particulars relating to the antiquities of the northern parts of this county were communicated to the undertaker of the new (20) edition of Camden, by Sir Dan. Fleming, kt. who was a person of great curiosity and judgment in these matters, and made much larger collections than could be brought within so small a compass as the nature of that work would admit of. Its natural history is compiled by Dr. Charles Leigh, who took upon him to furnish us with that of (1) Lancashire, Cheshire, and the Peak of Derbyshire. The field seemed to be large and wide, and every body hoped for a proportionable crop: but either the soil was barren, or the husbandman unskilful, beyond comparison. The author had, some years before, sent abroad some discourses in Latin, under the titles of (2) *Phthisiologia Lancastriensis*, and *Tentamen Philosophicum de Mineralibus Aquis in eodem Comitatu observatis*; which, meeting with a pretty kind reception, would, he believed, if floridly translated, and dished up with a little additional garniture, bear a second edition, under the bewitching title of *The Natural*

(13) 4to. Lond. 1660. (14) 4to. Lond. 1663. (15) Jo. Pitts, p. 552. (16) *Comment. de Reb. Albion.* (17) 4to. Lond. 1640. (18) Fol. Lond. 1703. (19) 8vo. Lond. (20) *Britan. Camd.* N. E. p. 802. (1) Fol. Oxon. 1700. (2) 8vo. Lond. 1694.

PART I. History, &c. It is indeed very little that we have in his book, besides the forementioned treatises newly vamped; together with some side-reflections on his contemporary physicians, Dr. Lister, Dr. Pierce, Dr. Guidot, &c. Only Sir John Floyer and Dr. Woodward were in his good graces, when his book entered the press; but the latter, notwithstanding his being a learned and ingenious writer, and of a charming style, lost ground afterwards, upon some ruffings which our author met with at Oxford, from some of the doctor's friends. To pass by his opinion of fossil-plants, as he calls them, being purely *lusus naturæ*, it must be granted that some discoveries are intirely new, and the man's own: As, in the naturalist's part of his work, that there are some serpent-stones which still retain the head and teeth of the aboriginal viper; and, in the antiquary's, that the Brigantes were Phœnicians, and the city of Chester, the work of Magus the grandchild of Japhet. I wonder, that in his expatiating on fishes, he did not hit upon the story of the herring-hog; which was found on the shore near Wirehall, by Sir John Bridgeman, chief justice of Chester, as he was riding his lent circuit, in the year 1636. It was twenty yards and a foot in length, and five yards high. Its cry was heard six or seven miles; and so hideous, that no body, for some time, durst come near it: This is as well attested, as the most authentic in his collection. To this may be added, Dr. Edm. Burlace's (3) Latham Spaw, with some remarkable cures and cures effected by it; and (4) a short treatise touching the manner of making salt of sea-sand in this county. The town of Manchester has its particular history written by one Richard Hollingworth, an active presbyterian preacher, in the beginning of our civil wars; which may be seen in MS. in their College-Library.

Leicester. Leicestershire is nobly described by William Burton, esq; a native of this county, and barrister at law. His (5) description runs in an alphabetical order of the villages; and his method has been observed by many more that have since endeavoured the like services for other counties. The work consists chiefly of descents, pedigrees and moot-cases: But the author was afterwards sensible of its main defect, and therefore very much enlarged and enriched it with an addition of Roman, Saxon, and other antiquities. This appears from his own letter to Sir Robert Cotton, still extant; and the book itself, thus improved, is (6) said to have been lately in the possession of Walter Chetwind, of Ingestree, near Stafford, esq; who had also other manuscripts of the said Mr. Burton's compofure.

Lincoln. Lincolnshire wants an historian of skill and courage answerable to the vast store of materials, of all kinds, which are there to be had. Its fens and marshes are indeed pretty largely treated on by Sir William Dugdale, in his (7) history of imbanking; and, in the year 1671, there was published a short relation of great damages done by a tempest and overflowing of the tides in this county and Norfolk: But its main body lies yet undescribed, to the reproach of all those persons of learning and ingenuity that are its natives. R. Butcher's Survey of Stamford is often quoted by Tho. Fuller, in his Worthies, when he comes to speak of Lincolnshire; as it is likewise, very frequently, by J. Wright, in his antiquities of Rutland. It was printed in the year 1646.

Middlesex. John Norden (8) published a description of this county, about the same time that he wrote his other, somewhat shorter, of Hartfordshire. Both these surveys are mentioned by (9) John Stow, as undertaken, and published, in imitation of W. Lambard's Perambulation of Kent. The funeral monuments within the diocese of London, were collected, after his fashion, by J. Weever; and we were lately encouraged to hope for the natural history of the county by Dr. Plott, who died before he had perfected his design. Tho. Johnson's little short Account of the Plants that grow wild on (10) Hampstead-heath, is the only thing published that looks this way; and it is so inconsiderable as hardly to deserve mentioning. The first description of the famous city of London, now extant, was written by one W. Stephens or Fits-Stephens, a monk of Canterbury, about the year 1190. It is a small tract of about ten pages in quarto; and is published by J. Stow, as an appendix to his survey, under the title of Stephanides. Robert Bale, recorder of the city, A. D. 1461. is also said to have written several treatises on that

(3) 8vo. Lond. 1670. (4) Ray's Engl. Words, &c. p. 209. (5) Fol. Lond. 1622. (6) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 36. (7) Fol. Lond. 1662. (8) 4to. Lond. 1593. (9) Survey of Lond. in Epist. Dedic. (10) 8vo. Lond. 1632. Subject;

subject; which were long kept as choice rarities in the public library of the lord-mayor and aldermen, and whereof my (18) author reckons up the titles of these three: 1. *Londinensis Urbis Chronicon*. 2. *De Consulibus & Præfectis ejus*. 3. *Instrumenta Libertatum Urbis*. The same gentleman makes R. Fabian write a couple of treatises upon the affairs of London: but I suppose all he ever penned of that kind, is in his printed chronicle. John Stow, we are sure, wrote and (19) published a Survey of London; and owns himself put upon the undertaking by Mr. Lambard's general invitation to the several antiquaries of this kingdom, to write the histories of their native counties. The account he gives is very particular and full; running through every one of the twenty-six wards, and affording a good view of the government of this city (together with Westminster and Southwark) ecclesiastical and civil; the churches, hospitals, and other religious houses: a catalogue of their mayors and sheriffs, down to the fortieth year of Queen Elizabeth, &c. The whole is collected out of our best historians, and most authentic records; and discovers a deal of industry and accuracy in the worthy and honest author. It appears he had perused the small treatise called the City-Law in its original: so that there was little occasion for the translation and publishing of that (20) afterwards. But because the state of this mighty city is wonderfully changed since his time, we are in daily expectation of a new edition of this book; with very considerable additions and improvements. Sir George Buck's treatise of the inns of court, under the title of the third University of England, we have in the end of Stow's Chronicle: and James Howel's (1) *Londinopolis* has very little in it more than what he has copied from the fore-mentioned survey; nor is De Laun's pretended present state of the city much different from what we have there. Indeed, several new discoveries and observations touching its mighty growth, and number of its inhabitants, proving that they are more than in Rome, Paris and Roan; that they are above 696,000 people, &c. have been advanced, in some (2) essays in political arithmetic, by one of the most eminent mathematicians and virtuosos of this age, Sir William Petty, who was also the chief director and author of a piece published sometime before by one John Graunt, and entitled, *Natural and Political Observations on the Bills of Mortality in London*. The dreadful fire which happened in this famous city, in the year 1666, will for ever remain one of its chief epocha's; and of this we have (3) two historical narratives: one according to the reports made to a committee in parliament; and another published by Edward Waterhouse. The epitaphs of our kings, princes and nobles, that lie buried in the abbey-church at Westminster, were first collected by John Skelton, a famous poet; who, for making too bold with Cardinal Wolsey, in some of his satires, (4) ended his days miserably within the precincts of the asylum of that church, A. D. 1529. These were afterwards enlarged by (5) Camden; and completed by H. Keep, under the name of (6) *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia*. The monuments of St. Paul's, the cathedral of this diocese, will be treated on elsewhere. MS. treatises, touching the state of London, Bibl. Cott. Nero, A. VI. Vesp. D. XVI.

Norfolk. The pen was long since drawn in defence of this county by one John de S. Omero, Norfolk. or Saintemer, a Norfolk man, and (7) student in Cambridge, about the year 1219, when a certain monk of Peterborough, taking upon him to libel the inhabitants of that county in Latin doggrel, was answered in his own way by this John. The epitaphs here, with some other antiquities, were collected by J. Weever, who (8) refers us for further satisfaction to Sir Hen. Spelman's *Iceni*; which is now published by (9) Dr. Gibson. Something relating to the natural history of Norfolk may be had from Sir William Dugdale's imbanking; and in a little treatise entitled, (10) *Mercurius Centralis*, or, a Discourse of subterranean Cockle, Muscle and Oyster-shells, found in digging a Well at Sir William Doylie's in this County. It is a letter from one Tho. Lawrence, M. A. to Sir Thomas Brown. To which may be added, the already mentioned relation of the damages done by a tempest on the coasts of this county and Lincolnshire. The city of Norwich was described by Alexander Nevil, whose book is

(18) Jo. Pitts, p. 654. (19) 4to. Lond. 1598. (20) 8vo. Lond. 1647. (1) Fol. Lond. 1657. (2) 8vo. Lond. 1686, 87. (3) Both printed A. D. 1667. (4) Jo. Pitts, p. 702. (5) 4to. Lond. 1606. (6) 8vo. Lond. 1682. (7) Joh. Pitts, p. 294. (8) Fun. Mon. sub fin. (9) Fol. Oxon. 1698. (10) 12mo. Lond. 1664.

PART
I.

quoted by (11) Sir Henry Spelman; and was long since published, with its author's treatise, *De Furoribus Norfolciensium Ketto Duce*, quarto, Lond. 1575. We have Sir Tho. Brown's (12) *Urn-Burial*, or, a Discourse of sepulchral Urns lately found in Norfolk; and (13) his *Repertorium*, or, an Account of the Tombs and Monuments in the Cathedral-Church of Norwich. To this are added some letters which passed between him and Sir William Dugdale, on matters of antiquity; as also a discourse, *de Schola Regia Norwicensi*, with catalogues of the bishops, priors, deans, &c. of the cathedral church. It was long since promised, and I know not what occasion Sir Thomas has ever given any body to suspect, that ought of his penning should (14) "rather fear, than deserve an edition. Sir Simon Dewes once thought of publishing a (15) survey of the county of Norfolk; but how far he advanced in his design, I know not. Enquire at the Harleian-library. The late publisher of Camden, makes Tho. Fuller the reporter of Dr. Caius's having written the Antiquities of Norwich; but I suspect there is some mistake in that matter, since Fuller, in the (16) place where he should especially have noted such a thing, says nothing of it. Nash's (17) *Account of the Growth of Great Yarmouth*, the History of the (18) burning of East Durham, and (19) Sir R. W's *Norfolk Furies*, may possibly contribute some small helps towards the illustration of the antiquities of these parts: but seem to be of too great, or too little, age to be very valuable. Peter le Neve, esquire, Norroy king at arms, has had the description and history of this his native county, a good while under (20) consideration: and he is a known master of all the qualifications requisite for such a performance.

North-
ampton.

Northamptonshire. Augustine Vincent, Windsor-herald, collected some materials for a survey, and the antiquities of this county, which were lately in the possession of (1) Mr. Wood. He frequently quotes Fran. Tate's *Nomina Hydarum in Com. Northampton*. The state of the town of Northampton, from the beginning of the fire, Sept. 20, 1675. to Nov. 5. following, was published in a (2) Letter to a Friend: and we had its (3) Fall and Funeral first in a Latin elegy, and afterwards, with some variations and additions, in English. The (4) *Natural History of the County*, with a concluding Chapter on its Antiquities, is lately made publick by the reverend Mr. John Morton, rector of Oxendon, and fellow of the royal society. The author guides himself wholly by Dr. Plot's method; and chiefly by Dr. Woodward's hypothesis. Every chapter shews his indefatigable industry; and that he spared no pains, either in viewing the remains of old forts and highways, or the extraordinary productions of nature, in the most distant corners of his province. If any thinks him too minute in his descriptions of the various soils, and the tillage used in each of them, let it be remembered that this part of his work was intended for the service of the English farmer; who is the most proper judge of omissions and redundancies on such a subject. His examination of several mineral springs, by the critical rules of specifick gravity, looks nicely artificial; as his tracing the original of the more common ones, from the distillation of warm vapours, appears to be highly probable and ingenious. His authorising of Mr. Lhwyd's descriptions in his *Lythophilacium*, pleases me very much; and I have met with nothing in the book, which I thought could justly displease any other reader.

Northum-
berland.

Northumberland. John Pitts says, That the genealogies of the Earls of Northumberland, were drawn up by one (5) Tho. Otterburn, a Franciscan friar, about the year 1411, and that (6) John Currar, he knows not when, drew up a list of seventy-eight castles in this county, with the pedigrees of their several owners. These are uncertainties. But we know that Sir Robert Shaftoe, and Mr. Clavering, both now living, have really made large progresses in its antiquities; and we hope they will be so just to the publick, and themselves, as shortly to communicate them. The town of Berwick, with some other places of note in this county, are described in a MS. in the Earl of Carlisle's library at Noward. But Newcastle still wants a just

(11) In Epist. Ded. ad Tom. I. Concil. Angl. p. 3, 4. (12) 8vo. Lond. 1658. (13) Inter MSS. Ant. a Wood. Edit. (14) 8vo. Lond. 1712. (15) See the Pref. to his Journal, &c. (16) Worthies, in Norw. p. 275. (17) Lond. 1599. (18) Ib. 1582. (19) Ib. 1615. (20) Hist. Bibl. Cotton. p. 42. (1) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 349. (2) 4to. Lond. 1675. (3) 4to. Lond. 1677. (4) Fol. Lond. 1712. (5) J. Pitts, p. 593. (6) Id. p. 871.

description

description and history. For Grey's (7) chorographical Survey comes short of its present glory; PART
I. and Ralph Gardiner, in his (8) England's Grievances in relation to the Coal-Trade, &c. is too much confined in his subject, to answer the expectations of a curious reader. What was the ancient state of these utmost limits of the English kingdom, may be seen in (9) Leges Marchiarum; wherein are several original treaties made by the commissioners of our kings and those of Scotland, for the preservation of the common peace and commerce.

Nottinghamshire's antiquities were first attempted by Serjeant Boun, who only transcribed Notting-
ham. what related to this county out of Dooms-Day, adding some short notes at every town. This was compleated in a fair (10) work by his son-in-law, R. Thoroton, M. D. at the instance of Sir William Dugdale. He owns it is capable of improvements out of the Archbishop of York's registry, and other records in private hands, which he had not an opportunity of consulting. But the work, as it is, shews a good industry in its author; who, being a physician of eminent practice, had a free access to the evidences of most of the considerable families. The author had not the curiosity to intermix any observations relating to the British, Roman and Saxon antiquities, writing only after the printed copy of Mr. Burton's Leicestershire.

Oxfordshire. Vast collections, relating to the antiquities of this county, were made by Oxford. Randall Catherall, who died A. D. 1625. and were sometime in the custody of Bishop (11) Sanderfon: but, upon the (12) strictest enquiry that could be made after them, they are not now to be found. Dr. Plot's (13) Natural History of Oxfordshire was the first essay made in that kind by its excellent author; who has made us acquainted with so many physical discoveries, as well as notable improvements in trade and manufactures, that the work has met with an universal applause. And as this county had the happiness to have its natural history set, by that worthy person, as a pattern to the rest of the kingdom; so it now affords a new example of having some of its parochial antiquities considered, in the (14) History of Ambrosden, Burcester, and other adjacent Towns and Villages, by a very learned antiquary, Dr. White Kennet. Some of the annals of the city of Oxford seem to be drawn up in their Red Book, which is quoted by (15) Mr. Wood, who had a design of obliging the town in the same (16) manner he had done the university.

Rutlandshire is extremely indebted to J. Wright, who has (17) published the history and Rutland. antiquities of that county. The author being himself a barrister at law, proposed Mr. Burton, a person of the same profession, for his pattern: so that here, as in Leicestershire, we have the towns and villages in alphabetical order; the intermixture of some few remarkable law-cases; the inscriptions on tombs and grave-stones; pedigrees of families, &c. Sir Wingfield Bodenham had, as he owns, drawn together a great many materials out of the vast collections of R. Dodsworth, whereof he had the perusal: the rest we owe to his own pains; which he says, had been to better purpose, if he had not met with many of the gentry (a mishap which will always attend men that engage in these matters) very shy in discovering the evidences and conveyances of their several estates.

Shropshire's antiquities have been hitherto, as far as my acquaintance reaches, neglected, Shrop-
shire. both by its British and English inhabitants. There is usually in border-countries that emulation and jealousy among the different nations, which encourages, or provokes, the ingenious on both sides, to preserve and maintain the old honour of their several ancestors: so that the want of such particular histories in this country is a good argument of the perfect and happy union of all its natives into one people, though not of their extraordinary affection to books and ancient learning.

Somersetshire. The natural history of this county has been long looked for from (18) Somerset. Mr. Beaumont, who is a person of that known ingenuity, that the world has just cause to hope for a most excellent performance. I wish his late (19) "more noble considerations," as he calls

(7) Excus. A. D. 1649. (8) 4to. Lond. 1656. (9) 8vo. Lond. 1705. (10) Fol. Lond. 1677. (11) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 731. (12) Kennet's Life of Somn. p. 42. (13) Fol. Oxon. 1677. (14) 4to. Oxon. 1695. (15) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. Part I. p. 57. (16) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 28. See his MS. Collect. in Musæo Ashmol. (17) Fol. Lond. 1684. (18) Plot's Staffordsh. p. 251. (19) Confid. on Burnet's Theory, in Ep. Ded.

PART I. them, have not enlarged his thoughts too much for the finishing a work of so narrow a compass. The laws, customs, &c. of the miners in the king's forest of Mendip, are drawn (1) together in a short manual; and Mr. Beaumont has given us a specimen of his fore-mentioned large design, in the account we have (2) from him of Ooky-hole, and other subterranean grottos in those hills. The city of Bath, and its hot baths, has been beholden to Jo. Caius, the famous Cambridge antiquary, who wrote (3) *De Thermis Bathoniensibus*; as did also (4) Dr. Mayow, though Mr. Wood, which I wonder at, has not observed it in the (5) account he gives of his works. Nay, and Dr. William Turner, a famous physician in Queen Elizabeth's reign, wrote (6) largely on the same subject. The learned Dr. Jorden's Discourse of Natural Baths and Mineral Waters, was not so general, but that it was all applied to this place, and published a (7) third time by Dr. Guidot, who has since very greatly enlarged his own observations upon both the (8) antiquities and natural curiosities of the town, and has also given us a (9) register of two hundred notable cures wrought there within the time of his own experience. John Chapman's (10) *Thermæ Redivivæ* are on the same subject; and have also an appendix (in Coriat's rhimes) amongst the antiquities of this city. To all which we must add Dr. Thomas Johnson's history of both kinds, annexed to his (11) *Mercurius Botanicus*; wherein the reader will find as entertaining a discourse as could well be expected from any man in so little room. Above all, Dr. W. Oliver has furnished us with a full and finished (12) *Practical Discourse on Bath Waters*; wherein the most curious physician, or naturalist, may find his nicest doubts resolved.

Stafford. Staffordshire had its antiquities and records preserved by S. Erdeswick of Sandon, esquire, who began his collection, A. D. 1593, and (13) continued it to the time of his death, the year 1603. His manuscript papers fell happily into the hands of Walter Chetwind of Ingestree, in the same county, esquire, a person exactly of Mr. Erdeswick's own temper, (*Venerande* (14) *antiquitatis cultoris maximi*) and as piously disposed to the founding, as he to the rebuilding of churches; from whom we had reason to hope for a (15) finishing stroke to the enterprize, if death had not unhappily intervened. The natural history of this county is written by the same (16) worthy hand, and in the same method with that of Oxfordshire; and the performance is answerable to the experience and knowledge we may easily imagine so industrious an author would gain in nine years study and travel. It had been happy if the doctor's health and occasions would have allowed him to have gone on through the rest of the counties of England, as he seemed once to (17) promise: but in the conclusion of this book, he seemed to be weary, resolved to rest, and to leave some part of the glory of this great work to others; and accordingly, soon after this, he withdrew to his long home.

Suffolk. Suffolk's topography is said to have been (18) attempted by Mr. Selden's great friend, Sir Simon d' Ewes; but where his collections now are, I cannot tell, unless, perhaps, amongst R. Dodsworth's papers in the public library at Oxford. A good friend of mine could not meet with them there; but he first acquainted me, what was much better worth the hearing, that Dr. John Battely, the late Archdeacon of Canterbury, had made a great progress in the history of the town and abbey of St. Edmund's Bury. His papers are now in the hands of the author's executors; who have (19) kindly invited any other person, that thinks of prosecuting the service, to a free perusal of them.

Surrey. Surrey. A survey, and the antiquities of this county were sometime (20) threatened by Sir Edward Bisse: but whether any advances were ever made in good earnest, by him, towards such a work, I have not yet learned.

(1) 12mo. Lond. 1687. (2) *Philos. Transact.* 1681. Numb. 2. (3) J. Pitts, p. 758. (4) Plot's *Oxfordsh.* p. 42. (5) *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. p. 477. (6) *De Thermis Bathon.* Fol. Colon. 1562. (7) 8vo. Lond. 1669. (8) T. Guidot de Therm. Brit 4to. Lond. 1691. (9) 8vo. Lond. 1694. (10) 8vo. Lond. 1673. (11) 8vo. Lond. 1634. (12) 8vo. Lond. 1707. (13) *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. p. 275. (14) *Cambd. Brit. in Staffordsh.* (15) See Plot's *Nat. Hist. of Staff.* p. 392. (16) Fol. Oxon. 1686. (17) *Nat. Hist. of Oxf. in Epist. Ded.* (18) W. Kennet's *Life of Somn.* p. 41. (19) See the Pref. to his *Antiq. Rutup.* (20) *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. II. p. 484.

Suffex is not only famous for several monasteries, mentioned by Bede, and others, in the days PART
of the Saxons; but also for the remarkable battle which put a stop to the glories and govern- I.
ment of that people, and brought in the Norman conqueror. And yet none of its inhabitants, Suffex.
that I know of, have taken the pains to collect its antiquities, notwithstanding the just claim
that some of them have to be registered by the most skilful historian.

Wales. Gyraldus Cambrensis, bishop elect of St. David's, about the year 1200, is the Wales.
oldest topographer of this principality, and is every where quoted at large by Mr. Camden, as
an author of undoubted credit and reputation. His Itinerary and Description were both
published by (1) Dr. Powell, with his own most learned notes upon them. The former
contains a journal of the expedition of Archbishop Baldwin (A. D. 1188.) in collecting the
contributions of Wales, for the carrying on of the holy war. Together with the topography,
we have a mixture of popish miracles and tales; which the publisher thought himself obliged,
in strictness of justice, to give us entire: and we have this advantage by them, that they do not
only divert the reader, but afford also an opportunity to the learned publisher of communicating
a deal of his own critical knowledge. The description that follows is general; being, in the
main, a panegyric on the sweetness of the soil, and the good humour, strict morals, and
exemplary piety of the inhabitants. There is a second part of this description, *De Illaudabilibus*
Walliæ, which the doctor thought it not convenient to publish, but has been set out lately in
print by (2) Mr. Wharton; for which the Welchmen are not very much obliged to him.
Gyraldus's map of Wales, mentioned by (3) John Pitts, and frequently by himself, is to be
seen in a MS. copy of some of his works, in the library at Westminster Abbey. After him,
David Morgan, treasurer of the church at Landaff, A. D. 1480, is (4) said to have written the
geography and antiquities of Wales; and (5) Arthur Kelton, an ingenious Welch bard, in the
top of his fame, about the year 1548, wrote several English accounts, both in verse and prose,
of the glories of his country; most of which he dedicated to Sir William Herbert. Another
description of Wales was written by Sir John Price, in the reign of Edward VI. perfected by
Humphrey Lhwyd, and prefixed to his (6) translation of the Welch history. This Humphrey
(7) himself gives also a more large account of his own country, Wales, than any other part
of Britain; and enlarges often, sometimes corrects, the description given by Gyraldus. The
history of the ancient and modern state of the principality is well written by (8) Sir John
Doderidge; and the latest, and incomparably the best, account of its antiquities is (9) published
by Mr. Edward Lhwyd. The same excellent person was also projecting (together with his
Archæologia Britannica, of which hereafter) a complete collection of the ancient Monuments
throughout this whole Country; and lastly, a Natural History of Wales. In order to the per-
formance of so noble an undertaking, he had travelled in that principality four or five summers,
and likewise made one journey into Cornwall, another into Ireland and the Highlands of
Scotland, and a third into Bassè-Bretagne, for parallel observations as to their language, names
of towns, rivers, mountains, &c. But death unhappily seized him before his work was
perfected; which, we still hope, will, by the help of his Adversaria, yet be done by some of
his ingenious countrymen. These hopes are abundantly strengthened in me, by a late delightful
perusal of a very learned treatise in MS. under the title of *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*; written
by the reverend Mr. Henry Rowland, vicar of Llan-Idan, in the isle of Anglesey: wherein the
incomparable author gives an Archæological account of the original descent and language,
religion and laws of the ancient Britons in general; and, in particular, of the many notable
monuments and remains of the druids in this county, the chief place of their residence in Great
Britain. This he divides into twelve sections, or chapters. 1. Of islands in general; in which
are several philosophical and curious remarks on the first subsidence of the earth at the creation.
2. Of the river Mænai, dividing Anglesey from the continent of North Wales; which he
probably shews to be now deeper and wider than it was anciently. 3. Of the original form of

(1) 8vo. Lond. 1585. (2) *Angl. Sac.* Part II. p. 447. (3) J. Pitts, p. 280. (4) *Id.* p. 696. (5) *Id.* p. 736.
(6) 4to. Lond. 1584. (7) *Comment. Brit. Descrip. Fragm. de quo supra.* (8) 4to. Lond. 1630. (9) *Edit.*
Novif. Brit. Camden.

PART I. this island, and the alteration wrought in it by the universal deluge; as great trees buried in the mud, moors, and fens. That this change happened in our autumn, he thinks evident from the ripe nuts, &c. found in these beds; but assures us (which seems most strange) that there are no marine remains dispersed in the inland soil. 4. Of the first inhabitants of Mona; who are acknowledged to be a colony of Celts, landing very early in Britain, hewing and hunting forwards, till they came to this Western termination: which they called y von ynys, i. e. the hindermost island; or y von wlad, the lowermost country; bon being the radical of mon, and signifying caudex, or pars posterior: whence also Danmonium, Cornwall; Monapia, the Isle of Man; Mown, or Mononia, Munster in Ireland, &c. 5. Of the manner of its being first planted and peopled; some foundations of the Celtic cottages still remaining, and being known by the vulgar name of cyttie'r gwyddlelod: by which is commonly understood, the houses of Irishmen; but Gwydd-heldg signifies also Homines Sylvestres, or, (if you please) Aborigines. A more fixed and settled habitation, they called Bod, according to the present signification of the word: and these for distinction's sake, had either the addition of the founder's name, as Bod-eon, Bod-ewryd, Bod-edern, names very ancient and barbarous; or of some accident, as Bodlew, Bodychen, Bod-vilog, &c. 6. Of its first language; where, in a comparative table of primitive words, we have an entertaining view of the descent of the present British, and its dependent dialects, from the old Gomarian; and of that from the original Hebrew, spoken by God himself, before the creation of Adam, and by the serpent to Eve, at their first meeting. 7. Of its primitive laws and religion: which are also proved to have had a great affinity with those of the sons of Noah. Many of the old altars are yet to be seen, and are called Crom-lechu; which seems (name and thing) to come from the Hebrew word, Chærem-luach, a devoted stone. 8. Of the druids, their philosophy and discipline; and of their choice of the isle of Mona for their principle seat and habitation: which, from this its ancient metropolitical right, had first the name of Mam Gymry. 9. Of the removal of these priests, upon the conquest of Anglesey by the Romans, into the Isle of Man; which happily adjusts the difference and dispute betwixt Humphrey Lloyd and Hector Boëtius. From the last mentioned island, the patriarch or primate of the British druids, having here fixed his own residence, sent colonies of his inferior orders into Ireland; where a cunning fellow or a wizard, is to this day called droet, or druid. 10. Of the division of the county into cantreus, commots, trevs, rhandyrs and gavels: in which the author occasionally discourses at large, on the payments made to the old lords and princes of these several divisions in rents, services, suits, mulcts or fines, and personal attendance; most of which are now taken off by the charter of North-Wales. 11. Of the most remarkable occurrences, from the time of the fore-mentioned invasion by the Romans, to the fixing of the British sovereignty at Aberfraw; at which period commences the general history of Wales. To which our author refers his reader for the remaining part of this county's story, having first presented him with an instructive chronological table, both civil and ecclesiastical, of the contents of this excellent chapter. 12. Of the etymology of the commot of Mænau: which he brings from main-au, i. e. a narrow water; supposing the French word au to be originally Celtic, and not borrowed from the Latin, aqua, which rather sprang from it. This conjecture is supported by the initial syllable of au in the old names of Avernus, Avignon, Aude, Aube, Avern, Awy Duff, &c. and in the terminations of Manau, the isle of Man; Llydaw, Armorica; Gene-au, Geneva, or the mouth of the lake &c. Remains of the word mane, which signifies fretum, or a narrow strait in the sea, we have in or near the three narrowest channels about all the coasts of Great Britain; as, 1. Portus Limanis, or Ptolemy's Limene, on the Kntish shore. 2. Minevia, on the short passage betwixt South-Wales and Ireland; opposite to which lived the Menappii, in their chief city Menappia, now Wexford. 3. That by the Mul of Galway into Ireland, on the Æstuarium Abraveni of Ptolemy; which may probably be derived from Abervene, or Abermæne, as bordering on that narrow Fretum. The hundreds of Meansborough, East-Mean and West-Mean, all three on the Frith, betwixt Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, are also good proofs of the justness of this etymology. Mr. Rowland has likewise composed a second essay, in answer to some objections

objections raised against several particulars in his former; wherein he makes his defence, in a PART
I.
very rational method, by propositions and inferences: Upon which, as he rightly observes, as strong arguments may be raised on the various phenomena in history and human actions, as on those of the like changeable and flitting frame of nature. This it is to be hoped, will be incorporated with the other; and the whole work (as it highly deserves) communicated to the world in print.

Warwickshire's antiquities are truly (1) illustrated by Sir William Dugdale, who was master of all the advantages requisite for such a performance: and no man can so well judge of the great labour and pains bestowed on the bringing of this excellent work (the author's (2) masterpiece) to perfection, as he that has viewed the many (3) volumes of materials which he gathered in order to the compiling of it. His great zeal against the sacrilegious destruction of some religious structures, carried his searches into every corner of the history that related to that matter; and his early inclination to the study of heraldry, obliged him carefully to preserve whatever might be grateful, on that head, to the nobility and gentry of the county. The history of the Earls of Warwick was long since written by John Rofs, or Rouse, a noted antiquary, who died at Warwick, or Guy's Cliff, within a mile of the town, A. D. 1491. A noble manuscript copy of this book, with the pictures of the several earls, their coats of arms, &c. is now in the archives of the public (4) library at Oxford. John Pitts (5) makes him write four distinct volumes of the antiquities and history of Warwick: but this is all that more credible enquiries could meet with. The life of the famous Earl Guy, was first written by Walter of Exeter (a Dominican Friar) about the year 1301. There is a sort of spaw-water at Ilmington in this county, the history whereof is published by (6) Sam. Durham, an ingenious physician.

Westmorland. Mr. Thomas Machel, late rector of Kirkbythore in this county, had, with a great deal of pains, collected its antiquities; but never met with encouragement enough, to oblige him to publish them. His papers were left in confusion to me; and I have taken the best care I can to preserve them, bound in six volumes in folio, for the use of posterity. That part of its story which more nearly concerns the nobility and gentry, has been well preserved by Sir Dan. Fleming of Rydale, knt. who has thereby done his own ancient family a great deal of right, and has also approved himself an eminent benefactor to those of his neighbours.

Wiltshire. John Aubrey, esq; fellow of the Royal Society, had made some collections towards the antiquities of this shire; but (7) Dr. Tanner (whose extraordinary proficiency in these studies will quickly be made known to the world) designs to survey the whole county, and to give us a complete work, in the method of Sir William Dugdale's Warwickshire. The monument of Stone-henge in Wiltshire has engaged several antiquaries in disputing the original of so famous and admirable a structure; and they have advanced almost as many different opinions about it. Mr. Samms (8) in a particular treatise, endeavours to fetch its original from the Phœnicians, his only darlings, and clears the point as fairly as he does all the rest wherein he is singular. Mr. Inigo Jones, King James I's. learned architect, believes it to be a (9) Roman temple and strongly proves, that the fabrick is of the Tuscan order. His scheme, however false in itself, is also learnedly defended by (10) Mr. Webb, his son-in-law. (11) Mr. Aubrey, and others think, they can evidently prove it is British; and (12) Dr. Charlton is very sure that it was erected by the Danes. No author that, hitherto has considered it, has so much as dreamed of its being a Saxon monument. And yet, if the true old writing of the name be Stan-Hengeft, as the (13) Monasticon seems to tell us, I cannot see why that people may not have as just a title as any to the honour of it. Possibly the (14) MS. treatise, that is said to be written on this subject by John Gibbons, may place it here. Mr. Rawlinson has a MS.

(1) Fol. Lond. 1656. (2) Ath, Oxon. Vol. II. p. 700. (3) In Musæo Ashmol. Oxon. (4) Vid. Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. Part II. p. 77. (5) J. Pitts, p. 683. (6) 8vo. Lond. 1685. (7) Vid. Camd. Brit. N. E. p. 107. (8) Samm. Britan. p. 395. (9) Stone-henge restored, Fol. Lond. 1658. (10) Vindic. of Stone-henge Rest. ib. 1665. (11) Camd. Brit. N. E. p. 109. (12) Stone-henge restored to the Danes, 4to. Lond. 1663. (13) Monast. Angl. Tom. I. p. 97. (14) Vid. Præf. ad Edit. Nov. Camd.

PART I. survey, in vellum, of several manors in this county, which appears to have been taken in the reign of Henry VIII.

Worcester.

Worcestershire. There is now a large MS. description of this county in the hands of Thomas Abingdon, esq; written by his grandfather, an able and industrious antiquary; wherein if there be any defects, they may be supplied by a present prebendary of the church of Worcester, who, when his modesty will give him leave, can effectually complete such a work.

Yorkshire.

Yorkshire. There are some collections in (15) Sir John Cotton's library, relating to this county, gathered by one Thomas Talbot, who was some time clerk of the records in the Tower, and was alive (16) A. D. 1580. These, and what ever else looks this way, we must believe to have been long since seen and perused by Dr. Nathaniel Johnson of Pomfret, who, as he said, spent thirty years in amassing together materials for the illustrating the Antiquities and Natural History of Yorkshire. In the former of these he intended to write after Sir William Dugdale's copy, and in the latter after Dr. Plot's: and to finish the whole in five volumes. I am pretty well assured, that he was not, as (17) Mr. Wood was informed, weary of the work: but I verily believe, that if he had lived to publish it, his readers would have been so. Henry Kemp, mentioned before in Middlesex, is (18) reported to have made some collections towards the Antiquities of the City of York; and Sir Thomas Widdrington, sometime Recorder there, did certainly make a very great progress in a learned and exact description of it. Some distaste given him by the citizens, obstructed his allowing of his papers to be published; and they are now, I am told, *sub sigillo*, in the custody of Mr. Fairfax of Menston. A lean catalogue of the mayors, sheriffs, &c. from the reign of Edward I. to the year 1664. is published by the late recorder of Heddon, (19) Mr. Christopher Hildyard; and some learned observations on a Roman wall, and multangular tower, in that city, have been made by (20) M. Lister. The tower of St Mary's in York was the best furnished with the ancient charters and records of any place in the north of England, as appears from the many transcripts which are thence inserted in the two first volumes of the (1) Monasticon: but the barbarous rage of our late days of rebellion laid it and them in ashes. Mr. Dodsworth happily copied all, or most of them, before those times of destruction came upon us; and his large collections were afterwards as happily deposited in Bodley's library, where they now remain. The Registrum Feodorum de Richmondshire, is quoted both by (2) Mr. Camden and (3) Sir William Dugdale. It seems to be the same which is cited by (4) Mr. Selden, under the name of an old genealogy of the Earls of Richmond. The parish of Leeds will shortly be described, and have its antiquities published, by my ingenious and industrious friend, Mr. R. Thoresby. The spaw-waters in Yorkshire have occasioned the publishing of several learned and ingenious treatises on that subject. Knareborough is particularly obliged to Mich. Stanhope's (5) Knareborough-Spaw; to Dr. Edm. Dean's (6) Spadacrene Anglica; and to Dr. French's (7) Yorkshire-Spaw. Dr. Wittie's Scarborough-Spaw, published both in (8) English and (9) Latin, met not with so much quiet as the three former, being briskly encountered by two several champions. The first that engaged it was W. Simpson, in his (10) Hydrologia Chymica; to which the Doctor made a sharp reply under the title of Pyrologia (11) Mimica. His next opposer was Dr. Tonstall, who wrote Scarborough-Spaw spagirically anatomized; together with a New-Year's-Gift for Dr. Wittie; (12) but whether he was ever vouchsafed any answer, I know not.

The reader may expect a further account of the affairs of our several counties, from those that have treated of the history of our cathedrals and monasteries; and whatever writers fall under those heads, will be remembered elsewhere.

(15) Vespasian. D. 21. (16) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 88. (17) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 699. (18) Id. ib. p. 623. (19) 8vo. Lond. 1665. (20) Philos. Transact. Numb. 145. (1) Tom. I. p. 386, 393, 394, 395, 399, 427, 496, 497, 498, 508, 510, 554, 565, 587, 599, 661, 758, 776, 778, 798, 799, 827, 834, &c. Tom. II. p. 35, 97, 98, 99, 104, 148, 151, 153, 165, 192, 348, 350, 369, 371, 402, 556, 557, 798, 808, 820, 824, 976, 999. (2) Britan. in Richmondsh. (3) Monast. Angl. Tom. I. p. 877. (4) Præf. ad 10. Script. Bibl. Cott. Faustina B. 7. (5) 8vo. Lond. 1632. (6) 8vo. Lond. 1626. (7) 8vo. ib. 1652. (8) 8vo. ib. 1660. (9) 8vo. Lond. 1678. (10) 8vo. Lond. 1669. (11) Lond. 1672. (12) 8vo. Lond. 1669.

C H A P. III.

Of the Histories that relate to the Times of the old BRITAINS and ROMANS.

IT is a very discouraging censure, which Sir William Temple passes upon all the accounts given us of the affairs of this island, before the Romans came and invaded it. The tales, says (1) he, we have of what passed before Cæsar's time, of Brute and his Trojans, of many adventures and successions, are covered with the rust of time, or involved in the vanity of fables, or pretended traditions; which seem to all men obscure or uncertain, but to me forged at pleasure, by the wit or folly of their first authors, and not to be regarded. And (2) again; I know few ancient authors upon this subject, of the British history, worth the pains of perusal, and of dividing or refining so little gold out of so much coarse oar, or from so much dross. But some other inferior people may think this worth their pains; since all men are not born to be ambassadors: and, accordingly, we are told of a very (3) eminent antiquary, who has thought fit to give his labours in this kind the title of *Aurum ex Stercore*. There is a deal of servile drudgery required to the discovery of these riches, and such as every body will not stoop to: for few statesmen and courtiers (as one is lately said to have observed in his own case) care for travelling in Ireland, or Wales, purely to learn the language.

A diligent enquirer into our old British antiquities would rather observe, with industrious (4) Leland, that the poor Britains, being harrassed by those Roman conquerors with continual wars, could neither have leisure nor thought for the penning of a regular history: and that afterwards their back-friends, the Saxons, were, for a good while, an illiterate generation, and minded nothing but killing and taking possession. So that it is a wonder that even so much remains of the story of those times, as the sorry fragment of Gildas; who appears to have written in such a consternation, that what he has left us looks more like the declamation of an orator, hired to expose the miserable wretches, than any historical account of their sufferings. Besides it is not to be imagined, but another long and calamitous war, with the Picts and Saxons afterwards, that demolished their churches, as well as libraries, would sweep away even the very ruins of religion and learning. Some have thought that there are considerable reliques of the British history among the refugees of Britany in France; and that they have manuscripts of much elder dates than the lives of some antient saints, which have been had from thence. We are sure there are many such books, of a very great age, that still remain in Wales; a good collection whereof, was lately made by a notable antiquary, Mr. Maurice of Kevnybreach in Denbighshire, and is now, as I am informed, fallen into the hands of Sir William Williams. Records lost.

But it will be to no purpose for a man to seek out these venerable remains, unless he be able to understand the meaning of what he meets with; and therefore it is requisite that our Antiquary furnish himself with a competent skill in the British or Welch language. The thing will be of no great difficulty, if the antient tongue be so far perished, that (as Dr. Bernard has (5) observed) the words in Dr. Davies's Dictionary, are one half Latin, a quarter English, and only another quarter Welsh: but I dare not promise that this will be found to be a true and punctual account, Mr. Edward Lhwyd, who took the pains to examine into the matter, says, there are about 10000 words in that dictionary; whereof 1500 are indeed like the Latin, and 200 like the English: so that not a sixth part can be so much as suspected to be Latin, nor a fortieth English. For though the Welshmen grant 1500 words to be like the Latin, yet they will not allow that their original is owing to that language; since many of them are also used, in the like signification, by other nations, who are confessed to have bor- Language.

(1) *Introduct. to the Hist. of Eng.* p. 19. (2) *Ib.* p. 31. (3) R. Talbot. *Vid. Athen. Oxon. Par. I.* p. 88. (4) *Affert. Arth. Fol.* 25. b. (5) *In Epist. ad G. Hickesum, in fine Gram. Anglo-sax.*

PART I. rowed none from thence. Mr. Sheringham takes (1) notice that Brutus, coming from Italy, (which I do as verily believe, as that Romulus came from Mars and Rhea Sylvia) must necessarily have had a language near a-kin to what was spoken there; and that hence are so many words in the Welsh which look like the Roman, and not from the corruption of it by the conquering Romans afterwards. Tacitus himself (2) confesses, the Britains zealously kept their language unmixed. And Dr. Davies (3) says, their old laws expressly forbid the Bards to introduce any new words into their rhymes. Mr. Sheringham further observes, that the Britains have many words nearly related to such old Latin ones, as were grown obsolete even before Cæsar's time; and that many of the Roman proper names may be handsomely derived from the British tongue, which have no foundation in the modern Latin. As to that part of the language which Dr. Bernard invidiously tells them they owe (*Dominis Anglis*) to their masters the Saxons, Mr. Lhwyd will not allow that they are so indebted for one moiety of the 200 words observed to agree in sound and signification with the English; since above half of them are found in the *Armorican Vocabulary*, published by (4) Ivon Quillivere. Now, it is certain the Britains went hence to Armorica, in the year 384, whereas the Saxons came not in before 450.

Gram-
mars.

If then our English antiquary be not a native of Wales, it is indispensably necessary that, to compleat himself in his study, he gain a good acquaintance with the Welsh tongue; which he may pretty readily do with the assistance of such grammars as have been composed for that purpose. The first of these was published by W. Salesbury, sometime a member of Lincoln's-Inn, under the title of (5) a plain and familiar Introduction, teaching how to pronounce the Letters in the British Tongue, &c. The next was Sir Edward Straglings, which seems to have given occasion to the third, that of J. Dav. Rhese, printed (together with a large preface by H. Prichard) by the (6) name of *Cambro-Britannicæ Cymræcæve Linguæ Institutiones & Rudimenta, &c. ad Intelligend. Biblia Sacra nuper in Cambro-Britan. Sermonem eleganter versa.* The fourth and last was written by Dr. Davies, and bears the title of (7) *Antiquæ Linguæ Britannicæ, nunc communiter dictæ Cambro-Britannicæ, a suis Cymræcæ vel Cambricæ, ab aliis Wallicæ, Rudimenta, &c.*

Dictiona-
ries.

There are also several dictionaries published in that language; which will be of singular use and advantage to a true antiquary of this kingdom. Will. Salesbury (before mentioned) composed one in English and Welsh; which was first privately presented to King Henry the eighth, his very kind patron, and afterwards (8) printed. The sum and substance of this, as likewise what was afterwards written in the same kind by Bishop Morgan, H. Salesbury, H. Perry, and Tho. Williams, was published in Dr. Joh. Davies's most elaborate work entituled, (9) *Antiquæ Linguæ Britannicæ, &c. Dictionarium Duplex: A book which shews its excellent author to have been perfectly acquainted with all the learned languages, as well as his own mother-tongue.* John Leland is also reported by Pitts, to have written a *Dictionarium Britannico-Latinum.* But I suspect there are no more grounds for such a story, than only this: Leland published a Latin poem upon the (10) birth of the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward the Sixth; and, taking occasion to use some hard words in it, added to it *Syllabus & Interpretatio Antiquarum Dictionum, quæ passim per Libellum Lectori occurrunt.* And this, I believe, is all the Welsh dictionary that will be found of this composition. The defects of all former British Lexicographers is now amply supplied by the *Archæologia Britannica* of the late admirable (11) E. Lhwyd; who has divided his excellent work into ten parts, or titles, whereof I shall give such an account as I have either from himself, or his worthy friend (12) Mr. W. Baxter. 1. The Comparative Etymology consists wholly of parallel observations relating to the origin of dialects, and the affinity of the British with other languages; which says, Mr. Baxter is admirably projected by the best canons, as well of critique as of grammar. 2. The Comparative Vocabulary was first intended for no more than a table of Irish words,

(1) De Angl. Orig. p. 108, 109, &c. (2) In Vit. Agric. Cap. 21. (3) In Præfat. ad Gram. Brit. (4) 8vo. Paris 1521. (5) 4to. Lond. 1550, & 1557. (6) Fol. Lond. 1592. (7) 8vo. Lond. 1621. (8) 4to. Lond. 1546. (9) Fol. Lond. 1638. (10) Genethliacon, &c. 4to. Lond. 1543. (11) Fol. Oxon. 1707. (12) Phil. Transact. Vol. 25. p. 2438.

agreeing

agreeing with some dialect or other of the Welsh; but, with much labour and judgment, was afterwards improved into a most noble Promptuarium of all the British dialects. 3. and 4. The Armoric Grammar and Vocabulary, were written in French by father Julian Manoir, a Jesuit; transcribed in a convent in Bas Breitany; and translated by Mr. Williams, from whom, by the way, we shortly hope for a new edition of Dr. Davies's Dictionary. 5. Welsh words omitted by Dr. Davies; a good many of which were communicated by Mr. Baxter, and others collected by the publisher out of old glossaries. 6. The Cornish Grammar has happily preserved an expiring language; and shewed us the changes of its orthography in several centuries. 7. The Catalogue of British Manuscripts, is mostly in Welsh, and partly in Latin; and I am sorry the collector thought the Englishing of it unnecessary. 8. The Essay towards a British Etymologicon, was composed by Mr. Parry, our author's fellow-traveller and assistant in all his labours; who modestly compares the British radicals with foreign words, leaving the point of precedence in antiquity to be determined by more vain etymologists. 9. The Introduction to the Irish, or ancient Scotch Language, is only an extract of a Latin-Irish Grammar, published by father O'Molloy, at Rome, in 1677, and collated with another in MS. written at Lovain, in 1669. The compiler encourages us to hope, that its defects will be shortly supplied by a Scotch gentleman, who has thoughts of drawing up another more complete; both in the Syntax, and in the variation of nouns and verbs. 10. The Irish-English Dictionary, seems the most elaborate of all; and will prove to be of unconceivable use to our British antiquaries. The author, in his Welsh letter to his countrymen, whereof he was so kind as to send me an English translation, observes that Ireland was anciently inhabited by two colonies of very different nations, Guydhels and Scots; whereof the former were the offspring of the Britains, as the other were of the Spaniards: which sufficiently intimates how reciprocally helpful the Welsh and Irish languages must be to one another, in the discovery of their respective etymologies.

With these helps a man may venture upon those most (9) ancient and authentic writings of Bards, the old bards; wherein he shall have exact genealogies of all the British kings and princes up to Brute, and from thence to Adam. This very account is given of those famous songsters by Lucan, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and Am. Marcellinus: (10) and almost all other history (among the Chaldeans, Greeks, and Romans) had its first foundation in poetry. Whether he will find the rules of their Prosodia to agree with those that are laid down by Captain Middleton, in his (11) Bardoniaeth, or Art of Welsh Poetry, I know not: but how methodically they ordered their TYLWYTHS, or tribes, (12) Syllas Taylor has at large informed us. Nor were they content to preserve the pedigrees of their own princes and great men, but were also so good natured, as to do the like services for the Saxons. Thus we are told, that S. Beulanius, (who is sometimes quoted by the name of (13) Samuel Britannus, and lived about the year 600) was a curious enquirer into the genealogies of many (14) English families; some whereof he carried as high as the flood. It was customary to sing these composures in the presence of their nobles, and at their chief festivals and solemnities. And, truly, if the story of one of these bards canting the praises of King Arthur before Henry II. and giving a hint to the monks of Glaffenbury for the discovery of that British king's body, be fairly true, and have nothing of legend in it, a very great regard is to be had to these historical ballads. Be that matter as it will, we ought here to observe, that Sam. Beaulanius, or Britannus, was, as himself owns, scholar to Beaulanus Presbyter, who was the genealogist; and that neither of them lived in the beginning, or perhaps any part, of the seventh century. Britannus, as we shall see anon, did certainly write notes upon Nennius, and therefore must have flourished after him. It is likewise very improbable that he ever meddled with any of the Saxon genealogies; since, in one of those notes, he says expressly (15) *Cum inutiles Magistro meo, id est, Beaulano Presbytero, visæ sunt genealogiæ Saxonum & aliarum genealogiæ gentium, nolui ea scribere, &c.*

(9) Vid. Gyralt. Cambr. Descript. Cambr. cap. 3. (10) Sheringham de Angl. O.ig. p. 165. (11) 4to. Lond. 1593. (12) Hist. of Gavelk. p. 20, 21, &c. (13) J. Leland. Assert. Arth. Fol. 11. a. (14) J. Pitts, p. 104. Vid. etiam Usser. Hist. Eccles. p. 206. (15) Vid. Nenn. Edit. Gall. p. 115.

PART

I.

Merlyn.

Amongst these bards is to be reckoned their famous Merlyn; whose true name, says (16) Humph. Lhuid, is Merdhyn, so called from Caermarthen [Mariduno] where he was born. This was so mighty a man in his time, that our writers have thought it convenient to split him into three. The first of these (godfather to the two following) they call Merlinus Ambrosius, or Merdhyn Emrys; who lived about the year 480, and wrote several prophetic odes, turned into Latin prose, by Jeoffrey of Monmouth. The next is Merlinus Caledonius, who lived A. D. 570, wrote upon the same subject with the former, and had the same translator. The third is surnamed Avalonius, who lived under King Malgocunus, (they might as well have made him secretary to Joseph of Arimathea, says our great (17) Stillingfleet; and yet my (18) author goes gravely on, and affirms that he) was an eminent antiquary, but seems to mix too many fables with his true story. They write this last indeed Melchius, Melkinus and Mewynus, and make him to live sometime before the latter Merlyn: but all this is stuff, and he is manifestly the same man, or nothing. The most learned of the British antiquaries agree, that this Myrdhyn ap Moŷvryn, (called from the country he lived in Caledonius, and Sylvestris from his humour of leading a retired life in the woods) wrote a poem, called Avallenau, or the Apple Trees, to his Lord Gwendholen ap Keidio; who was slain in the battle of Arderith, in the year 577. Some fragments of this poem were found at Henwyr in Meirionysshire, by (19) Mr. Lhwyd; who long since observed to me, that from hence the poet himself got the surname of Avalonius. If so, there is a happy discovery made of one of the many foolish impostures of the old monks of Glasfenbury: who, to secure this famous prophet to themselves, have made King Arthur's tomb, and their own monastery to stand in Insula Avalonia. Soon after him came Ambrosius Thalieŷŷin; whom Bale and Pitts make to live in the days of King Arthur, and to record his story. Sir John Prise (20) quotes a certain ode of his, called Hannees Thalieŷŷin, or Thalieŷŷin's Errors; which he says is to be seen in several of their old manuscripts. See more of this in E. Lhwyd's Treatise on the Welsh MSS. page 258, 261.

Gildas.

The most ancient British historian now extant, is Gildas: for the chronicle that bears the name of Brutus, mentions the (1) legend of King Lucius, and is apparently a late contrived piece; and (2) Sylvius is much of the same authority with the writings of (3) Samothus. This gentleman has had the same respect paid to his memory, that we have already noted of Merlyn: since Gildas Cambricus, Albanus and Badonicus, are made, by the generality of our writers, three several persons. It does not well appear that there was ever more than one historian of this name, whatever they that (4) "love to multiply authors, as well as books," have said to the contrary: and therefore, notwithstanding Archbishop (5) Usher's great authority on the other side, I shall venture to consider him in a single capacity. He was monk of Bangor, about the middle of the sixth century; a sorrowful spectator of the miseries, and almost utter ruin of his countrymen, by a people, under whose banners they hoped for peace. His life is written at large by (6) Caradoc of Lancarvan; and by an anonymous author, published by (7) John a Bosco. His lamentable history *De Excidio Britanniae*, is all that is printed of his writing; and perhaps all that is any where extant. Bale, Pitts, and others, reckon up some other matters, whereof they make this Gildas Badonicus, as they distinguish him, to be the author: but Archbishop Usher is peremptory in it, that this is the (8) *Unicum quod restat Opusculum*; for he makes it and the epistle to be all one thing. It was first published and dedicated to Bishop Tunstall, by (9) Polydore Virgil; whose imperfect and corrupt copy, was reprinted in the (10) *Bibliotheca Patrum*. Afterwards there was another edition of it by John Josseline, who made use of another manuscript, but not much more correct than the former. The latest and best is, that we have from (11) Dr. Gale, who had the advantage of a more

(16) *Commentar. Fragm. Fol. 64. b.* (17) *Orig. Brit. p. 9.* (18) J. Pitts, p. 97. (19) See his *Archæol. Brit. Tit. 7. p. 263.* (20) In *Defens. Hist. Brit.* (1) *Usserii Hist. Eccles. p. 72.* (2) J. Pitts, p. 86. (3) Bale, *Cent. I. Cap. 1.* (4) *Stillingfl. Orig. Brit. p. 209.* (5) *Hist. Eccles. Brit. p. 237.* (6) *Stillingfl. Orig. Brit. 207.* (7) In *Biblioth. Flor.* (8) *Hist. Eccles. p. 278, 279.* (9) 8vo. Lond. 1525. Basil. 1541. 12mo. Lond. 1568. & Angl. 12mo. Lond. 1638. (10) *Fol. Paris. 1610. Tom. V. Col. 477.* (11) *Hist. Brit. Tom. I. Tract. 1.*

ancient and much better copy than either of the two former had seen. If he did write any thing more, it is now lost. Leland is mighty desirous to believe that there is somewhere such a treatise as his *Cambreis*, in verse; that it was stolen and carried into (12) Italy; and that the poet Gildas, and the historian, were (13) two several persons. But it is now feared, we shall never meet with any other poetical treatise, bearing his name, save only that which Leland himself calls *Gildas Fictitius*; and which Archbishop Usher frequently quotes by the name of (14) *Pseudo-Gildas*. His book *de Victoria Ambrosii* is of the same (15) base metal; out of which have been coined John Pitts's *Regum Britannorum Historia*; *De primis Insulæ incolis*; *Lites Luddi & Nennii*, &c.

The next British historian of note is Nennius. The first of this name that is said to have taken care of the antiquities of his country, was, if we are not imposed on, son to King Helius, and brother to Ludd and Cassibelane, who had the honour to die of a wound given him by Julius Cæsar's own hand. It was he, they (16) say, who first wrote a book of the British history in his own tongue; which was afterwards translated into Latin by his namesake, Abbot of Bangor. This same Abbot Nennius is generally supposed to be one of the fifty monks that were so wise as to skulk at Chester, when twelve hundred of their brethren fell a sacrifice to the pride of Augustine, the first planter of the Romish principles and practices in our isle, and to have flourished about the year 620. Which will not agree with what is attested by himself in the best copies of his (17) book that he wrote, A. D. 858. An. 24^o. Mervini Regis. Though here also there seems to be some mistake; for the first (18) Mervin died in the year 843, and the second did not begin to reign till 885. It is therefore most probable that the words ought to be read, Anno 828. Anno 4^o. Mervini Regis. He is said to have left behind him several treatises, whereof all that is published is his (19) *Historia Britonum*. This is the same book that Bale and Pitts have registered under the title of *Eulogium Britannicæ*, and the only piece that must answer for what those gentlemen mention by the titles of his *Collectiones Historiarum*; *Antiquitates Britannicæ*; *Chronicon*, &c. In most of the MS. copies it is erroneously (20) ascribed to Gildas. John Leland mentions an ancient copy of this history, which, he says, he borrowed from his friend Thomas Solme, secretary for the French tongue to King Henry VIII. in the margin whereof were the additions of Sam. Beaulanius, or Britannus. He has (1) transcribed several of these marginal annotations, which, as it appears, were afterwards inserted in the body of the history, and are so published by Dr. Gale. The doctor, indeed, in his notes, mentions Samuel as the scholiast upon his Bennet copy: but Leland has a great many other things, as *Excerpta* out of Beaulanius, which are not there observed to be only in the Scholion. There is also in Bodley's library a MS. of this Nennius, which cannot be less than 500 years old, wherein the prefaces, and all those interpolations, which are by Leland said to be this Samuel's, are wanting. This history says nothing of the other brave Nennius above-mentioned, whom later commentators have made so great in story. I am of opinion, that the contrivance of this hero is one of the best things in all Geoffrey of Monmouth's romance. It looks like a grateful acknowledgment to the person that had obliged him, or his author, with the ground-work of his whole fabrick: to whom he could not pay a more decent compliment, than by making him godfather to one of the chief knights errant.

Next after Nennius, follow Hoel Dha's laws, which were enacted about the middle of the tenth century; whereof those that relate to ecclesiastical affairs have been published by (2) Sir Henry Spelman. Of these there are (3) several copies, both in Welch and Latin, still extant; among which is a very old one, written on parchment, in Jesus College at Oxford. The preface to this last will not allow that King Hoel abrogated, as Mr. Camden (4) says he did,

(12) Assert. Arth. fol. 32. b. (13) Comment. in Cygn. Cant. voce Britannia. (14) Hist. Eccles. p. 27, 30, 37. (15) Page 12. (16) Bale Cent. I. cap. 15, & 59. Edit. 1. (17) Vid. Usher. Hist. Eccl. p. 217. & Edit. Galei, p. 93. (18) Vid. Success. R. R. Walliæ, præfix. Ang. Sac. Tom. II. (19) Dr. Gale's Hist. Brit. p. 93. (20) Vid. Usserii Hist. Eccles. p. 107. & J. Leland Assert. Arth. fol. 3. b. (1) Collect. MS. Vol. II. p. 46. (2) Concil. Tom I. p. 408. (3) Vid. Humph. Lhuid. Comment. Brit. Frag. fol. 53. a. & Henr. Spelm. Gloss. in voce Adelingus & Lex. (4) Brit. in Carmardenh.

PART

I.

all the laws of his ancestors; but expressly tells us, That (5) "according to the advice of his council, some of the ancient laws he retained, others he corrected, and some he quite disannulled, appointing others in their stead." Dr. Powell will not agree that any new statutes were ordained by this king: (6) but that his commissioners, according to the powers given them, retained only those ancient laws that were good and useful, explained the ambiguous, and abrogated the superfluous. For we are to know, that full fourteen hundred years before Hoel's time, the Britains had a whole body of municipal laws, enacted by King (7) Dunwallo Molmutius, which were soon afterwards enlarged by Queen Martia. All these, says Bale, were translated into Latin by Gildas, and into Saxon by King Ælfred. Nay, some wise writers will needs affirm, that a certain part of our English Saxon laws, which they call Lex Marcorum, had its denomination from these Leges Martiæ: and this childish fancy has been embraced by several of our (8) grave and ancient historians. Others think it improbable that so great a prince as King Ælfred should ever trouble his head with translating any of the laws either of Molmutius or Martia, who were only antiquated legislators among his enemies, and heathens. But, since the Britains, as Asseurius and others tells us, voluntarily submitted to him, it seems as wise in him to give them their own laws in his language, as it was in William the Conqueror, to grant us the Saxon laws in French. Many of them, we have already been told, were abolished even by the Britains themselves, after they became Christians: but Mr. Sheringham thinks it is evident from several law terms, such as (9) *murder*, *denizon*, *rout*, &c. which are purely British, that some of them were taken into the body of our English laws. Hoel's are said to have been first translated into Latin, by (a gentleman with a very hard name) Blegabride (10) Langauride, doctor of laws, and Archdeacon of Landaff, in the year 914, which, if the British history do not misinform us, was about twenty-six years before that king began his reign. It appears, indeed, from the preface of this Hoel's laws, in most of the Latin (11) and Welsh copies, that Blegorede, or Blegwrt, was one of the commissioners appointed to draw up that code, or abstract; and it is also probable, seeing he was the only ecclesiastic among them, that he penned it: but whether he did it in the British, or Latin tongue, is wholly uncertain. I believe the observation, which I find under Fr. Tate's hand in the end of one of the copies of these laws, to be very just: (12) *Nemo in aliquo uno volumine omnes leges Wallensium reperiet*. There came lately to my hands a Latin manuscript-copy, in parchment, of these laws; in the end whereof, in a later hand, is written, *Istum Librum Tho. Powell, Joanni Da. Rhæso Med. Doctori dono dedit mense Augusti, 1600*. This has now the honour to be deposited in the noble Harleyan library. Sir William Dugdale (13) reckons up several manuscript collections of the old British laws, besides those we have already mentioned: as, 1. *Kyferth ap Morgan*. 2. *Gronu vab Moreddig*. 3. *Lhyfrhen y tuy Gwyn*. 4. *Gwair mab Ruon*. 5. *Lhyfr Prawf*. 6. *Prawfynait*; a collection, he says, out of the four first. 7. *Lhyfr Kyghawffed*. The third of these is undoubtedly the same with Howel Dha's, as will easily appear from the title of those laws. All the rest, whereof the fifth and sixth seem to be the same, are now at (14) Hengwrt, except only the fourth, which is supposed to be amongst Mr. Maurice's manuscripts. There we are likewise to enquire for that eminent antiquary's *Deddf-grawn*, or *Thesaurus Juridicus*; wherein are the various readings of above thirty ancient copies of the British laws: to which we may possibly add the *Liber Cardiffe*, being a treatise upon the ancient customs of Wales, in the Welsh language.

Uncertain
Authors.

And these, I think, are all the British historical writers, that lived before the Norman conquest; whose books are now to be met with in any of our English libraries. I know not how to direct the reader to seek for the histories of Elbodus, or (15) Elvodugus (for they are both the same man) from whom Nennius is made to borrow a good part of what we now have

(5) *Observat. Ed. Lhwyd in novam Edit. Camd. p. 625.* (6) *In Additament. ad Hist. Cambr. (7) Bale (Ed. I.) Cent. I. cap. 8. & 10.* (8) *Vid. R. Higden, lib. I. cap. 50. & Hist. Journ. p. 38.* (9) *Sheringh. de Orig. Gentis Ang. p. 125, 126.* (10) *Bale Cent. 2. cap. 23.* (11) *Bibl. Cott. Caligula, A. 3. Vitell. E. 11. Titus, D. 2. 9. Cleopatra, B. 5. Vide & Archæol. Brit. p. 258. Kyureth Hyuel.* (12) *Bibl. Cott. Titus, D. 2.* (13) *Orig. Jurid. p. 54.* (14) *Vid. E. Lhwyd Archæol. Brit. Tit. VII.* (15) *J. Pitts, p. 103, 105.*

under his name; nor for those of (1) Worgrefius and Mawornus, Abbot and Monk of PART I.
 Glassenbury; nor for the genealogies drawn up by the famous bard in King Edgar's days, (2)
 Saliphilax. When these are retrieved, I would have them all carefully bound up with the
Deflorationes Historiæ Britannicæ; which, as Jo. (3) Caius has learnedly proved from Stow
 and Lanquet, were written by King Gurguntius, about 370 years before Christ. The Welsh
 MS. cited frequently in Camden's *Britannia*, by the name of *Triades*, seems not to carry age
 enough to come within this class. It is the same, I suppose, which he (4) elsewhere calls the
 British old Book of Triplicities; running all upon the number three, as appears from his
 quotation out of it: "Welshmen love fire, salt, and drink; Frenchmen women, weapons and
 horses; Englishmen good-cheer, lands and traffick. See Mr. Lhwyd's Epistle Dedicatory to
 the Welshmen, p. m. 12. & Arch. Brit. Tit. 7. p. 264.

We are not to expect any such assistance for the ascertaining the history of these times, as Charters
 after-ages afford us, from charters, letters-patents, &c. And yet it is too forward an assertion,
 to say there were no such things in the days of our British kings, if all be true that Leland (5)
 tells us of King Arthur's seal: but I am not, I confess, so much in love with that venerable
 relique as he seems to have been. It might indeed be brought, as he guesses, from Glassenbury;
 where I do believe it was hung at a forged charter by some monk, who was a better mechanick
 than antiquary. The inscription easily discovers the cheat: *PATRICIUS ARTURIUS*
BRITANNIÆ, GALLIÆ, GERMANIÆ, DACIÆ IMPERATOR. He is certainly
 called Patricius here, and no where else, out of the abundant respect that monastery had
 for their guardian Saint Patrick; and not, as Leland fancies, upon any account of a Roman
 fashion.

Another help is here wanting, which exceedingly conduces towards the illustrating the Coins
 antiquities of other nations; and that is the light that is often gained from the impresses and
 inscriptions upon their old coins and medals. The money used here in (6) Cæsar's time, was
 nothing more than iron rings, and shapeless pieces of brass: nor does it well appear that ever
 afterwards their kings brought in any of another sort. Camden (7) says he could not learn
 that, after their retirement into Wales, they had any such thing among them: none of the
 learned men of that principality having yet been able to produce so much as one piece of
 British coin, found either in Wales, or any where else. And, is it likely that a royalty of
 this nature, of so great benefit to their subjects, as well as honour to themselves, would have
 been laid aside by the Cambrian princes, if formerly enjoyed by any of their ancestors? J. (8)
 Leland tells us, he never, in all his travels, throughout the whole kingdom of England, could
 meet with one British coin, among the many thousands of those of the Romans found in this
 nation. And the reason, he says, was, because (as he proves out of (9) Gildas, the Romans
 would not allow any of our metal to be stamped with any other image or superscription, save
 only that of Cæsar's, that is, some of their own emperors. However, we now have several
 ancient coins in our public and private libraries, which are generally reputed to be British:
 though it is very hard to determine in what age of the world they were minted. My late very
 learned and ingenious friend, Mr. Lhwyd believed that, before the coming in of the Romans,
 they had gold coins of their own; because there have been frequently found, both in England
 and Wales, thick pieces of that metal, hollowed on one side, with variety of unintelligible
 marks and characters upon them. These, said he, cannot be ascribed either to the Romans,
 Saxons, or Danes: and therefore it is reasonable we should conclude them to be British. And
 the reason why he thought they were coined before the Romans came, is this: if the Britains
 had learned the art from them, they would, though never so inartificially, have endeavoured
 to imitate their manner of coining; and, in all likelihood, have added letters, and the head
 of their kings. Here is a fair and probable opinion against the express testimony of Julius
 Cæsar; who could hardly be imposed on in this part of the account he gives of our isle.

(1) J. Pitts, p. 107. (2) Id. p. 175. (3) *De Antiq. Cantab. lib. 1.* (4) *Camd. Remains*, Edit. 1614. p. 17.
 (5) *Affert. Arth. fol. 12, 13, &c.* (6) *Commentar. lib. 5.* (7) *Remains*, p. m. 199, 200. (8) *Comment. in*
Cygn. Cant. voce Britannia. (9) *Vid. Histor. Gildæ, § 5.*

PART I.

Camden (1) rather thinks, that after the arrival of the Romans, the Britains first began to imitate them, in their coining of both gold and copper: but his stories of Cunobeline and Queen Brundvica, are much of a piece with those of Doctor (2) Plott's Prasutagus; all of them liable to very just, and to me, unanswerable objections. For my own part, I am of opinion, that never any of the British kings did coin money: but that even their tribute-money, like the Dane-Gelt, and Peter-pence afterwards, was the ordinary current coin which was brought in, or minted here, by the Romans themselves, as long as this island continued a province. The most, if not all, of the fore-mentioned pieces, which are not counterfeits, I take to be Amulets; whereof Tho. (3) Bartholine gives this sensible account: *Habuerunt veteres in Paganismo res quasdam portatiles, ex argento vel auro factas, imaginibus deorum, facie humana expressorum signatas, quibus futurorum cognitionem explorabant, & quarum possessione felices se & quodam quasi numinis praesidio tutos judicabant.* These were in use among the Romans a good while (4) after they came into Britain: and the Amula, from whence they had their name, was a little drinking (5) cup, most probably of this very fashion. If any man dislikes my conjecture, I am willing Sir John Pettus should umpire the matter between us; and his supposition, that Coin is an (6) abstract of Coynobeline, who first coined money at Malden, will for ever decide the controversy.

Geoffrey
of Mon-
mouth.

After the conquest, the first man that attempted the writing of the old British history, was Geoffrey, Archdeacon of Monmouth: and he did it to some purpose. This author lived under King (7) Stephen, about the year 1150. He had a peculiar fancy for stories surmounting all ordinary faith: which inclined him to pitch upon King Arthur's feats of chivalry, and Merlyn's prophecies, as proper subjects for his pen. But his most famous piece is his *Chronicon five Historia Britonum*; which has taken so well, as to have had several (8) impressions. In this he has given a perfect genealogy of the kings of Britain: from the days of Brutus: wherein we have an exact register of above seventy glorious monarchs that ruled this island, before ever Julius Cæsar had the good fortune to be acquainted with it. The first stone of this fair fabrick was laid by Nennius: but the superstructure is all fire-new, and purely his own. They that are concerned for the credit of this historian, tell us, that he had no further hand in the work, than only to translate an ancient Welsh history, brought out of Britany in France, by Walter Calenius, Archdeacon of Oxford; who was himself an eminent antiquary, and added a (9) supplement to the book. The translation of the whole he committed to the care of his friend Geoffrey; who, says (10) Matt. Paris, approved himself *interpres verus*. And there I am willing to let the matter rest. The translator might have employed his time better, yet may be an honest man: but the author, whoever he was, has basely imposed upon the world, and was certainly something of another nature. The best defence that can be made for it, is that which was written by Sir John Prise; and is published under the title of (11) *Historiæ Britannicæ Defensio*: to which something further is added by (12) Mr. Sheringham, who is always very loth, if it could be helped, to part with any thing of an old story, that looks gay, and is but even tolerably well contrived. "As to the regard (says the ingenious Mr. (13) Lhwyd) due to this history in general, the judicious reader may consult Dr. Powell's Epistle, (14) *De Britannica Historia recte intelligenda*; and Dr. Davies's Preface to his British Lexicon, and balance them with the arguments and authority of those that wholly reject them." I am not for wholly rejecting all that is contained in that history, believing there is somewhat of truth in it, under a mighty heap of monkish forgeries: but, for the main, I am of (15) Camden's judgment; and I hope my friend will allow me to think the arguments and authority of that writer, and common sense, to be as weighty, in these matters, as those of the two greatest doctors in christendom. Ponticus Virunnius, an Italian, (16) epitomized it; and indeed it is of a complexion fitter for the air of Italy, than England.

(1) Remains, p. m. 199. (2) Nat. Hist. of Oxfordsh. cap. 10. (3) Antiq. Dan. p. 469. (4) Vid. Spartian. in Caracal. (5) Cæsar. Rhodig. Antiq. Lect. lib. 27. cap. 27. (6) Gloss. ad Flet. Min. voce Coin. (7) J. Pitts, p. 217. (8) Apud Jo. Badius A. D. 1508, & Hydelb. 1587, &c. (9) J. Pitts, p. 198. (10) Ad. An. 1151. (11) 4to. Lond. 1573. (12) De Orig. Gentis Angl. p. 124. ad 134. (13) Camd. Brit. N. E. p. 603. (14) In calce Editionis suæ Pont. Virun. (15) Britan. in Monmouthsh. (16) 8vo. Lond. 1585. curante D. Powel.

Contemporary with this Geoffrey, was Caradocus, monk of Lancarvan; who contented himself with the writing of a history of the petty Kings of Wales, after they were driven into that corner of the island by the Saxons. This history, which was written originally in Latin, and brought as low as the year 1156, by its author, was afterwards translated into English by Humphrey Lhuid; and enlarged and published by (1) Dr. Powell. Lately (Octavo, 1697.) by W. Wyn; with a learned Preface. There are three MSS. of good note, mentioned by (2) Archbishop Usher, which seem to reach much higher than Caradocus pretends to go, all which I guess to have been written about the same time. The first is in Welsh, in Sir John Cotton's library, reported to be the same that was translated by Geoffrey of Monmouth. The second is in old English, by one (3) Lazimon, or Lazamon a priest, born at Ernlere, on the Severn, from Brute to Cadwallader; and the third, as I take it, in Latin, by Giraldus Cornubiensis. The truth is, as Mr. Wanley has made it very plain to us, this Lazimon's book, and Monmouth's, are the very same; and the former seems only to have translated Geoffrey's book into Norman-English, in which condition we have it twice in the Cottonian library. However, the translator pretends to have had the original from its prime author, one Wate, or Walter; a French clergyman, who, as he says, first presented his Latin composition to Queen Elianor, King Henry the Second's consort. Several copies there are of (4) Geoffrey's history, translated into Welsh; and, among the rest, one that pretends to be the very work of Archdeacon Walter: For thus it concludes, *Myvi Gualbter &c. i. e. Ego Gualterus, Archidiaconus Oxoniensis, hunc librum è Britannico Latine interpretatus sum; & postea gravioribus annis denuo Britannicum feci.* Which is a sham too gross to be considered.

King Arthur, and his knights of the round-table, made so considerable a figure in the British history, that many learned men have been at a great deal of trouble to clear up that Prince's title, and to secure that part of Geoffrey's story, whatever fate might attend the rest. The first stickler, against Will Nubrigenfis, &c. was one Grey, the supposed author of Scalechronicon, whom (5) Pitts calls John, and says he was Bishop of Norwich, and elect of Canterbury; and that he died An. Dom. 1217. Bishop (6) Jewel calls him Thomas. About 200 years after him, Thomas Malory, a Welsh gentleman, wrote King Arthur's story in English; a book that is, in our days, often sold by the ballad-fingers, with the like authentic records of Guy of Warwick and Bevis of Southampton. This was first published, as Geoffrey of Monmouth's, under the title of a Translation, by William Caxton; who finished the mighty work at Westminster, on the last day of July, 1485. But about the middle of the last century, his chief champions appeared on the stage, in defence of him, against Polydore Virgil's fierce attack. These were (7) Sir John Prise and (8) Mr. Leland; the latter whereof was as able as any man alive to give the story all the light which the kingdom could afford it: And yet this treatise is the most liable to exception of any thing he ever published. Many of the authors he quotes are only Geoffrey of Monmouth's echoes; others come not up to the question; and some are too modern. These, and more objections, are raised against this history, but our most learned Bishop (9) Stillingfleet, who nevertheless confesses that he has sufficiently proved that there was such a prince. "So that, it seems, there is something of (10) plain stuff in the story," whatever "embroidery may be introduced by the Spanish vein of romancing." Arthur Kelton's Chronicle of the (11) Brutes, and (12) Lyte's Records, &c. are such whimsical and imperfect pieces, as not to deserve the being named with the last-mentioned authors, though they treat much on the same subject. John (13) Bale makes W. Caxton write King Arthur's history in no less than one and twenty several books; which if they could have been found, might have saved Richard Robinson the trouble of translating (14) Leland's Assertio, &c. into English. But, in truth, honest William was only T. Malory's printer, as has been already observed.

(1) 4to Lond. 1584. (2) Hist. Eccl. Brit. p. 29, 31. (3) Bibl. Cotton. Caligula. A. 9. Vid. & Catalog. MSS. Anglo-Sax. H. Wanley, p. 228, 237. (4) Archæol. Brit. Tit. 7. p. 295. (5) J. Pitts, p. 80. (6) Def. Apolog. Par. I. p. 11. (7) Hist. Brit. Def. 4to. Lond. 1573. (8) Assert. Reg. Arth. 40. Lond. 1544. (9) Orig. Brit. p. 339, &c. (10) Sir W. Temple's Introd. p. 51, 52, 53. (11) 8vo. Lond. 1547. (12) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 293. (13) Cent. 8. cap. 42. (14) 4to. Lond. 1582.

PART

I.

Robert
Vaughan.

After King Charles II's restoration, Mr. Robert Vaughan, a learned gentleman of Merionethshire, published his (15) *British Antiquities Revived*; wherein are a great many very pretty remarks and discoveries. The author, it appears, was well known to Archbishop (16) Usher; by whom he was much countenanced and encouraged in these studies. In one of his letters to that renowned primate, he says, he had now finished his *Annals of Wales*; which he then sent to be perused by his Grace, and to receive his approbation, if worthy of it, for the press. What became of that work, I cannot tell: but it has not yet appeared so publicly as the author (it seems) long since intended it should. His executors owe him and us the justice of sending abroad whatever they have of his that's compleat: for he left also behind him a large collection of other manuscript papers, relating to the same subject, which were sometime in the possession of Sir William Williams. The fore-mentioned learned primate made also some choice collections, in his retirement at St. Donat's, relating to the British antiquities; which were afterwards in the hands of (17) Dr. Parr, his grace's chaplain. And, from the like helps in the library at Llantarnam, Mr. Pierce Enderby collected his (18) *Cambria Triumphans*, or ancient and modern British and Welsh histories, from Brute to Charles I. Nich. Lambert's *Britanneis*, ten books whereof are now in MS. in Bodley's library, comes no lower than the conquest.

Aylet
Sammes.

After him came forth Aylet Sammes, with his (19) *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata*; wherein he fetches the original of the British customs, religion, and laws, from the Phœnicians. This conceit, which is all that looks new in his book, is wholly borrowed from Bochartus; as his long discourse of the offspring of the Saxons from Sheringham. As for his own part, it is visible he equally understood the Phœnician, British, Gothic, Saxon, and Islandic languages; and, if left to himself, could as easily have brought the Britains from New-Spain, and the Saxons from Madagascar. Upon the first publishing of this book, Mr. Oldenburg, secretary to the royal society, gave a very obliging (20) character both of the work and its author; who, by what the (1) Oxford antiquary has since told us, was every way unworthy of such a compliment. Whether his uncle, or himself, was the true author of what he was pleased to publish under his own name, is not worth our while to enquire: But, if we believe Mr. Wood, that Aylet had never so much as heard of John Leland before the year 1677, he is the most unaccountable and ridiculous plagiarist and buffoon that ever had his name in the title-page of any book whatever. For that which he pretends to be his, was printed the year before; and, in the preface to it, we are told, that it was John Leland's asserting, that the main body of the Welsh language consisted of Hebrew and Greek words, which first put the author upon the search into the stories of the Phœnician voyages. So that it is very probable, that good master Sammes never read so much as the preface to his book; or else, either he or Mr. Wood must be under the misfortune of a very treacherous memory.

John
Aubrey.

Something of value might have been expected from the many years labours and collections of that excellent antiquary John Aubrey, esq; fellow of the royal society, if the proposals he lately made for the publishing of his *Monumenta Britannica* had met with a suitable reception. The world is not come to that ripeness we hope for, as duly to relish works of this nature: But how well his have deserved a better encouragement than hitherto they have met with, is apparent from the little tastes we have of them in the late edition of the *Britannia*; especially in Wiltshire, Herefordshire, and Wales. He would have given us (if we had been so kind to ourselves as to have accepted his pains) a good view of the temples, religion and manners of the ancient Druids; of the camps, castles, military architecture, &c. of both Britains and Romans: but we rejected his offers, and may possibly too late repent of our folly.

Roman
Histori-
ans.

As to the Roman writers, there are hardly any that treat of the affairs of this isle any other-wise than occasionally only, and by the bye. The design of Cæsar's Commentaries, is to give the world an account of the most glorious passages of his own life; and what he says of Britain, as well as Germany, is apparently what he could pick up from uncertain tattle and hear-say.

(15) 4to. Oxon. 1662. (16) See Archbish. Usher's Letters p. 261, 270, &c. (17) See his Life of Abp. Usher, p. 60. (18) Fol. Lond. 1661. (19) Fol. Lond. 1676. (20) Philos. Transact. Num. 124. p. 596. (1) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 879.

Something better bottomed, are the stories we met with afterwards in Tacitus, Dio Cassius, Suetonius, Eutropius, Spartianus, Capitolinus, Lampridius, Vopiscus, (2) &c. who may all be supposed to have had the perusal of such memorials as were from time to time, sent to the emperors from their lieutenants, and other chief officers, in this province. In the use of these, the reader ought to take a deal of leisure and caution. For most of them seem to have been loose indigested Adversaria; such as had not the least examination and thoughts of their authors; and do therefore want the regard that should be had to order and time. Besides the several tracts are not well ascertained to their genuine and proper writers; the not heeding whereof, may draw one unawares into very dangerous mistakes. These defects are happily supplied by the famous Mr. Dodwell, in his late learned *Prælectiones* (3) *Camdenianæ*; which will be highly serviceable to all such as shall hereafter engage in these studies. Indeed Tacitus's *Life of Agricola*, especially as improved by (4) Sir Henry Savil's most admirable translation and learned notes, looks something like a just treatise upon that great general's conduct here; and is done with that fairness and respect to the natives, that I cannot see but Calpurnius is made to talk as bravely, gracefully and eloquently, as the best of his enemies. Many defects in these accounts have been likewise supplied, as well as good store of conjectural mistakes, in more modern authors, rectified, by the Roman inscriptions and coins found in several parts of our island; and there are new discoveries of both these sorts.

Since the acceptable services done to the students of antiquities by Gruterus and Reynesius, the inscriptions on altars, and other monuments, have carried a very high price; and, among others, the antiquaries of our own nation have fancied that our history has had great improvements from such as have been discovered here. Those that Mr. Camden met with, were all preserved, as choice ornaments, in his *Britannia*; and some few have been added in the late edition of that work. Many more might undoubtedly be had for seeking after: and it is no small unhappiness, that, among the many advancements of learning in this age, the recovery of these precious treasures should be so much neglected. The persons employed in these searches, ought to be men of probity, as well as knowledge; religiously scrupulous in obtruding any thing upon the world, under the venerable name of antiquity, which has not an honest title to that character. Annianus of Viterbo's scandalous project of raising the credit of that city, by some forged inscriptions, which he had caused to be hid in the neighbouring fields, and afterwards discovered in a boasting triumph, has been justly resented and exploded by all true lovers of ancient learning: but the inclinations of all men are so naturally bent upon doing honour and service to their native country, in their own way, and the temptations that we meet with in these studies, are so many and strong, that a very great share of integrity is requisite to the making of a complete antiquary.

Mr. Camden (5) tells us, that from the time of Claudius, to that of Valentinian, about four hundred years, the Roman coin only was current in this nation: and that, whereas all money for this part of the world was, for a long time, coined either at Rome, Lyons or Treves, Constantine the Great erected a mint at London. Some of his pieces, which were there coined, I have in my poor collection; and they are not uncommon in many of the Museums in England. But, long before his days, his predecessors took occasion to magnify their exploits in this other world of Great-Britain, on the reverse of their coins; from whence several good illustrations of that part of our history may be had. What are given us of this kind, in the *Britannia*, are very valuable: but their numbers might be further enlarged; and we are the more encouraged to look after those we want, because I have not yet heard that our traitorous English money-makers have hitherto busied themselves in counterfeiting any coin of so ancient a date. Such rogueries are common in France and Germany; where most of their old medals have been copied, and many new ones of the first Cæsars stamped and minted, by modern artists: And yet, even there, those that relate to the affairs of this isle are always allowed to be true and genuine.

(2) Vid Hist. August. Scrip. Edit. a Fred. Sylburgio, in 2 Vol. Fol. Francof. 1588. (3) 8vo. Oxon. 1692.
(4) Fol. Lond. 1598. (5) Remains, P. M. 199.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Histories, and other Monuments, that relate to the Times of the SAXONS and DANES.

THE dispatch that Sir William Temple makes of the Saxon Times, is very short and pithy; and the character he gives of their writers is so full of contempt, that, if we were sure it came from a proper judge, it would save an antiquary a great deal of trouble and pains. "The authors," he (1) says, "of those barbarous and illiterate ages are few and mean; and perhaps the rough course of those lawless times and actions, would have been too ignoble a subject for a good historian". The times were not so lawless nor the authors so few and mean, as he imagines. A great many of the records of those days, we own are lost; but there are still more remaining than any of our neighbour nations can pretend to shew, relating to the transactions of those ages. We know not what is become of the book King (2) Alfred wrote against corrupt judges; of his Collection of the old Saxon Sonnets; of St. Aldhelm's Hymns, and other musical composures, &c. And yet we have a pretty good stock of their laws, and historical treatises; and those that have been conversant in them, do not think they have thrown away their time upon so ignoble a subject, as some may fancy it.

Grammar

Before a just sentence could be passed in this case, the judge ought to have had the leisure and patience to have made himself a perfect master of the Saxon language; which he might do, either in the method prescribed by (3) Mr. Lambard, or (4) Dr. Hickes. To this purpose, it had been convenient that he had furnished himself, in the first place, with a Saxon Grammar, since our tongue is now very much altered in the construction and termination of such words as we still retain, from that of our ancestors. Whether the monks of Tavistoke, who as (5) Camden tells us, had a Saxon lecture in their monastery, ever compiled any thing of this kind, is not known; though it has been lately (6) reported, that in the beginning of the civil wars there was such a grammar there printed. The first attempt towards it, that we hear of, was by Mr. John Josseline, Archbishop Parker's secretary; who drew up a specimen, which is now hardly to be met with. Mr. Somner prefixed some short grammatical rules to his dictionary: but Mr. Junius did not, as far as I could ever learn, bend his thoughts that way. Bishop Fell was earnest with Dr. Marshall, late Rector of Lincoln-College, to draw up a grammar; and he devolved the work upon one much more unfit for the employment, who had made some collections to that purpose. His endeavours were superseded by the excellent performance of Dr. Hickes, who first published his Institutiones (7) Grammaticæ Anglo-Saxonicae, &c. The book discovers an accuracy in this language beyond the attainments of any that had gone before him in that study, and will be of most necessary use to such as shall apply themselves to the right understanding of the ancient history and laws of this kingdom. But, as all first draughts of any sort are usually imperfect, so there seem to be some defects in it that might have been supplied. For example: There wanted a chapter of the variety of dialects, which might have been had out of the northern interlineary versions of the gospel, mentioned by (8) Dr. Marshall; one whereof is peremptorily affirmed to have belonged to St. Cuthbert, as the other, in all likelihood, did to venerable Bede. All these defects are now amply supplied by the great author, in his (9) Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Thesaurus Grammatico-Criticus & Archæologicus; which has had so many just praises given it, at home and abroad, that few English readers can be strangers to its contents. They are these: 1. The Preface; which shews

(1) Introduct. pag. 1. (2) Vid. Ælfred. Mag. Vit. p. 82, 92, 93. (3) Archaion. Præf. ad Lect. p. 2. (4) Præf. ad Gram. Saxon. p. 12, 13. (5) Britan. in Devon. (6) N. E. Camd. Brit. p. 38. (7) 4to. Oxon. 1689. (8) Observat. in Verf. Anglo-Sax. p. 491, 492. (9) Fol. Oxon. 1705.

the usefulness of this sort of knowledge, and the mistakes of many eminent writers for want of it. 2. The Saxon, and as he first supposed it to be, the Mæso-Gothic Grammars, enlarged and corrected: several chapters, concerning the dialects and poetry of our ancestors, being added in this edition; wherein also are a great many curious remarks on their alphabets, characters, &c. The Francic Grammar, out of the ancient writings of Rabanus Maurus, Osfrid of Witsenberg, Willeramus, Abbot of Ursperg, &c. 4. R. Jonas's Islandic Grammar; which, saving the additional ornament of some Runic alphabets, in several fair tables, stands as it did in the former edition. 5. A larger dissertation, at the request of the late Sir Bartholomew Shower, de præstantia Linguarum Septentrionalium; wherein he more fully demonstrates how serviceable they are in illustrating many dark passages in the laws and customs of this realm, in discovering the cheats of counterfeit grants and indentures, in correcting the errors of the most learned glossographers, &c. Every part of the book is a sure proof, if any such proof we needed, that the author is incomparably the greatest master of his subject that ever yet appeared in print.

After the grammar is well and carefully perused, the next enquiry ought to be after such dictionaries as have been written in the Saxon tongue; whereof we shall meet with as great plenty as we did in the British. We find, that even in those barbarous ages they had some few men of learning, who collected several vocabularies in Saxon and Latin, for the use of their school-boys. Some of these are still remaining, having been carefully picked up and transcribed by Mr. Junius. The chief of them are the two that bear the name of the learned Ælfric; whereof the worse was printed, with his grammar, in the end of Mr. Somner's dictionary; the better still continuing in manuscript, notwithstanding (18) Mr. Wharton's remarks to the contrary, both in Cotton's library, and in that of St. John's College in Oxford, as well as amongst Junius's transcripts. Out of these, and other helps, the most industrious of our English antiquaries have compiled their Saxon dictionaries, very serviceable towards the carrying on of those intricate and useful studies. All that I have heard of in this kind, are: 1. That which was drawn up by Laurence Noel, Dean of Litchfield, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign: whose original manuscript fell into the hands of Mr. Selden, and is now in Bodley's library, as a fair copy of it is amongst Junius's manuscripts. 2. John Josseline's, said to be in (19) Cotton's library, though Dr. Hickes does not mention it in his catalogue. 3. William Somner's, which was (20) published at the earnest request and charges of some of the most learned men in this kingdom. The chief additions he made, to what was done to his hand by the two fore-mentioned gentlemen, were out of Cædmon's paraphrase, and the medicinal manuscript in the king's library; together with two old glossaries in Sir John Cotton's. 4. That most elaborate one of Fr. Junius, who has infinitely outdone all that went before him. His large glossary or lexicon, of the five old northern languages, whereof the Saxon has the preference, may be seen in the author's own manuscript in Bodley's library, and a fair transcript of it, in eleven volumes, at the charge of the late pious Bishop Fell, in the same place. It was designed for the press by that most excellent prelate; and may be yet hoped for, as soon as it shall please God to vouchsafe to us the establishment of peace, together with one of its certain consequences, the encouragement of industry and good learning. We may likewise then expect the same author's Etymologicum Anglicanum, a work completely finished, in two volumes; which will be also of singular use to our English antiquary. After these, I can hardly think it worth the while to take notice of the imperfect collections made by Sir William Dugdale, in Saxon and English; nor of two anonymous fragments, of the like kind, in the libraries of Sir Thomas Bodley and Bennet College.

To these dictionaries ought to be added the glossaries of Sir Henry Spelman and Mr. Somner; which explain the hard and obsolete words frequently occurring in our ancient histories and laws. The former of these was first (1) published imperfect: but in the (2) second and third editions that defect is supplied. That the whole is the true genuine work of

(18) Auct. Hist. Dogm. Usserii, p. 377, 378. (19) Titles of Hon. p. 82. (20) Fol. Oxon. 1659. (1) Fol. Lond. 1626. (2) Fol. Lond. 1664, & 1687.

PART I. its pretended author, appears from the uniformity of the style in both parts; from the quotations of the same manuscripts; references in both to the readings of his grandfather Sir John Spelman, &c. It was a great misfortune, that the late publisher of it was not made acquainted with the notes and enlargements upon the whole, among Somner's manuscripts in the library at Canterbury. The other glossary was long after compiled by W. Somner, and annexed to the (3) *Decem Scriptores*, published by Sir Roger Twissden; who acknowledges, that without it that work had been a very dry and useless performance. Out of these two, Du Fresne usually transcribes whatever he has in his (4) great work, which relates to the difficult passages in our old laws, &c. Dr. Watts has added a glossary to his edition of *Matth. Paris*, which may be very serviceable to a young English antiquary: and (5) Mr. Wheloc promised one of his composition.

There is not much to be learned from any coins we have of our Saxon kings, their silver ones being all of the same size, and generally very slovenly minted. In this metal they coined only pennies, worth about three-pence of our present money. But they had also, as appears from the Saxon (6) *gospels*, half-pennies and farthings, which perhaps were of a baser matter. They had also half-farthings, eight to a penny, like the *liards de France*, which they called (7) *sticas*: of which kind I take those brass pieces to be, which were lately found near Rippon in Yorkshire, and by Sir Edward Blacket, into whose possession they first came, kindly communicated to several curious antiquaries in that county. The rest of their money-terms are names of accounts and weight; which are thus stated by (8) Camden.

			£.	s.	d.
1. Their shilling was five of their pennies, in our money,	—	—	0	1	3
2. Their pound was their forty-eight shillings, our	—	—	3	0	0
3. Manca, mancusa or marca, about	—	—	0	1	0
4. Manca of gold, their thirty-pence, our	—	—	0	7	6

This computation, though not exact, comes near the truth; and is as much, or more, than we have occasion for at present. Camden here omits their *Thrimfa*; which Sir Henry Spelman takes to have been three shillings; Mr. Selden thinks it was the third part of a shilling; and Mr. Somner modestly owns he knows not what it was. As far as I am able to judge, King (9) *Athelstan's* laws make the *Thrimfa*, *Peninga* and *Sceat*, all one thing. They tell us, a king's *weregild* was thirty thousand *thrimfas*: that is, say they, one hundred and twenty pounds. Now, one of their pounds being allowed to be about three times the weight of ours, this sum will amount to about three hundred and sixty pounds of our money; and there being eighty-six thousand and four hundred pence in our three hundred and sixty pounds, it follows that a *thrimfa* is somewhat more than our three-pence; which is the same with their *peninga* or *sceat*. Our English antiquaries are eternally obliged to the most worthy and accomplished gentleman Sir Andrew Fountaine, knight, for his (10) *Numismata Anglo-Saxonica*, &c. wherein we have no less than ten large tables of those coins, the greatest part whereof are now first offered to publick view. The learned publisher, in his dedication, and following remarks, shews, that he well understood the true use of this venerable treasure. Let his observations ever be attended by the (11) *Notæ in Anglo-Saxonum Nummos*, as was desired by their ingenious author, the late Mr. E. Thwaites, who is very happy in most of his conjectures.

Charters.

In several (12) libraries, and in many register-books of our oldest monasteries, we have a deal of charters granted; and pretended to be granted, by our Saxon kings: but they are very cautiously to be admitted and allowed of. The most ancient that we meet with, are those that are said to have been granted by (13) *Ethelbert*, King of Kent, about the year 605, and some of them have such marks of forgery upon them, as would make a man jealous of meddling

(3) Fol. Lond. 1652. (4) *Glossar. ad Script. Med. & Infim. Latinit.* 3 vol. Paris. fol. 1678. (5) *In Præf. ad Archaion. Guil. Lambardi.* (6) *Luc. 12. 6. 21. 2.* (7) *Marc. 12, 42.* (8) *Remains*, p. m. 200. (9) *Vid. LL. Ethelstan. R. edit. Wheloc. p. 55.* (10) *Bibl. Côt. Tiber. A. 13. Nero, E. 1. 131, & 132, &c.* (11) *Fol. Oxon. 1705.* (12) *8vo. lb. 1708.* (13) *H. Spelman. Concil. Tom. 1. p. 118, 119, 120.*

with.

with any others of the like kind. The records of the very church of Canterbury, to which PART
I. these grants are said to have been made, assure us, that King Withered, who reigned almost a whole century after Ethelbert, was the first that gave out charters in writing; his predecessors thinking their bare word sufficient to secure any of their gifts and benefactions. Nay, one of their own (14) monks acquaints us, that his brethren were eminent artists at coining of charters; and we have all the reason in the world to take his word for it. The cheat may commonly be discovered, by a strict enquiry after, and comparing of their dates, and the times of such witnesses, bishops, abbots, &c. as are brought in to attest their truth. Mr. Wharton (15) says, he could rarely observe one Saxon charter, penned in their own tongue, to have been counterfeited: and the reason he assigns is, because all the forgery came in after the conquest; when the hungry Normans put the monks and others, upon proving their titles to their lands and houses, or otherwise made bold to seize them into their own hands. Now what was written in the Saxon tongue being generally slighted, it was necessary they should produce their grants in Latin, if they expected that their new masters would ever regard, or cast an eye on them. Another occasion was afterwards taken, of feigning charters, upon William the Conqueror's extraordinary one to his new erected monastery at Battle-Abbey; whereby he exempted the abbot there, and his monks, from all episcopal jurisdiction. This set the religious, in other parts of the kingdom, upon grasping at the like immunities; and, to that end, they frequently framed the like grants from former kings. R. Fabian (16) will tell us, that the first charter the citizens of London ever had, was granted by King William the First; which, notwithstanding the great antipathy which he is said to have against it, "is written in the Saxon tongue, sealed with green wax, and expressed in eight or nine lines."

A great many of their laws have been published; and we are not without hopes, but that a Laws. good deal more, which hitherto have lain in private hands, will shortly appear abroad. The first attempt towards so good a service to the kingdom, was made by L. Nowel, who collected all he could find, and left them to be translated by his friend W. Lambard. He accordingly made them (17) publick; but his translation is so false and affected, that the best judges of such a performance, have not been satisfied with it. For which reason (18) Mr. Junius recommends the old translation in John Brompton's history, as much more correct, and better to be relied on. Mr. Somner took the pains to review the book, and to correct his errors; adding the several laws omitted by Lambard, and giving a (19) double translation in Latin and English, to the whole. These are now, with what else of that kind was left unpublished by that industrious person, in the custody of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury. Mr. Junius took the like pains with the book; and his emendations are to be had at Oxford. But still there are several Saxon laws in manuscript, which we have good hopes will ere long be published. At least, those of them that relate to the affairs of the church, will be given us in a better edition of Sir Henry Spelman's Councils: of which more hereafter.

By the way, I am not satisfied with the opinion of Camden, Lambard, Spelman, and, Denelaga,
&c. generally, all our English antiquaries and historians, who have treated of these matters, that there were in this kingdom, before the conquest, three codes, or digests of laws; which, from the several countries wherein they first prevailed, were rightly named the West Saxon, Mercian, and Danish laws. This conceit is derived down, without contradiction or due examination, from the most early translators of our Saxon records; who took it for granted, that laga (in Westsaxena laga, Myrcena laga, and Dena laga) was a word of the same import and signification with the Norman Ley: whereas, in truth, laga or lage is properly a country or district; and so, it is very evident, it ought to have been translated in the laws of (20) Ethelbert, (21) Cnute,

(14) Gervas. Dorob. ad an. 1181. (15) Præf. ad Angl. Sac. par. 2. p. 3. (16) Vol. 1. p. 310. (17) Archaion. 4to. Lond. 1568. & Fol. Cantab. 1644. (18) In Præf. ad Gloss. Goth. (19) Kennet's Life of Somn. p. 52. (20) Archaion. Edit. Wheloc, p. 88. On Wýncenland, æfter Ængla lage. Quæ male Lambard. Mercia, quæ legibus Anglorum gubernatur. Rectius---quæ postea Ditio Anglorum. (21) Ib. p. 10. On Denalaga, & on Engla laga. i. Intra. Ditiones Danicas & Anglicas.

PART and (1) Edward the Confessor, even in those very parts of them which have occasioned all these mistakes.

I.
Saxon
Chroni-
cle.

It appears there were some historians who wrote of the Saxon affairs before venerable (2) Bede's time; and I am inclinable to think that a part of their old chronicle, which has had so (3) much honour of late done to it by Dr. Gibson, is of that age. The first publisher of this noble monument was Ab. Wheloc; who translated it, and caused it to be printed at the end of his (4) Saxon Bede. He made use only of two manuscript copies; one in Cotton's library, the other in that of Bennet College: whereof the former ended with the year 1001, and the latter with 1070. Cotton's, he says, had been compared with a third; which the collator, whom he supposes to have been Mr. Joffeline, calls the Book of Peterburgh. Dr. Gibson had the advantage of three copies more: 1. Laud. a fair one in vellum, given by Archbishop Laud to the university of Oxford; which corrects those that Wheloc had seen, and continues the history down to the year 1154. This, he fancies did anciently belong to the monastery of Peterburgh, because it often largely insists upon the affairs of that place. But if it did so, it is plain it cannot be the same wherewith Mr. Wheloc's Cottonian manuscript had been compared, though its variations from it are not very considerable, being mostly in words, and not in sense. 2. Cant. Another gift of the same A. B. to the publick library at Oxford. It is a paper-transcript, now lost, differing from all the rest, and sometimes explaining their dark passages, and supplying their defects. It ends with the year 977. 3. Cot. a better copy than it had been Mr. Wheloc's fortune to meet with in the (5) Cottonian library; which was accurately compared with Wheloc's edition by Fr. Junius, and ends A. D. 1057. Out of all these we have the text made up as intire and compleat as it was possible to give it us; with an elegant and proper (6) translation, void of all affected strains and unluckly mistakes, which used to abound in works of this kind. If some few passages have a little puzzled the ingenious publisher, let it be considered, that in these, Florence of Worcester, and Matthew of Westminster, who lived nearer the times wherein they were penned, were much more lamentably graveled. Perhaps some further enlargements and additions might yet be made to this work, out of such manuscripts as came not early enough to Dr. Gibson's view and knowledge. Of this number I take to be, 1. The Saxon Chronicle from Julius Cæsar down to the reign of King Edward the Martyr, in (7) Sir John Cotton's library: for, if it ends, as Mr. Wharton (8) says it does, A. D. 975. it must be different from what was perused by A. Wheloc. 2. Another in the same (9) library from Julius Cæsar down to the conquest: which was transcribed by Somner, and is now, under the title of the Chronicle of Abingdon, amongst his manuscripts at Canterbury. 3. A third, in Latin and Saxon, in the same (10) place; which is frequently referred to by (11) Mr. Wharton, and seems to have recorded many particulars of note not mentioned by any of the rest. This book was given to Sir Robert Cotton, by Mr. Camden, says (12) Archbishop Usher; who also mentions a (13) copy of his own, worth the enquiring after. 4. The book of Peterburgh, which was never thoroughly compared with any copy hitherto published, and (14) differs from them all. May we not also bring into this list those hinted at by (15) Dr. Kennet, and that which (16) Mr. Somner had from Mr. Lambard? I think we may.

Histori-
ans.

The history that is written by Bede is so purely ecclesiastical, that it will not fall under our consideration in this chapter: but some of his contemporaries are said to have recorded the civil transactions of their times. Thus Cimberty, first Monk and afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, is the (1) reputed author of the Annals of his own Time; and Daniel, Bishop of the West-Saxons, (2) said to have written four or five historical treatises. I suppose there was no other grounds for dubbing these men historians, save only Bede's grateful acknowledgments of his

(1) Ib. p. 149. *Erat Lex Danorum, Norfolk. &c. Quam ab omni sensu alienum! Pro Lex itidem hic Loci Ditio five Provincia substituenda est.* (2) Vid. Bed. Eccl. Hist. lib. 3. c. 1. (3) Life of Somn. p. 53. (4) Fol. Cantab. 1643. (5) Tiber. B. 4. (6) 4to. Oxon. 1672. (7) Tiber. A. 6. (8) Angl. Sac. Par. 1. p. 176. (9) Tib. B. 1. (10) Domit. A. 8. (11) Ang. Sac. Par. I. p. 332, 558, 791, 796. (12) Usserii Hist. Eccles. p. 20, 218. (13) Ib. p. 182. (14) Angl. Sac. p. 405. (15) Life of Somn. p. 30, 66. (16) Roman Ports, &c. p. 32. Vid. etiam D. Hickefii, Catal. lib. Sept. p. 177. (1) J. Pitts, p. 127. Bale, Cent. 1. cap. 89. (2) Pitts, p. 144. Bale, Cent. 1. c. 94.

being

being indebted to both of them for the informations and assistances they gave him towards the ^{P A R T} compiling his ecclesiastical history; and if he quotes them in twenty particulars, it is enough ^{I.} for either Bale or Pitts to make them authors of as many books.

To William Caxton, I suppose, good Mr. Fox was obliged for the account he gives us of ^{K. Æl-} King (3) Ælfred's compiling a story in the Saxon speech, &c. But Bale and Pitts have bravely ^{fred.} (4) enlarged upon the matter; assuring us, that he did not only write *Collectiones Chronicorum*, but also *Acta suorum Magistratuum*. The *Mirroir des Justices*, written in the days of Edward I. would incline us to believe the latter part of the story; giving so very punctual an (5) account of forty and four of his judges, executed in one year, for corrupt practices. But all that now remains of that great Monarch's works, which relates to history, is only his paraphrastical translation of Bede, and a short genealogy of the Kings of the West-Saxons. The former of these will be treated on (6) hereafter, and the other may be seen among the Appendices to the Oxford edition of his life.

The earliest account we have of the reign of this excellent Prince, is owing to Afferius ^{Afferius.} Menevensis, who lived in his court, and is said to have been promoted by him to the Bishoprick of Sherborn. This treatise was first published by Archbishop Parker, in the old Saxon character, at the end of his edition of (7) Thomas Walsingham's history. This he did to invite his English readers, and to draw them in unawares to an acquaintance with the hand-writing of their ancestors, in hopes to beget in them, by degrees, a love for the antiquities of their own country. Afferius wrote his sovereign's life no further than the 45th year of his age, which, according to his computation, fell in the year of our Lord 893. So that, though the book, as it is published, continue his story to his death, yet that part is borrowed from authors of a later time; particularly, the copy of verses, by way of epitaph, is Henry of Huntingdon's. He shews, through the whole, a great deal of modesty, especially in the account he gives of his own being called to court, and his reception there. He mentions nothing of the visionary dialogue betwixt K. Ælfred and St. Cuthbert; which all the rest of our historians largely insist on, together with the good effects it had upon the diocese of Lindisfern. He is exactly copied by Florence of Worcester, and others, when they come to treat of the great things of this reign. As to what relates to the truth or falshood of that memorable passage in this book, mightily asserting the antiquity of the university of Oxford, I shall not meddle at present; that matter having been sufficiently canvassed by (8) those whose proper business led them to it. The best thing this contest could do for us, was the putting Sir John Spelman upon writing a new (9) life of this King; which he seems to have undertaken, chiefly upon a design to vindicate the university of Cambridge from the reflections which he apprehended were cast upon it by the use that had been made of that passage. The most elaborate piece in his whole book (10) is on this subject; and his zealous management has afforded us some good remarks of his own, and others of the learned translator and publisher of his work. Mr. Hearne has lately (8vo. Oxon. 1709.) published this life in English, from the author's original manuscript; together with several useful and learned remarks of his own. Whether St. Neot ever wrote, as some have reported, the life of King Ælfred, Sir John Spelman justly (11) doubts; and I am not able to resolve him, unless the next paragraph will unravel the matter. But I do know that there was a short-life of this great King, published by (12) R. Powel, a Lawyer, who has been at no contemptible pains to make up a parallel betwixt Ælfred and Charles the First.

Another piece has been published, under the title of (13) Afferius's Annals, by Dr. Gale; who tells us, that the manuscript copy which he used, is now in the library of Trinity-College ^{Pseudo-} in Cambridge. Jo. Brompton (14) indeed cites several things relating to the story of King ^{Afferius.} Offa, out of Afferius's writings, which are not in his Life of Ælfred. Hence some have con-

(3) Martyrol. ad An. 872. (4) Pitts, p. 170. Bale, Cent. 2. cap. 7. (5) Ælfr. Mag. Vit. 82, 83. (6) Chap. 7. (7) Fol. Lond. 1574. (8) Vid. Hist. & antiq. Oxon. lib. 1. p. 9, 10. Et Vit. Ælfr. R. p. 141, 142, 143, &c. (9) Fol. Oxon. 1678. (10) Ibid. (11) Vit. Ælfr. p. 3, 4. (12) 8vo. Lond. 1634. (13) Fol. Oxon. 1691. (14) Inter X. Script. p. 753.

PART I. cluded that he might possibly have been imposed upon by those that had given the name of that author to such anonymous collections, as they knew not how truly to father; and the jealousy may still continue, for any thing which this book discovers to the contrary. For King Offa is hardly named in it; and therefore Brompton must have hit upon a (15) spurious piece, how genuine soever this may prove. The learned publisher does not (16) question, but it is the true off-spring of Afferius; and its insisting chiefly on the fortunes of King Ælfred seems to countenance his opinion. Leland calls it the chronicle of St. Neot's, because he found it in that Monastery. Marianus Scotus had also met with it somewhere, for he transcribes it by wholesale.

Ethelwerd. The next Saxon historian now extant, is Ethelwerd or Elward Patricius, descended, as himself (17) attests, of the blood royal; who lived till the year 1090, but did not continue his chronicle so far. His work consists of four books; which are published by (18) Sir H. Savil. The whole is a translation of a very false and imperfect copy of the Saxon Chronicle: and therefore William of Malmesbury has modestly, out of deference to his family, (19) declined the giving a character of this writers performance. If he had done it truly, he ought to have told us that his stile is boisterous, and that several parts of his history are not so much as hardly sense. It appears from what we have noted above, that both (20) Malmesbury and (1) Camden are mistaken, when they affirm him to be our most ancient historian after Bede. J. Pitts (2) will tell you that we had two other Ethelwerds of the same royal extraction; who, long before this man's time, wrote each of them a Chronicle or History of our English Affairs. The elder of these he makes son to King Ælfred, and the other his grandson. Nay, and St. Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, was likewise most certainly senior to this Ethelwerd Patricius, dying in the year 984. Now, he, says the same (3) author, wrote two books *De Regibus, &c. totius Angliæ*, and *De Tempore Regum Britannorum*: for copies of both which, he sends us to the publick library at Cambridge.

Lives of their Kings. Many things relating to the civil government of these times, are dispersed in some particular lives of their saints and kings; the latter whereof may be here mentioned, though the former will fall under another head. The life of Offa, frequently referred to by (4) Sir Hen Spelman, has been published by (5) Dr. Watts: that of King Oswin was somewhere met with by (6) John Leland: King Ethelwolp's is said to have been written by (7) Wolstan, a famous Monk of Winchester, much commended by William of Malmesbury: Edward the Confessor's, written by Abbot Ealred, has had (8) several editions: and Queen Emma's Encomium is also made (9) publick.

Since the Conquest. After the conquest, J. Pike is (10) said to have written *De Regibus Anglo-Saxonum*, and *De Danis in Anglia dominantibus*: but it seems to be a (11) mistake. Upon the same credit we are assured, that (12) John Mercias, under the reign of King Stephen, published an historical Account of the Mercian Kings, which got him his sur-name: that (13) Coleman the wife, John Harding's great friend, wrote most copiously and clearly of the Saxon heptarchy, their uniting afterwards into a monarchy, the Danish incursions and cruelties &c. And that (14) Gyraldus Cambrensis penned the story of the West-Saxon Kings.

R. Verstegan. R. Verstegan's (15) *Restitution of decayed intelligence in antiquities*, does especially relate to the language, religion, manners and government of the ancient English Saxons. This writer being of Low-Dutch extraction, a Romanist, and something of an artist in painting, had several advantages for making of some special discoveries on the subject whereon he treats; which is handled so plausibly, and so well illustrated with handsome cuts, that the book has taken and sold very well. But a great many mistakes have escaped him. Some whereof have

(15) Vid. Ang. Sac. par. I. p. 330. (16) Præf. 10. (17) Lib. 4. cap. 2. (18) Inter 5 Scrip. post Bed. Fol. Francof. 1601. (19) Prolog. ad Lib. 1 de Gest. Reg. (20) Id. ib. (1) Britan. in val. Pict. (2) J. Pitts, p. 173. (3) Id. p. 178. (4) Council. Tom. I. p. 302, 303, &c. Gloss. p. 296. (5) In Edit. M. Paris. (6) Vid. Monast. Angl. Tom. I. p. 334. (7) J. Pitts, p. 181. (8) Apud. Capgrave, Surium, &c. Optima autem inter 10. Script. (9) Edit. Paris. 1619. (10) J. Pitts, p. 195. (11) Vid. H. Wharton, Præf. ad Angl. Sac. par. II. p. 28, 29. (12) J. Pitts, p. 213. (13) Id. p. 266. (14) Id. p. 281. (15) Quarto Antwerp. 1605. Oct. Lond. 1653, 1674. been

been noted by Mr. Sherringham; as, his fancy of the (16) Vitæ being the ancient inhabitants of the Isle of Wight; of the (17) Saxons being in Germany, before they came in the more Northern countries; of (18) Tuifco's coming from Babel, his giving name to (19) Tuesday, &c. The rest have been carefully collected by my Somner, who has left large marginal (20) notes upon the whole.

Mr. Selden was a person of vast industry, and his attainments in most parts of learning were so extraordinary, that every thing that came from him, was always highly admired and applauded. Though, I must confess, I cannot think he was that great man in our English antiquities, which some have taken him to be: His *Analecta* (1) do not so clearly account for the religion, government and revolutions of state, among our Saxon ancestors, as they are (2) reported to do. The laws he quotes in his *Janus Anglorum*, are as faulty, as if his whole skill in them reached no higher than Lambard's translation; and seem to want Will. Somner's emendations, as much as those he has published of William the Conqueror, in his (3) *Spicilegium in Eadmerum*.

The very best performance that I know of, relating to the prime antiquities of the Saxons, is Mr. Sherringham's *Treatise* (4) *De Anglorum Gentis Origine*. Our civil wars sent this author into the Low-Countries, where he had the opportunity of coming acquainted with Dr. Marshal, and the Dutch language; both inclining him to such studies as this book shews him to have delighted in. He appears to have been a person of great modesty, as well as industry and learning. Hence some will conclude him to be too credulous: and that several of his authors, particularly (5) Lazius's tattle about the Hebrew inscriptions found in Vienna, have not been sufficiently considered. But his collections out of the Greek, Roman, and, chiefly the Northern writers, are highly commendable; and, for the most part, very well put together. A short chronicle of our English-Saxon Kings, from Hengist, to the end of the heptarchy, was written in Latin by Dan. (6) Langhorn; whose chief authors are those published by Sir Henry Savil, and Sir Roger Twissden. He had formerly given us the (7) antiquities of this island, previous to the arrival of the Saxons: wherein, amongst other remains of those dark times, we have a catalogue of the Pictish Kings. It is said, that the continuance of this history is (8) much desired by learned men: and it is fit that such, if possible, should be gratified.

Our Saxon antiquary ought also to be skilled in the writings of those learned Germans, who have made collections of their old laws; or have written such glossaries, or other grammatical discourses, as may bring him acquainted with the many ancient dialects of our ancestors and kinsmen in that part of the world. Of the former sort, those I would chiefly recommend to his use, are the large volumes of Goldastus and Lindendrogius; S. Meichsner's *Kayserlich und Koniglich Land und Lehnrech*; the Frisian laws amongst F. Junius's books, in Bodley's library; and, above all, the (9) *Sachsen Spiegel*, or *Speculum Saxonicum*, which is a notable manual of the old laws of the ancient German Saxons. For the acquiring a sufficient knowledge of the language, a man ought not only to be conversant in the Francic pieces that are collected by (10) Junius, and others, published by (11) Lambecius; but also, and most especially, to be familiarly intimate with the most elaborate and exquisite work of (12) J. G. Schottelius, who has all that can be wished for on that subject.

It was the opinion of (13) Sir Henry Spelman, that our British historians have more largely treated of the ancient affairs of Denmark, than the Danes themselves. But this seems to have been a little unadvisedly written; and before his correspondence with Wormius had better informed him. I know that some of the most eminent antiquaries of that kingdom, bewail a mighty breach in the thread of their history, of no less than three hundred years together, and

(16) Sherringh. de Angl. Gent. Orig. p. 35, 36, &c. (17) Id. p. 75, 149, 345. (18) Id. p. 85. (19) Id. p. 317. (20) Kennet's Life of Somn. p. 63, 120. (1) Quarto, Francof. 1615. (2) Deg. Whear. Method. Legend. Hist. p. m. 133. (3) Fol. Lond. 1623. (4) Octav. Cantabr. 1670. (5) Cap. 4. (6) 8vo. Lond. 1679. (7) 8vo. ib. 1673. (8) See Mr. Bohun's Addit. to D. Whear, p. 134. (9) See Engl. Atlas, vol. II. p. 113, 114. (10) Vid. Hickes Catal. Lib. Sept. p. 177. (11) Comment. in Biblioth. Vindobon. (12) Von der Teutschen Haupt-Sprach, &c. Lib. V. 4to. Brunsw. 1663. (13) In Epist. ad D. P. Rosacran. Mon. Dan. p. 159.

PART that in such centuries as their records ought to be most serviceable to us. But (1) Pontanus
 I. has happily removed that pannick fear; shewing that the story is entire enough, and only the
 chronological part, which is a fault common to all the ancient histories of the whole world, a
 little dark and troubled.

Scaldri. The Scaldri or Runæ, were men of the same fashion among the Danes, and the other nor-
 thern kingdoms, as the bards in Great Britain. They were the profest historians and genealo-
 gifts of their severall countries; always in attendance on their kings, both in piece and war, and
 ready to celebrate every remarkable occurrence in everlasting rhymes. This was their office:
 and it was of that consideration in the state, and so acceptable to the monarchs themselves, that
 those poets were always the chief courtiers and counsellors; as being perhaps the only men of
 letters. Out of their compositions is fetched all the ancient Danish history for some centuries;
 as both (2) Saxo himself, and all the rest of their historians, have acknowledged. The art is
 still in great vogue and credit with the modern Islanders, who are justly reputed the main pre-
 servers of the northern antiquities, notwithstanding that a late (3) learned person has affirmed,
 that their country produces nothing but apparitions, ghosts, hobgoblins and fairies. Mighty
 are the commendations which they that pretend to skill in these venerable sonnets, have given
 us of them. They will not allow any thing that was ever penned by Homer or Virgil, to come
 in competition with them: assuring us, that the (4) happiest flights we can meet with in the
 Greek and Roman poets, are dull trash, if compared with the seraphick lines of a true Cim-
 brian Scald.

Afamal. The language wherein the forementioned rhymes were composed, was, by the northern na-
 tions themselves, called Afamal, or the Afian tongue; being supposed to be brought out of
 Asia by Woden or Odin, the first great general that led a colony into these parts. The best re-
 mains of this, as I long since (5) acquainted the English reader, are now amongst the inhabitants
 of Island: who have preserved their ancient language in the greatest purity; both by being
 least acquainted with foreign commerce, and by taking care to register in it, the publick transac-
 tions of their own and the neighbouring nations. The same old tongue was also called (6)
 Runæ Maali, from the characters wherein it was written, and which they termed Runer: of
 the original of which word, and its proper signification, Wormius has given us a large account.
 The characters themselves were first (he shews) called Runer; though afterwards that word
 came to acquire some new significations: as, 1. Enchantments; because they were performed
 by the help of these strange letters. 2. Learned Men, whose business it was, by the help of
 the same alphabet, to compose epitaphs for their great ones, and to make inscriptions on their
 monuments.

Ira Letur. It is well worth our observation; that among the severall Runic alphabets reckoned up by (7)
 Arngrim Jonas, there is one which he calls Ira Letur, or Irlandorum Literæ. Now, it appears
 indeed that the Danes were long in possession of the kingdom of Ireland, or, at least, a good
 share of it: And yet we have not hitherto met with any remains of their ancient learning,
 which have been discovered in that island. But the thing is not much to be wondered at. As
 all reformatations in religious matters, are zealous and warm; so we have reason to believe that
 to have been, wherein these pagan nations were first converted to christianity. Care was taken
 to abolish the very ruins of their former worship; and their first apostles, bringing generally
 their commissions from the court of Rome, thought the papal conquest never to be effectually
 finished, till even the Italian characters and way of writing had been wholly admitted into
 practice by their northern converts; which was the more easily brought about, by reason of the
 ill use which had been some time made of their Runic letters: for the suggestion was obvious,
 that, as long as these were at hand, it would be difficult to preserve men from trying some of
 their old magical conclusions; and, by degrees, relapsing into idolatry and paganism.

(1) Hist. Dan. lib. 1. p. 37. (2) Vid. Præf. ad Sax. Grammat. Hist. Dan. (3) Sir Tho. Craig's Scotland's So-
 vereign. p. 121. (4) Vid. S. Joh. Steph. Not. in Sax. Gram. p. 11, 12. (5) Eng. Atlas, vol. I. in Denm. p. 49, 70.
 (6) Ol. Worm. Lit. Run. Cap. 5. (7) In Epist. ad Olaum, ibid.

The Danes, as all other ancient people of the world, registered their more considerable transactions upon rocks; or on parts of them, hewn into various shapes and figures. On these they engraved such inscriptions as were proper for their heathen (1) altars, triumphal arches, sepulchral monuments, and genealogical histories of their ancestors. Their writings of less concern, as letters, almanacks, &c. were engraved upon wood: and because beech was most plentiful in Denmark, though fir and oak be so in Norway and Sweden, and most commonly employed in these services, from the word bog, which in their language, is the name of that sort of wood, they, and all other northern nations, have the name of book. The poorer sort used bark; and the horns of rein-deer and elks were often finely polished, and shaped into books of several leaves. Many of their old calendars are likewise upon bones of beasts and fishes: but the inscriptions on tapestry, bells, parchment and paper, are of later use.

PART
I.
Runic
monu-
ments.

Some other monuments may be known to be of a Danish extraction, though they carry nothing of a Runic inscription. Few of their (2) temples were covered; and the largest observed by Wormius, at Kialernes in Island, was one hundred and twenty foot in length, and sixty in breadth. Their alters stood in a sort of chapel, or chancel, in the end of these temples; being only large broad stones, erected on three bulky supporters, in the top of a hillock, surrounded with rows of lesser stones. These altars are usually three of them found together; being consecrated to their three chief deities. They buried their princes and great men, as the old Greeks and Romans also did, in hills, raised sometimes to a considerable height, surrounded with one row of stones about the bottom, and another near the top; and on some pompous occasions, having a third row, in a square, at some distance from the lower of the two former coronets. They likewise anciently burned their dead, and enclosed their ashes in urns, which were repositied in the forementioned barrows, together with the choicest jewels, treasure, and valuable accoutrements of the deceased. The places wherein they fought their duels, were sometimes squares, lined out with rows of stones; sometimes round pits, with convenient posts, at a due distance, for the by-standers. Thus fought (3) Ubbo with the Slavonian. Their courts of judicature, which they called Tinge, were also certain plots of ground, either (4) oval or square, environed with great stones; and having one larger than the rest in the middle. Near-a-kin to which, where the places assigned for (5) election of their Kings; being circles of such stones, usually twelve in number, with the bulkiest in the midst.

Unletter-
ed monu-
ments.

The next monument of age is their Edda Islandorum; the meaning of which appellation, they that publish the book, hardly pretend to understand. As far as I can give the reader any satisfaction, he is to know that (6) Island was first inhabited in the year 874, by a colony of Norwegians; who brought hither the traditions of their forefathers, in certain metrical compositions, which, as is usual with men transplanted into a foreign land, were here more zealously and carefully preserved and kept in memory, than by the men of Norway themselves. About 240 years after this, A. D. 1114. their history began to be written by one (7) Sæmund, surnamed Frode, or the Wise; who, in nine years travel through Italy, Germany and England, had amassed together a mighty collection of historical treatises. With these he returned full fraught into Island; where he also drew up an account of the affairs of his own country. Many of his works are now said to be lost: but there is still an Edda, consisting of several odes, whence I suspect its name is derived, written by many several hands, and at as different times, which bears his name. The book is a collection of mythological fables, relating to the ancient state and behaviour of the great Woden and his followers, in terms poetical, and adapted to the service of those that were employed in the composition of their old rhymes and sonnets. Another Edda, published by (8) Resenius, was written by Snorro Sturlæsonius, who was born (A. D. 1179.) above a hundred years after Sæmund; and lived to be an eminent lawyer in his own country. His work is thought to be only an epitome of the former: but I

Edda.

(1) Vid. Lit. Run. cap. 1. & 25. Mon. Dan. lib. 5. p. 344, 345, & 438. (2) Mon. Dan. lib. 1. cap. 3, 6, 7. (3) Sax. Gram. Hist. Dan. lib. 3. (4) Mon. Dan. lib. 1. cap. 10. (5) Ib. cap. 12. (6) Arn. Jonas, in Chrymog. lib. 1. cap. 2. (7) Tho. Bartholin. Antiq. Dan. lib. 1. cap. 11. p. 192. (8) Quarto Hafn. 1665.

PART

I.

rather look upon them as two several collections of Islandic tales and ballads; out of which may be picked a deal of good history, and the best view of the religious rites of the northern nations that is any where extant. It is plain Saxo had seen many sonnets that are not touched upon in either of these; and thence the report comes of an elder Edda much larger (a thousand times, says Bishop (18) Br. Suetonius) than both of them put together. Nor is it indeed improbable but that a thousand times more songs of this kind, might have been had for seeking after, whatever scantiness they may now be reduced to. Magnus Olaus collected many of them for Wormius's use; which he was also so kind as to translate and explain to him: and, near twenty years ago, I met with a much more perfect Edda, than Resenius's in the famous library of the Duke of Brunswic-Wolfenbittel. Whether it was a copy of Sæmund Frode's I am not now able so much as to conjecture; but I remember the library-keeper (Mr. Hanisius) was so much a stranger to its contents, that he had entituled it an old Moscovian MS. To the Edda is always annexed the Scaldia, which is the old Danish or Islandic Prosodia, teaching how to compose their several sorts of meter.

Islandic Histories.

Our Danish antiquary should be also acquainted with the best Islandic historians; the most ancient whereof is Aras Frode, contemporary with Sæmund. He first wrote a regular History of Island, from the first planting of his country down to his own time: wherein he gives an account also of the affairs of Norway, Denmark, and England, intermixed with those of his own nation. Part of this fell happily into the hands of (19) Tho. Bartholine's friend, the Bishop of Scalholt, who took care to have it published, A. D. 1689. Since his time the Islandic historians have not had any great occasion to meddle with the transactions in Britain, excepting only (20) Arngrim Jonas, who touches upon some passages which we have also in others already mentioned. And indeed, most of them are written with so little judgment (confounding the true and fabulous sonnets of their Scaldri) that they are not to be read without some caution and acquaintance with those poetical writers, who are owned to be their chief authors: and the emulation that daily appears to be betwixt the antiquaries of the two neighbouring kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark, for the gaining the honour of precedence to their several countries, seems to threaten us with further corruptions in the editions of their manuscripts. A misfortune this is, which is too frequently observable, though very highly scandalous, in historians and learned men; who ought not to be biaffed by any, even the most natural affections.

Norwegian Writers.

There is likewise extant, a couple of Norwegian histories of good authentic credit, which explain a great many particulars relating to the exploits of the Danish kings in Great Britain, which our own historians have either wholly omitted, or very darkly recorded. The former of these was written soon after the year 1130, by one (1) Theodoric, a monk, who acknowledges his whole fabrick to be built upon tradition, and that the old northern history is no where now to be had, save only ab Isendingorum antiquis Carminibus. The other was compiled by Snorro Sturlæsonius: who confesses he drew it out of the ballads of the Scaldri, which he verily believes to contain nothing but what may be firmly relied on as most unquestionable truth. And Arngrim Jonas so far concurs with him, (2) as to assure us that the songsters of those days were far from flattery; and knew nothing of the more modern poetical licence of fable and rodomontade, in recording the story of their princes and patrons. This book was translated into the vulgar Danish language, by Pet. Undallensis; and so (3) published by Wormius.

Danish Historians.

Nor do I know of any more than two Danish historians which are necessarily requisite to be in our antiquary's library; and those are Saxo Grammaticus, and his contemporary and fellow-servant, Sueno Aggonis. Before Stephanus's excellent (4) edition, Saxo's history had been thrice published, but very faultily. He is commonly reckoned the most ancient, as well as most polite, historian of Denmark; dying provost of the cathedral church at Roschild,

(18) In Epist. ad S. Joh. Stephan. (19) Tho. Bartholin. Antiq. Dan. p. 197, 198. (20) Chrymogæa, 4to. Hamb. 1610. (1) 8vo. Amstelod. 1634. (2) In Supplement. ad Hist. Norvag. (3) 4to. Hafn. 1633. (4) Fol. Soræ, 1645.

A. D. 1204. Saxo himself says, he (5) compiled a good part of his history out of the *PART* Islandic Ballads; yet Arn. Jonas, as quoted by (6) Stephanius, assures us that he did not deal ^{I.} fairly in that matter, nor make such good use of those authorities as he ought to have done. J. Lyfscander (7) quarrels with him upon the like bottom, and seems to intimate that he had a greater care of the style, than matter of his book. Sueno died before he could bring his work, which is also (8) published by Stephanius, to perfection: but what we have, is of as good and valuable a kind, as the fore-mentioned. For, as Saxo framed his history out of the old rhymes, so he declares that his is mostly taken from the tales and traditions of old people. Out of these two is borrowed the most of what we meet with, relating to those times, wherein the affairs of Denmark and Britain were chiefly interwoven, in Huitfeld, Pontanus, Meursius, and all other later historians of that kingdom.

The great restorer of the decayed antiquities of Denmark, was Olaus Wormius, who has also enabled us to make many new discoveries in those of our own nation. His (9) *Literatura Runica* was the first happy attempt made towards the right explaining of the old Cimbrian monuments: which, till his time, had lain neglected and unknown to the learned world; not only in those northern kingdoms, but in several parts of Italy, Spain, and other European countries, where the Gothic arms and letters had gained a footing. The whole treatise is divided into twenty-nine chapters; largely treating of the name, number, figure, powers, &c. of the Runic characters. His (10) *Monumenta Danica*, affords a noble collection of the scattered Runic monuments through all the several provinces of the Danish and Norwegian kingdoms: an undertaking fruitlessly attempted before him, and a work that was so much despaired of, that some of the best pieces were put to the most vile uses. Out of this misery he recovered them, and has now raised himself an everlasting monument out of them all. The whole book is of singular use to any man that pretends to write upon any branch of our English antiquities; some whereof are (11) particularly illustrated by the worthy author himself. To these we must add his (12) *Lexicon Runicum* and (13) *Fasti Danici*: nor is the (14) *Museum Wormianum* so full fraught with physical rarities, but that it will supply us with some curiosities in Northern antiquities, worth our seeking after. Joh. Mejerus made some gleanings in the same field; which still remain in manuscript. And several Swedes were, by his example, induced to pay the like respect to the long neglected monuments of their ancestors. Among whom (15) Buræus, and (16) Verelius have already appeared in publick; and Joh. Hadorphius's more complete work, *de Sepultura Sueco-Gothorum*, has been long since promised.

Tho. Bartholinus, son to the famous physician of that name, has lately given us an (17) addition to Wormius's discoveries; enquiring into the reasons that induced the ancient Danes to contemn death, and carry on the most dangerous exploits with so much courage and bravery. In pursuance whereof, he gives us a notable account of their belief of the soul's immortality; their deifying of Woden, Thor, Fro, and other heroes; their hopes of enjoying a sensual and Turkish eternity in Valhalla, or Woden's Elysium, &c.

Some few more writers there are, of a lower form, that have treated on the same subject, which may be useful to our English antiquary. But for these I must refer him to Alb. Bartholine's treatise (18) *de Scriptis Danorum*; being not very well disposed, at present, for the writing of dry catalogues.

(5) In Epist. Ded. (6) Proleg. p. 37. (7) Antiq. Dan. Serm. 8. (8) Soræ 1643. (9) 4to. Hafn. 1536. & fol. ibid. 1651. (10) Fol. Hafn. 1644. (11) Mon. Dan. p. 326, &c. 339, 342. (12) Fol. Hafn. 1650. (13) Fol. Hafn. 1626, & 1651. (14) Fol. Lugd. Bat. 1655. (15) 8vo. Upsal. 1664. (16) Runographia Scandica. fol. Upsal. 1675. (17) Antiquitates Dan. 4to. Hafn. 1689. (18) 8vo. Hafn. 1666.

Of our ENGLISH Historians since the Conquest.

TO give an exact and full register of these, would be a tedious work: and require a much better acquaintance with our publick and private libraries than I can pretend to. Sir William Temple has rightly observed, That though, since this great period, the face of affairs (1) “has not been drawn by any one skilful hand, or by the life; yet it is represented in so clear a light, as leaves very little either obscure or uncertain in the history of our kingdom, or succession of our kings.” And it will be enough for my present purpose, to pick out the chief of these limners, and to give the reader a view of them in their proper colours. This I shall endeavour to do as briefly as is possible; ranking them in the several centuries wherein they wrote.

The Eleventh Century.

1066. The first of our English historians, after the conqueror's arrival, was Ingulphus: who, because he chiefly treats of the affairs of Crowland, though he occasionally intermixes the story of our kings, will be more properly placed elsewhere. The relation he bore to King William, does manifestly bias him in the ill account he gives of Harold; pelting that prince with a volley of hard names, all in a breath, *Contemptor præstitæ fidei, ac nequiter oblitus sui sacramenti, throno regio se intrusit, &c.* About the same time wrote Marianus Scotus, a monk of Mentz in Germany, who brought down our English history, interwoven with a more general one of Europe, as low as the year 1083. This work met with such an universal and great applause in our monasteries, that there was hardly (2) one in the kingdom that wanted a copy of it, and some had several. The frequent transcribing it, gave occasion to a deal of errors and mistakes; and the interpolations were so many and confused, that when it came to be (3) prepared for the press, some of its genuine and fairest branches were lopped off, for morbose tumours and excrescences. Nor will the reader meet with a word of our English affairs in that lame edition of Marianus's Chronicle, by (4) Pistorius: whose business it was only to publish the ancient writers of the (5) German history; and therefore he designedly omitted all that concerned this kingdom. The best, and most complete manuscript copy, is in the publick library at Oxford.

Cent. 12. Florence of Worcester.

1101. The earliest (6) history in the twelfth century, was written by Florence, a Monk of Worcester, whom I know not whether to call an epitomizer, or transcriber of Marianus. He seems to give (7) himself the latter character; though it must be acknowledged that he has added very many collections out of the Saxon chronicle, and other writers, with much care and judgment. His book ended with his (8) life, in the year 1119, but it was continued fifty years farther by another monk of the same monastery. He so (9) scrupulously adheres to his authorities, that he sometimes retains even their very mistakes; and yet I must do him the justice to say, he is not guilty of all the contradictions that have been laid to his charge. An ingenious person has lately observed, that he makes his friend Marianus die in the year 1052, and yet affirms, that the same man was made a presbyter seven years after, A. D. 1059. But, in truth, the gentleman himself is more upon the blunder than his author. The phrase of *seculum reliquit*, does not, as he imagines, import the same thing with *mortuus est*: but signifies only (as it does in the same year, and on the same occasion, in Matt. of Westminster, and others) the man's leaving the concerns of this world, *secular* affairs, to turn regular and secluse. It is a scandalous reproach, and not worth the answering, which Sir Thomas Craig gives of him: that (10) “He led his followers into error, like so many cattle breaking over a ditch.”

(1) *Introduct. to Hist. of Engl.* p. 319, 320. (2) *Angl. Sacr. Tom. I. Præf.* p. 24. (3) *Vid. H. Lhuid. Fragm. Brit. Descrip. f. 27. a.* (4) *Fol. Francof. 1583.* (5) See J. Gregory's Notes on Ridley's View, &c. p. 171. (6) *Fol. Francof. 1601.* (7) *Ad Ann. 1043.* (8) J. Pitts, p. 197. (9) *Præf. ad Chron. Sax. p. 6. et Præf. ad Vit. Ælfr. R. p. 3.* (10) *Scotland's Sovereignty. Assert.* p. 47.

Eadmerus,

Eadmerus, a monk of Canterbury, is our next historian, whose *Historia Novorum*, &c. was PART I.
Eadmerus (11) published by Mr. Selden, and contains the story of the two Williams, and Henry the First, from the year 1066 to 1122. It is a work of great gravity, and unquestionable authority. It affords no fooleries of miracles, so very rare in the writings of other monks, unless perhaps the story of the Blessed Virgin's (12) hair having a smack of the cloister. He had temptations enough, being an intimate acquaintance of Archbishop Anselm, to take the pope's part, in the mighty dispute of his time about investiture; and yet he approves himself a person of that steady loyalty to his country, as to give a fair account of the management on both sides, and the unanswerable arguments made in defence of the regal power. His comparing of our Saviour's commission to St. Peter, and Pope Gregory's to Augustine the monk, for the establishing of the primacy of Canterbury, is notable: and either clears that of Canterbury, or clouds that of Rome. The character which Selden himself gives of him is, that his style equals that of Malmesbury, his matter and composition exceeds him. His contemporary Ælfred, monk and treasurer of the church of Beverly, seems to be no more than an epitomizer of Geoffrey of Monmouth: so that all the four (13) general treatises said to be written by this author, may probably well bear the name of *Deflorationes Galfredi*. But in this I dare not be positive. Leland saw this author's entire history; which ended Anno 21. Hen. I. He has made collections out of it; wherein (as some passages cited by R. Higden) there are several things not found in Geoffrey. Which, considering withal that Ælfred may probably be reckoned as early a writer as himself, is one of the most cogent arguments, as far as I know, to prove that this Monmouth was not the first author of all the fabulous part of the British story.

But William, monk and library-keeper of Malmesbury, was a person of another figure; and has had the highest commendations imaginable given him by some of our best critics in English history. One calls him an (14) elegant, learned, and faithful historian. Another says, he is the (15) only man of his time, that has honestly discharged the trust of such a writer. And the third calls him, the (16) chief of all our historians. What falls under our present consideration, is his account (17) *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, in five books; with an Appendix in two more, which he styles *Historiæ Novellæ*. In these we have a judicious collection of whatever he found on record, touching the affairs of England, from the first arrival of the Saxons, concluding his work with the reign of King Stephen; to whom he shews himself as hearty an enemy, as his patron, Robert, Earl of Gloucester, could possibly be. We shall have occasion to mention this author in several of the following chapters; and therefore I shall now only add, that I think himself has given an honest account of this part of his labours, when he tells us, (18) *Privatim ipse mihi, sub ope Christi, gratulor, quod continuam Anglorum Historiam ordinarim post Bedam vel solus vel primus*. And again: *Ego enim veram legem secutus historiæ, nihil unquam posui nisi quod a fidelibus relatoribus vel scriptoribus addidici*. Pitts, says he, was epitomized by (19) W. Horman, sometime master of Eaton school: but whether all his works, or some part of them only, were so contracted, he does not tell us. Possibly, he only transcribed what (20) Simeon Dunelmensis had before drawn up to his hand.

This Simeon, and his contemporary, Ealred, Abbot of Rievaulx, are our next historians of note in this century, and have both deserved to be remembered in several parts of this treatise. The former was Monk and Precentor of Durham, A. D. 1164, and might justly be reckoned one of the most (21) learned men of his age. But his two books *De Gestis Regum*, which alone are now to be mentioned, are not his master-pieces: being only a few indigested collections, chiefly out of Florence of Worcester, whose very words he frequently copies. Abbot Ealred (not of (22) Ravesby in Lincolnshire, but of Rievaulx in Yorkshire) gives us a short genealogy of our kings; but enlarges chiefly on the praises of David, King of Scots, founder

(11) Fol. Lond. 1623. (12) P. 88. (13) J. Pitts, p. 204. (14) J. Leland, *Affert. Arth.* fol. 4. b. & fol. 8. a. (15) D. Hen. Savil. In *Epist. Ded. ad 5 Script.* (16) Usher in *Ep. Ded. ad Eccles. Hist.* (17) Fol. Francof. 1601. (18) *Prolegom. ad Lib. 5. de Gest. Reg.* (19) J. Pitts, p. 723. (20) Id. p. 228. (21) Vid. J. Selden. *Præf. ad X Script.* p. 1. (22) Ut male J. Selden, in *Præf. ad X Script.* Vid. *Monast. Angl. Tom. I.* p. 172.

PART of a great many abbies for the Cistercians. His other books, of the life of Edward the Confessor, &c. are treated on elsewhere. I doubt Sir George Mackenzey's (1) Baldredus Abbas Rynalis, is this very author: notwithstanding the great pains he is at to distinguish them.

Henry of Huntingdon. About this same time flourished Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, whose eight books, concluding with the reign of King Stephen, were published by (2) Sir Henry Savil. In the preface, he owns himself a follower of Bede, in the main, for the time he wrote in: but says, withal, that he added many things met with in old libraries. His first lines will easily convince the reader, that he does really follow Bede; for he copies him to a word. But I am not satisfied, that he has added any great matters, as far as that author goes. He has indeed a great many lies out of Geoffrey of Monmouth, which Bede never heard of; and which the world might have wanted well enough. After Bede's time, he has many particulars out of the Saxon Chronicle, which had been omitted by our historians before him. He is pleased to take notice of one great truth, that he writes very (3) confusedly. All the transactions of the heptarchy, he reduces to the several reigns of the West-Saxon kings: but has not adjusted them so well as he ought to have done. At the same time lived John Serlo, Abbot of Fountains, who, as John (4) Pitts tells us, wrote a treatise *De Bello inter Scotiæ Regem & Angliæ Barones*. We are not so well assured of this, as that he wrote a history of the foundation of his own monastery; for which he shall be remembered in a proper place. The general histories written by Richard of the (5) Devizes, and John of (6) Tilbury, a London divine, before the end of this age, are of the same authority; and that is all I have to say concerning either of them.

Neubrigensis. William of Newburg was so called from a monastery in Yorkshire, of that name, whereof he was a member, though his true sur-name was Little, whence he sometimes styles himself Petit or Parvus. His history ends at the year 1197, and therefore, though he is said to be alive (7) A.D. 1220. he ought to be reckoned among the historians of this age. John Pitts (8) thinks he appears too much a flatterer of the grandees at court, to write a true history: but, by the account he gives of the beginning of it, a man would be tempted to believe he never read it. He was a most violent persecutor of Geoffrey of Monmouth, of whose history he gives this sharp character, that it contains only *pro expiandis britonum maculis ridicula figmenta, &c.* But (9) Dr. Powel gives the reason of this bitterness of spirit. It appears, he says, from some of their histories, of good credit and antiquity, that this William, whom those Welsh historians call Gwilym Bach, i. e. Gulielmus Parvus, put in for the bishoprick of St. Asaph; upon the death of the said Geoffrey, bishop there, about the year 1165, and, being disappointed, fell into a mad humour of decrying the whole principality of Wales, its history, antiquity, and all that belongs to it. He is large (10) in his account of the life, manners, &c. of Hugh, Bishop of Durham. His Latin style is preferred to that of M. Paris, and equalled with those of Eadmerus and William of Malmesbury, by (11) Dr. Watts.

Cent. 13. 1201. The thirteenth century begins with Gervase, a Monk of Canterbury, who (12) is reported to have been a most judicious antiquary, and methodical historian, and to have made excellent collections of the British and English story, from the coming in of the Trojans, down to the year 1200. It were to be wished these dorman tomes could be discovered: for the reigns of three kings, which are the only part of our general history, of this authors penning, now (13) extant, are done with judgment enough. So much encouragement we have to look after the whole, that we are sure Leland had the perusal of an entire copy; the prologue whereof he has (14) transcribed, as likewise many following passages relating to the affairs of the Britains and Saxons. About the same time Nicholas de Fly, Bishop of Durham, is (15) said to have written an historical treatise: wherein he relates that memorable passage, mentioned also by some other historians, of one Simon Thurvay's forgetting all that he had learned, which was to a good pitch of eminence, and turning perfect blockhead. It is to be feared, we shall hardly meet with

(1) Def. of the Royal Line of Scotl. p. 22. & 27. (2) Fol. Francof. 1601. (3) Lib. 2. (4) J. Pitts, p. 224. (5) Id. p. 255. (6) Id. p. 258. (7) D. Whear. Method. Leg. Hist. p. 138. (8) J. Pitts, p. 271. (9) In Epist. Ded. ad Pontic. Virun. (10) 8vo. Paris, 1610. (11) Præf. ad M. Paris Hist. (12) J. Pitts, p. 889. (13) Fol. Lond. 1652. inter X Script. (14) Collect. MS. Vol. I. p. 105. (15) J. Pitts, p. 268.

this history, till we find the historian himself, which is more than either Bishop Godwin, or Mr. Wharton, could do, amongst the Bishops of Durham. PART I.

Contemporary to these two, and a much greater historian than both of them joined, was Roger de Hoveden, who seems to have been chaplain for some time to King Henry the Second. His history was (4) published by Sir H. Savil: but, as Sir H. (5) Spelman observes, there are many errors in that foreign edition of this, and all our other historians; and therefore he well cautions the English reader attentively to consider the spelling of such words as are of our own growth, as very frequently mistaken by printers, that are strangers to our country and language. It is a heavy censure, which Leland has given of this author, (6) *Qui scrinia Simeonis, suppresso ejus nomine, strenue compilavit, & aliena pro suis, gloriæ avidulus, supposuit.* Mr. Selden justifies him (7) against this sharp sentence; and Sir Henry Savil gives a quite different character of the man and his writings: (8) *Huntingdoniensis & Hovedenus* (says he) *authores cum primis boni & diligentes, verissimique; superiorum temporum indices.* And indeed Leland himself was afterwards of the like opinion: for, in his book (9) *de Scriptoribus*, he says nothing of his being a plagiarist, but gives him this great character, *Mortuo Henrico [Rege sc. ejus nominis secundo] omne studium suum ad historiolum scribendam contulit; in quo negotio si diligentiam, si sanctam fidem, spectes, non modo quotquot seculis rudibus quidem præcesserunt scriptores, verum etiam seipsum, superavit.* He may possibly have borrowed something from Simeon of Durham. But, if he did, he has improved his story, adding the years to many things confusedly related in that writer. After the year 802, he falls indeed a little into confusion himself; jumbling a great many things touched on before, without any manner of form or order. But, after three or four pages, he comes to himself again, and goes on regularly enough. There are in his book many letters, speeches, &c. relating to ecclesiastical affairs, which are good materials towards a general church history of this kingdom. In the year 1291. King Edward the first is said to have caused diligent search to be made in all the libraries in England, for Hoveden's history, to adjust the dispute about the homage due from the crown of Scotland: which, says my (10) author, it clears effectually. At the same time Joh. Oxfordius, Bishop of Norwich, is (11) reported to have compiled an English chronicle; and we may look for some good remarks from a person employed, as he was, on an embassy to Rome, there truly to represent to his holiness, an account of Archbishop Becket's behaviour. Hector Boethius pretends to have seen his history, and applauds him as a writer next to his mighty Geoffrey of Monmouth, in authority as well as time.

The next historian of note and figure, is Ralph de Diceto, or Diffeto, Dean of London, who wrote about the year 1210. He sometimes refers to a (12) chronological account of our British kings, of his own compofure, which must have reached much higher than any thing hitherto published under his name. And such a work in several parts, containing a British chronicle from Brute to Cadwallador, and an English one from Hengist to King Herold, the industrious Mr. Wharton (13) says, he had seen and perused in the Norfolk library. This British chronicle is probably the same that is printed by (14) Dr. Gale; and seems to be wholly transcribed out of the works of a former author, whom he calls Brome. This may be the same with Jo. Bromius, or Bramus quoted sometimes by Dr. Caius, and (15) Fran. Thynne; but must be different from Jo. Bramis, the friar of Gorleston, with whom he is confounded by Bale and Pitts, because the friar wrote not till about 1440, and our historian must live before Ralph de Diceto, and was moreover (as Thynne observes) a Monk of Thetford. The two treatises which concern us at present, and are already (16) printed, are his *Abbreviationes Chronicorum*, and his *Imagines Historiarum*. The former whereof contains an abstract of our history, but chiefly in church matters, down to the conquest; and the latter gives the portraiture of some of our kings, more at length, ending with the first years of King John's reign. Mr.

(4) Fol. Francof. 1601. (5) Glossar. in voce Frithborga. (6) Comment ad Cygn. Cant. voce Dunolm. (7) Præf. ad X Script. p. 2. (8) Epist. Ded. ad 5. Scrip. (9) MS. in Bibl. Bodl. p. 183. (10) J. Pitts, p. 272. (11) Id. p. 265. (12) Angl. Sac. Par. II. p. 677. (13) Præf. ad Par. II. Angl. Sac. p. 27. (14) Inter 15 Scrip. p. 553. (15) Holinshead's Hist. Vol. II. p. 1589. (16) Fol. Lond. 1652, inter 10 Scrip.

PART I.

Selden is much in the praises of this (17) author and his works: though all that is here remembered, is usually copied out of other writers, who are often transcribed verbatim. Dr. Gale met with a better copy of his abbreviations than had fallen into the hands of Sir Roger Twisden; and has taken occasion, in discoursing (18) upon that subject, to shew how mischievously the old monks of Canterbury used to corrupt their manuscripts. Diceto's talent lay mainly towards church history; and on that topick, we shall hereafter meet with him more than once. If Gyraldus Cambrensis ever wrote any such thing as an (19) English chronicle, it ought to come in the same rank of time with these of Diceto's: but I very much suspect the truth of that report. Hither also must be referred the famous (20) Exchequer man, King Henry the Second's nephew, Gervase of Tilbury; who, besides the black book, to be remembered hereafter, is said to have written a large historical commentary upon Geoffrey of Monmouth, under the title of (21) *Illustrationes Galfredi*, which he dedicated to the Emperor Otho the Fourth. Here likewise notice ought to be taken of John Wallingford's Chronicle, published by (1) Dr. Gale; if the abbot of St. Albans of that name, who died in the year 1213, was, as the learned editor guesses, the author of it. But he seems to be a different person from the historian, who carries down his work forty years after the Abbot's death. The doctor, indeed, makes R. Wendover, author of the latter part of that history: but, if he had looked into the next treatise to this chronicle, in the Cottonian manuscript, from whence he had it, he would have met with another John Wallingford, who was made Monk of St. Albans, in the year 1231, and might bring down this history to 1258, without the assistance of Wendover.

Walter
Coventri-
ensis.

Walter, Monk of Coventry, deserves a more particular remembrance, as perhaps very well meriting the account given of him by John (2) Leland, who says the two main ornaments of an historian (*Sincera fides & lucidus ordo*) are to be had in him. Upon the strength of this authority, Bale tells us he was (3) *Immortali vir dignus memoria*. But his three books of chronicles, and annals, for which these men send us to Bennet College, are all one; being chiefly collections out of Geoffrey of Monmouth, R. Hoveden, and H. Huntingdon. Some few things of note and consequence he has, which are not to be met with in those authors. He is said to have lived in Coventry, A. D. 1217, and therefore Alexander (4) Eusebiiensis's Epitome of our English Annals, Peter (5) Henham's History, and R. (6) Niger's, continued by his name-fake (7) Ralph, abbot of Coggeshal, are of the same date.

Matt.
Paris.

Soon after these, appeared Matthew Paris, a Monk of St Albans; one of the most renowned historians of this kingdom. His *Historia Major* contains the annals, at large, of eight of our kings; from the beginning of the reign of William the First, to the conclusion of that of Henry the Third. It was first published at London, A. D. 1571, and the (8) Zurich edition only copied from that. It was again verbatim reprinted, the errors of the press being only corrected, by (9) Dr. Wats, who beautified it with additions of various readings; the author's large *Addimenta*, and his lives of the Abbot of St. Alban's; a good glossary of his own composition, &c. Among other reasons that prevailed with him to publish the very words of the former edition, he thought he should hereby effectually stop the mouths of the Romanists, who pretended that the hereticks had vilely corrupted that historian, when they should see their case was not bettered, by comparing it with all the manuscript copies that could be had of it. From the year 1259, wherein M. Paris died, to King Henry the Third's death, it was continued by William Rishanger, a monk of the same fraternity, as some inform us. Others will needs affirm, that Paris himself had a very small hand in the whole, having only begun at the year 1235, the rest being done to his hand by one Roger de Windlesore, or Windsor, (the MS. copy of his history in Cotton's library calls him Rogerus Wendovre de Wendover prior de Bealvoir) one of his predecessors in the same monastery. Before that time, they (10)

(17) In Præf. ad 10 Script. (18) Præf. ad Hist. Brit. p. 14. (19) J. Pitts, p. 281. (20) H. Spelm. Glossar. in voce Scaccarium. J. Stow, Chron. p. 154. (21) J. Pitts, p. 274. Bale, Cent. 3. (1) XV Scrip. p. 525. (2) Apud J. Pitts, p. 290. (3) Cent. 3. cap. 74. (4) Vid. Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. Par. I. p. 15. (5) J. Pitts, p. 297. (6) Id. p. 292. Bibl. Cott. Cleop. C. 10. (7) Id. p. 301. Bibl. Cott. Vesp. D. 10. (8) Fol. 1606. (9) Fol. Lond. 1640. (10) Vid. D. Watli Præf.

tell us, there are only some few interpolations of M. Paris's, who, for some reasons best known to himself, did not break off at the year 1250, as it appears he designed, but continued writing to his death. The author, whoever he was, did certainly begin his chronicle at the creation, though we now have lost all that went before the conquest; unless, as the (11) publisher of him guesses, that which now goes under the name of Matthew of Westminster, be, in reality, the true work of Matt. Paris. This, undoubtedly, is as much the off-spring of Roger de Wendover, as that following part now published, is the genuine work of Matt. Paris, as will sufficiently appear to any that shall take the pains to consult the above mentioned manuscript copy. The whole book manifests a great deal of candour and exactness in its author, who furnishes us with so particular a relation of the brave repulses given by many of our princes, to the usurping power of the Roman sea, that it is a wonder how such an heretical history came to survive thus long. *Quam fuit animo infensissimo in apostolicam sedem quis facile potest intelligere*, says Cardinal (12) Baronius. The English whereof is only this; he was a writer of a singular courage, and one that durst maintain the prerogatives of his sovereign's imperial crown against the usurpations of the papal crozier. And yet he is as kind to the pope, as he is either to the King himself, or the Abbot of St. Albans; for he indiscriminately lashes, upon occasion, every body that comes in his way. The same author wrote an abstract of the fore-mentioned work, to which he gave the title of *Chronica*, and W. Lambard first christened it *Historia Minor*. It begins, as the former, with William the Conqueror, and ends A. D. 1250, having in it several particulars of note omitted in the larger history. The fairest copy of this book, supposed to be written by the authors own hand, is in the King's library at St. James's. One John Shepshed is (13) supposed to have lived at the same time with Matt. Paris; and is, by John Stow, asserted to be the author of an (14) English history. We may probably bring in also Robert of Gloucester, for another of his contemporaries, since Archbishop (15) Usher and (16) Mr. Camden are both positive, that he lived some time in the reign of King Henry the Third. His rhyming Chronicle is in (17) English; and the reader may have a taste of it, as much, it may be, as ever he will desire, either from (18) Mr. Selden, or (19) Mr. Wood.

The Chronicle of (20) Mailros, though its title may seem to rank it among the records of another kingdom, yet, may justly challenge a place among our English historians, since it chiefly insists upon the affairs of this nation. The Abbot or Prior of Dundrainand in Gallo-way, a nursery under Mailros, is thought to have been the first compiler of the work; which was afterwards continued, by several hands, down to the year 1270. There is very little relating to the Northern history of this kingdom, before the year 1142, when the little convent of Dundrainand was founded, save what is borrowed from Florence of Worcester, and Matthew of Westminster: so that it must be after that time that the character which the publisher gives of this chronicle, (*exhibet principum, procerum, Episcoporum, abbatum, in borealibus istis oris successiones*) is most agreeable. From the year 1262, the continuator, whoever had the turn to be register at that time, is as dull and whimsical as any monk needs be. It was his business to draw the picture of Simon Monfort, the famous Earl of Leicester; and he has so overdone the matter, that he thought himself obliged, in the conclusion, to instance in a great many authors of note that had published some stories a little romantick, and yet had found the favour to be believed.

The rest of the general historians of this age are of a much lower form, and less weight, than these already mentioned. Such were Elias de Evesham, and his namesake, Elias de Trickingham; who are (1) both said to have flourished about the year 1270. There is a copy of the latter's chronicle among my Lord Clarendon's manuscripts, which ends A. D. 1268. Peter Ickeham, a (2) Kentish man born, and sometime a student in the university of Paris,

(11) In Præf. ad Editionem Tigurin. (12) Annal. Eccles. ad An. 996. (13) J. Pitts, p. 313. (14) Extat. in Bibl. Cott. Faustina. B. 6. Ubi tamen dicitur Willielmus de Schepseved Monachus de Crokysden. (15) Hist. Eccles. Brit. p. 29. (16) Remains, p. m. 8. (17) Bibl. Cott. Caligula. A. 11. (18) Titles of Hon. p. 535. (19) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. Par. I. p. 112. (20) Fol. Oxon. 1684. (1) J. Pitts, 350, 351. (2) Id. p. 355. Bibl. Cott. Domitian. A. 3. Bibl. Bobl. inter MSS. Laudd.

PART

I.

about the year 1264, collected the British and English histories, from the coming in of Brute, and continued them to the reign of Edward the First. This chronicle is (1) said to have been some time in the possession of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, and perhaps is the same book which (2) Mr. Wharton acquaints us is now at Lambeth. John Buriensis, Abbot of S. Edmundsbury, where he died, A. D. 1280. wrote also (3) English Annals, wherein he treats at large of the disputes betwixt Pope Innocent the Fourth and R. Grostest, Bishop of Lincoln. Possibly this Buriensis may be the same with (4) Burgenfis; and all one with John, Abbot of Peterborough, whose MS. chronicle is quoted by (5) Mr. Wharton. And then he should have been reserved till the next century, about the middle whereof that abbot certainly flourished. Or, it may be, the chronicle that was written by (6) John de Taxton, or Taxter, a monk of Bury, which ends at the reign of Edward the Third, is the same thing with these Annals. John de Oxenedes, a monk of Hulm, whose chronicle is cited by (7) Mr. Wharton, lived about the same time.

Cent. 14.
T. Wikes

1301. Tho. Wikes, called by Leland Vicanus, by others Wicelus, ought to begin the fourteenth century, though both Bale and Pitts bring him within the foregoing; for his history, which begins at the conquest, ends at the death of Edward the First, A. D. 1304. The author was canon regular of Osney near Oxford; and writes as clearly and fully, especially in some passages relating to the barons wars, as so compendious a chronicle as his is, would allow him to do. We are indebted to Dr. Gale for the (8) publishing of this history, together with others of good value, that had long laid in private hands. John Castorius, called also (9) Fiber and Bever, was a Monk of Westminster about this time, and wrote a chronicle, still extant in some of our (10) English libraries. Leland commends him as an historian of good credit; and he is also cited, with respect, by John Stow, in his survey. He begins with the coming in of Brute, and ends at his own time. W. Rishanger, who died very old, about the year 1312, has been mentioned already; and Rad. Baldoc, who died the year following, and whose history is quoted by Leland and Archbishop (11) Usher, seems hardly to deserve it. Of the like kind is the compendious Chronicle of Tho. Hafilwood, canon regular of Leeds in Kent, whom both Bale and Pitts have fixed at the year 1321. But (12) J. Weever, from a passage in his book, which gives an account of the victories of the Black Prince, shews that he must have lived pretty late in the reign of Edward the Third, if not under, his grandson, Richard the Second.

N. Trivet.

Of something better value are the Annals of Nicolas Trivet, son of Sir Tho. Trivet, Lord Chief Justice, who was prior of a monastery of Dominican friars in London, where he was buried A. D. 1328. An excellent copy of his history, which John Pitts (13) subdivides into three several treatises, is now in the library at Merton College in Oxford, whence several of our most eminent (14) antiquaries have had very remarkable observations. It is in French, and bears the title of *Les Gestes des Apostoiles*, or the (15) Popes, Empereurs et Rois. Roger Cestrensis, who was a Benedictine Monk of St. Werburg's in Chester, was Trivet's contemporary, and wrote a large account of the affairs of this nation. This work he entitled *Polycratice Temporum*, and began it with the coming in of the Romans. He continued it at first no lower than the year 1314, but added (16) afterwards a supplement of fifteen years more. In the Harleyan library there are several MS. copies of this work; one whereof is frequently marked by Bale's own hand. By comparing these with those of R. Higden, in the same noble repository, it is manifest that Ralph stole his pretended work from Roger, disguising it only with his own superscription; For, 1. One of the copies of the *Polycratice* is plainly the numerical book described by Pitt's, under the name of Higden. 2. Another of them has *Ran. Cestr. in*

(1) E. Gibson Catal. Bibl. Tennison, p. 26. (2) Angl. Sacr. Par. I. p. 116. (3) J. Pitts, p. 361. (4) Id. p. 448. (5) Angl. Sacr. Par. I. p. 115. (6) Bibl. Cott. Julius, A. 1. (7) Angl. Sacr. Vol. I. p. 405, 410. (8) Hist. Angl. Vol. II. Fol. Oxon. 1687. (9) J. Leland. Assert. Arth. fol. 30. a. (10) Bibl. D'Ewes, Monast. Angl. Tom. I. p. 177. (11) Hist. Eccles. Brit. p. 21. (12) Fun. Mon. p. 206. (13) J. Pitts, p. 422. (14) Vid. H. Spelman. Council. Tom. I. p. 111. Hist. Oxon. lib. 2. p. 392. & Ab. Wheloc. Bed. Hist. p. 115. (15) Spelm. Gloss. in voce Apostolici. (16) J. Pitts, p. 438.

a modern hand, on its title, instead, as Mr. Wanley probably conjectures, of Rog. Cestr. rased PART I.
out. 3. The forgery is most evident, from comparing a passage relating to the two Cærlons, to one whereof, Chester the true historian takes notice of his being particularly related; which Ralph literally transcribes, adding, *sicut per capitales hujus primi libri apices clarius patet*. Which is ascertaining the whole chronicle to himself, according to the villainous contrivance which we shall mention anon. It is probable the Chronicle of Joh. Londinensis, who lived about the (1) same time, is still extant; for it is quoted in Lambert's Preface to Archaionomia, and amongst R. James's Collections, there are several things extracted out of it.

About the same time, as Mr. Selden probably (2) conjectures, lived the author of that chronicle, which goes under the name of John Brompton, sometime Abbot of Joreval, or Jorvaulx, J. Brompton. in the county of York, which begins with the coming in of Augustine the Monk, A. D. 588, and ends with the death of Richard the First, 1198. It is not indeed likely, that this history was written by any member of the Abbey of Joreval, since it takes no notice of the foundation of that monastery, &c. but only procured by Abbot Brompton, and, by him, bestowed on his monastery. The author, whoever he be, is very full in his collections for the Saxon times, but takes no notice of the chronological part in the whole story of the heptarchy. In this he has not been very inquisitive; ending, for example, Northumberland, where Bede's history leaves him. He gives the Saxon laws at large, and translates them pretty honestly. In what he borrows from the old chronicle, in that language he is not altogether so correct, otherwise he had never told us such a rare story of one (3) Sumerled, a Danish tyrant, who sacked Reading, &c. His chief author is Roger Hoveden. Of Walter Hemmingford the reader needs no further account than what has been already given of him by his worthy (4) publisher; nor have I any more to say of Richard of Chichester, than what John Pitts has told me, (5) that he was a Monk of Westminster, A. D. 1348; that he travelled to most of the libraries of England, and out of his collections thence compiled a notable history of this kingdom, from the coming in of the Saxons down to his own time.

Ran. Higden, Monk of St. Werburg's in Chester, where he died very aged, (6) A. D. 1377. R. Higden. was, as has been already observed, a downright plagiarist; and yet, *unicuique auctorum suorum honorem integrum servans*, says Bale. The character might be true for any thing, perhaps, he knew: but it is that writer's way to give accounts of men and their labours at random. It is very evident that, on the contrary, he falls foul on William of Malmesbury in many places; and yet that person is thought to have deserved a respect, and is usually better treated by all our other historians. He is pleased to stile his work (7) Polycronicon; and, if you spell the first letters of the several chapters that begin it, you read *presentem chronicam compilavit frater remigius monachus cestrensis*. It is observable, that the plagiarist picks out such capitals, and enlarges them, as are for his wicked purpose, and omits the rest; which is another notorious proof of his knavish forgery. What he wrote relating to the times of the Britons and Saxons, has been lately (8) published by Dr. Gale, who commends him for preserving many remains out of ancient chronicles, now wholly lost or mislaid. I have a parchment manuscript of this history, which seems to be a better copy than what the learned doctor made use of. The rest was first translated into English by John de Trevisa, a (9) Cornish man born, and sometime Vicar of Berkely in Gloucestershire, who illustrated the whole with annotations of his own, says my author: but they (10) that know the matter better, have observed aright, that the many interpolations and additions in William Caxton's English edition, are the publisher's, and not Trevisa's; and so is also the continuation down to the year 1460. For Caxton expressly takes it upon himself, though our famous (11) Selden says it was the work of Trevisa, who, if that great man were not mistaken, must have penned it near a hundred years after his death.

(1) J. Pitts, p. 878. (2) Præf. ad X. Script. inter quos J. Brompton. (3) Vid. Joh. Spelm. Vid. Ælfr. R. p. 18. (4) Tho. Gale, Hist. Brit. & Angl. Vol. II. in Præfat. p. 8, 9, 10. (5) J. Pitts, p. 438. (6) Ita J. Pitts, p. 517. Verum Balæus, anno 1363. (7) Fol. Westmon. Apr. 13, 1495. (8) Hist. Brit. Vol. I. Fol. Oxon 1691. (9) J. Pitts, p. 567. Bibl. Cot. Tiberius, D. VII. (10) Vid. Usseri Hist. Dogm. Edit. ab H. Wharton, p. 157, 439. (11) In Præfat. ad X. Script.

PART I. John, Vicar of Tinnmouth, (whence he is always called Tinnuthensis, though he was afterwards (19) Monk of St. Albans, A. D. 1366.) was a mighty collector of our English histories, which he has left digested into three very large volumes, whereof there are now fair copies in the libraries at Oxford, Lambeth, &c. This work he was pleased to call *Historia Aurea*, and for that reason the author himself is by (20) Leland named Chrysistoriographus. Out of this large mass many notable remarks have been made by the learned men of this age: but, because they chiefly relate to the doughty feats and miracles of our English saints, as well as his other works that more professedly treat on that subject, we shall defer the further consideration of him to another place.

Matth. of Westminster. To humour Bale, Pitts and Vossius, we shall here place Matthew, a Benedictine Monk of Westminster, who, they tell us, flourished in the year 1377. It is more probable that he hardly outlived the year 1307, in which he (1) ended his history, though it was afterwards, as we shall see anon, continued by other hands. He was a choice collector of the flowers of former historians, from whence, and from the title of his book, he is usually stiled *Florilegus*. His chief benefactor is Matthew Paris, whom he so accurately transcribes, that he cannot be persuaded to leave him, even when he warmly treats of the particulars of his own monastery of St. Albans; nay, he sometimes refers, in Paris's very words, to that author's *Addimenta*, as to a work of his own compofure: and hence some have concluded that the whole, even that part which precedes the conquest, was borrowed from the same hand; but I can hardly agree to that, since the same heedless way of writing, unbecoming the accuracy of Matth. Paris, runs through both of them. Hence (2) *Unde reges Cantiae usque hodie Aeskynges vocantur*, with a thousand more of the like. It is most likely, as has been already observed, that R. de Wenderover was a common parent to both the Matthews, and the main of what is published under both their names came from that hand. There was an edition of Westminster's history before that of (3) Francfort, but abominably corrupt and imperfect, especially after the year 1245; the author's punctual relation of the brisk behaviour of our kings and nobility, in opposition to the encroachments of the Roman see, being wretchedly mangled and purloined. Upon this bottom John Pitts divides the history into two (4) several works; whereof the former he calls *Historia ampla*, which, says he, is that which was published at (5) London; and the other, *Historiarum Flores*. The distinction he had from Bale, though the application be his own. This report seems to have had some slender foundation, since we are told, that amongst my (6) Lord Clarendon's manuscripts there is another historical work, which bears the title of *Flores Historiarum*, which is very different from the printed copy, and is continued near forty years further. But the reader ought to know, that there are many anonymous historians in this kingdom, who, beginning at the year 1307, manifestly shew, that they chiefly intended to continue the work of Matthew of Westminster. The most eminent, indeed, of his continuators was Adam Merimuth, Canon-Regular of St. Paul's, and an eminent civilian, who, in the latter end of his days, gave himself wholly to the reading and writing of English history. He begins his work at (7) 1302, and his first part reaches only to 1343; (which, I suppose, makes the enlargement in my Lord Clarendon's copy, but the second continues the story to (in all likelihood the year of his own death) A. D. 1380. It is observable, that his history commences at Michaelmas; and for that reason he always afterwards begins the new year at that feast.

John Stafford, &c. A few more, of an inferior rank, may probably be reckoned amongst the historians of this age: as, 1. John Stafford, a Franciscan friar, who is (8) supposed to have written an English history about the year 1380. Thomas Fuller (9) observes very well, that the exact time when he wrote, or lived, is not known; only, being a Franciscan, and that, I doubt, is not very

(19) J. Pitts, p. 500. (20) Assert. Arth. & alibi. (1) Vid. H. Wharton Praef. ad Angl. Sax. Par. I. p. 32, 33. (2) Ad Ann. 489. (3) Fol. A. D. 1601. (4) J. Pitts, p. 519. (5) Fol. A. D. 1570. (6) Catal. Bibl. Tenneson, p. 1. (7) So says Pitts, 531. And yet ex Chron. ad Merimuth, in Bibl. Cotton. An. Dom. 1300. W. Petyt's quotation runs, in his Ancient Right of the Commons, &c. p. 30. (8) Pitts, p. 523. (9) Worthies in Staffordshire, p. 45.

certainly known neither, he must have flourished after the year 1226, when that order first came into England; and, being quoted by John Ross, must come in before 1480. 2. William de Packington, secretary and treasurer to the Black Prince in Gascoigne, wrote a Chronique in French, from the ninth year of King John, down to his own time, 1380, out of which several collections have been made (10) Leland, (11) Stow, and others. 3. Henry de Knighton, one of the Canons of Leicester, whose (12) history may be said to begin at the conquest, since he has only a short abstract of the Saxon affairs in his first book. It is continued down to the year 1395. He fairly owns what he transcribes from Ralph Higden, whom he intimates also in the crotchet of making the fifteen first chapters of his second book give his name in their initial letters, thus :

H E N R I C U S C N I T T O N.

It is plain, that neither Leland, Bale, nor Pitts had ever seen this work. An encouragement to the industrious antiquaries of this age to continue their enquiries after such histories as are presumed to be irrecoverably lost. 4. Galf. Lingius, a Franciscan of Norwich, about the year 1390. is also (13) said to have compiled a history of this kingdom from the coming in of Brutus, down to his own time. To these we may probably add the author of the MS. (14) Eulogium, who begins his story at Brute, and ends at the year 1367. The beginning of the book, it is likely, may be Nennius's; but the rest seems to have been penned by a Monk of Canterbury, by his calling St. Thomas Becket his patron.

1401. The fifteenth century was one of the most rude and illiterate ages, and therefore we are not to look for a large harvest of historians, in a dearth and scarcity of persons eminent in other parts of learning. Sir John Froissart, sometime canon and (15) treasurer of Chimay, in the diocese of Liege, justly deserves to be placed first, as having ended his life and story about the beginning of it. His work contains a general history of the affairs of France, Spain, and other parts of Europe, as well as England; though it chiefly insists on those of this nation. The author was a Frenchman born, but was brought up, in his youth, in the court of our King Ed. III. and, many years after, familiarly conversant in that of King Richard II. He wrote in his own native language, which was also, in his time, the (16) court language of England. The copies that were taken of him in French, as well manuscript as in (17) print, are generally faulty and corrupt in names and numbers; whereas the author himself, being perfectly acquainted with the English court and customs, could not well mistake. Most of these errors are corrected in the English edition, which was published by Sir John Bouchier, deputy of Calais, at the command of King Henry VIII. towards the latter end of his reign. His account of matters seems to be plain and honest; and perhaps none gives a better of the affairs of Edward III. and his unfortunate successor, Richard II. Sleidan epitomized his history in (18) Latin; but has not done it with that impartiality and fairness that might have been expected from a man of his great name. Take the censure which our learned Humphry Lhuid long since gave of that piece, and its author: (19) *Dum Gallico nomini nimium faveret, Anglorum nobilissima gesta aut silentio præterit, aut, ab autore dissentiens, aliter quàm à Froissardo scriptum est, literis commendavit.*

Cent. 15.
Sir John
Froissart.

After him follow, down to the middle of the century, a set of very ordinary scribblers; such as, 1. Thomas Otterburn, a Franciscan friar of some of our English monasteries, about the year 1411, whose (20) MS. history is (1) said to be in our publick library at Oxford. 2. Thomas Radburn, Bishop of St. David's, (2) and chancellor of the university of Oxford, A.D. 1420. He is usually quoted by the name of Radburn Senior, to distinguish him from another

Tho. Otterburn,
&c.

(10) MSS. Tom. 1. p. 657. (11) Chron. RR. Joh. Ed. 1. &c. (12) De Eventibus Angliæ, fol. Lond. 1652. inter 10. Scrip. (13) J. Pitts, p. 556. (14) Bibl. Cott. Galba, E. 7. (15) See his Hist. Vol. II. cap. 200. (16) Selden's Tit. of Hon. p. 635. (17) Fol. Paris. 3 vol. 1505. & 2 vol. ibid. 1559, & 1574. (18) 4to. Heydelberg, 1587. (19) Comment. Brit. Descript. fol. 27. a. (20) Bibl. Cott. Vit. F. 9. (1) Monast. Angl. Tom. II. p. 468. (2) Godwin. de Præsul. in St. David.

PART I. little chronicler of both his names, who was a Monk of St. Swithin's in Winchester, and John Ross's great acquaintance. This latter wrote two books of general history; the one whereof he styles (3) *Breviarium Chronicorum*, which begins at Brute, and ends A. D. 1234. After the conquest he copies most from Matthew Paris, and is very unhappy in his chronological part. His (4) *Historia Major*, as he calls his other work, consists of a large collection out of other common historians, save only in what relates to the church of Winchester. 3. John Sherburn, a monk, who wrote (5) *Chronica Britannorum*, from the first coming in of the Trojans, to the reign of Henry VI. 4. John Henfield, a monk of Battle Abbey, who drew an (6) abstract of our chronicles down to the same time. 5. John Langden, (7) Bishop of Rochester, who possibly is all one with John Langton, another of the same (8) authentic gentleman's historians, a Carmelite friar, who is said to die at the council of Basil, A. D. 1434.

Tho. Walsingham.

Tho. Walsingham, a Benedictine Monk of St. Albans, (and very probably regius professor of history in that monastery, about the year 1440.) made something a better figure than the last mentioned; and accordingly, both his *Historia Brevis*, and his *Hypodigma Neustriæ*, have had the honour to be published by Archbishop (9) Parker. His short history begins at the conclusion of Henry III's reign, where Matthew Paris ended his; and he might well seem to be Paris's continuator, were his language answerable to his matter. The account he gives is well enough, and we are indebted to him for many things not taken notice of by any other writer of those times. Indeed, his reign of King Edward II. is wholly borrowed from Sir Thomas de la More. His *Hypodigma Neustriæ*, as he calls it, has a more particular regard to the affairs of Normandy; giving an account at large of that dukedom, from the time it came first into the hands of Rollo and his Danes, down to the sixth year of Henry V. wherein the reader will find many occurrences not elsewhere to be met with. About the same time wrote John Wethamstede, the first (10) opposer of the story of King Brutus; and Nicholas Cantelupus, the Cambridge historiographer, who is also reported to have penned a (11) *General Chronicle of England*.

John Harding.

The next historian of note was John Harding, a northern (12) Englishman, and an inveterate enemy to the Scottish nation, against whom he carried arms in several expeditions. He collected out of all our histories whatever might tend to the proof of the ancient vassalage of that kingdom to the crown of England; and hearing there was in Scotland an old record that put the matter beyond dispute, he went, with great hazard, thither in disguise, and, with much ado, brought it away, and shewed it to Hen. V. Hen. VI. Ed. IV. To the last of these he dedicated his (13) two books of chronicles, in English rhyme; whereof the curious reader may have a taste in some of our modern (14) writers. It appears he was living, though very old, in the year 1461. So that Nicholas Montacute, about that time (15) master of Eaton school, and a collector of English history, may be reckoned his contemporary; as may also Roger Albanus, a (16) Carmelite of London, who drew up the genealogies of some of our kings.

William Caxton.

William Caxton, of whose continuation of *Trevisa* something has been noted already, seems to challenge the next place after Harding. He was a menial servant, for thirty years together, to Margaret Duchess of Burgundy, sister to our King Edward IV. in Flanders. He afterwards returned into England; where finding, as he says, an imperfect history, begun by one of the monks of St. Albans, says John Pitts, very (17) unadvisedly, he continued it in English, giving it only the Latin title of (18) *Fruetus Temporum*. How small a portion of this work is owing to this author, has been observed before; but he now usually bears the name of the whole, which begins with the first inhabiting of this island, and ends (the last year of Edward IV.) A. D. 1483. The opportunities he had of being acquainted with the court transactions

(3) MS. Bibl. Cott. Nero. A. 17. (4) MS. in Bibl. Lambeth. & Coll. Ben. Cantab. (5) MS. inter Codd. D. Com. Clarendon. (6) 8vo. MS. in Bibl. D. Com. Carliol. (7) Joh. Pitts, p. 607. (8) Id. p. 625. (9) Fol. Lond. 1574. (10) John Stow's Pref. to his Chron. (11) Pitts, p. 635. (12) Id. p. 653. Bale, Cent. 8. cap. 30. (13) 4to. Lond. 1543. (14) Vid. *Ælfr. Mag. Vit.* p. 63. (15) Joh. Pitts, p. 656, 657. (16) Id. p. 644. Bibl. Coll. Reg. Oxon. (17) John Pitts, p. 670, 671. (18) Fol. Lond. 1515.

of his own time, would encourage his readers to hope for great matters from him; but his fancy seems to have led him into an undertaking above his strength. PART
I.

John Roffe, or Rous, was a person somewhat better qualified to write history, being a man of tolerable parts, and singular industry. He was born at Warwick, (19) and bred at Oxford. He travelled over the greatest part of England; and having made large collections out of the libraries where he came, relating to the history and antiquities of this kingdom, he at last retired to Guy's Cliff, about a mile from Warwick, on the banks of Avon, where he spent the remainder of his life, and died A. D. 1491. His history of our kings is still (20) extant, wherein are many collections illustrating the antiquities of our universities. Hereupon he is frequently quoted by our Oxford antiquary, who, nevertheless, will not allow that his judgment equalled his pains. John
Roffe.

1501. The first poet in the sixteenth century is due to Robert Fabian, an eminent merchant, and sometime Sheriff of London, where he died, A. D. 1512. Both Bale and Pitts subdivide his historical writings into a great many several treatises: but, I presume, what they call his *Historiarum Concordantiæ* is the sum of all. This chronicle is (1) published, and does indeed consist of seven parts; whereof the six first bring down his story from Brutus to William the Conqueror, and are chiefly taken out of Geoffrey of Monmouth; and the seventh gives an account of our several kings, from the conquest to Henry VII. He is very particular in the affairs of London, many good things being noted by him, which concern the government of that great city, hardly to be had elsewhere. He gives the names of all the bailiffs, mayors and sheriffs, with the chief transactions in their several years; but, in other matters, he is a great follower of R. Higden. He mixes all along the French history with the English, but in different chapters. He translates his authors very literally: whence Monmouth's phrase of *Ferro & flamma vastare*, is rendered, (2) "to waste with iron and fire, &c." In the beginning of his seventh part he observes Higden's method of making his years commence at Michaelmas, by which the reader will understand how William the Conqueror comes to begin his reign in October 1067. Cardinal Wolsey is said to have procured all the copies of this history, that he could meet with, to be burned; because, says my (3) author, who is not infallible either in his reasons or relations, the church's patrimony was thereby too plainly discovered. This cardinal's menial servant, John Skuifh, Squifus, or Squifius, is (4) reported to have compiled a notable epitome of our chronicles about the year 1530; but I am not able to direct the reader where to meet with it. Cent. 16.
R. Fabian.

Polydore Virgil was the most accomplished writer, for elegance and clearness of stile, that this age afforded. So much the (5) severest enemy he had, has acknowledged of him; and, on this score alone, (6) some have unreasonably extolled him. But there is so little of the other more necessary qualifications of a good historian, truth and fair dealing, in all his (7) twenty-six books, that he has been justly condemned by our critics; and it is no wonder that some of them have expressed an indignation suitable to the abuses put upon their country. Bale (8) reports, that Sir Brian Tuke wrote a chronicle, purposely to vindicate the honour of the English nation against those aspersions, which Virgil had cast upon it in his history. Sir Henry Savil is warmer on this occasion than usual with him: (9) *Polydorus* (says he) *ut homo Italus, & in rebus nostris hospes, & (quod caput est) neque in republicâ versatus, nec magni alioqui vel judicii, vel ingenii, pauca ex multis delibans, & falsa plerumque pro veris complexus, historiam nobis reliquit cum cætera mendosam, tum exiliter sanè & jejunè conscriptam.* Some have fancied that the severe character which Sir Henry is here pleased to give of this author, might chiefly be applied to the history of Henry VIII. and that a great many passages in that reign may be darkly or falsely represented by him, by reason of his being unacquainted with the English tongue; which could not but very much obstruct his knowledge in modern transactions. Other things, say Polydore
Virgil.

(19) Vid. Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. Par. II. p. 77. (20) MS. Bibl. Cotton. & Coll. Ben. Cantabr. (1) Fol. Lond. 1559. (2) P. 42, &c. (3) Bale, Cent. 8. cap. 62. (4) Id. Cent. 9. cap. 19. & J. Pitts, p. 709. (5) J. Leland. Comment. ad Cygn. Cant. voce Ifis. (6) Sir Tho. Craig, Scotl. Sovereign. p. 20, 38, 44, 181. (7) Fol. Basil. 1534. (8) Par. 2. p. 103. (9) Epist. Ded. ad 3 Script. post Bedam.

PART I. (1) they, have fallen from him under a borrowed light and colour, out of the respect he had for Queen Mary, and his great inclinations to serve the interests of that princess. But does not even this apology carry a deal of invective in it? Sir Henry Savil is far from being singular in the severest part of his censure. Some of our late (2) writers have agreed to it; and his contemporary Humph. Lhuyd out-throws him a bar or two. For what think you of these (3) expressions? *Nominis Britannici gloriam non solum obfuscare, sed etiam Britannos ipsos mendacissimis suis calumniis infamare totis viribus conatur.*—*Homo ignotus & exterus.*—*Vir perfriatæ frontis.*—*Invidia & odio tumens.*—*Infamis homunculus.*—*Os impudens.* Nor ought any thing of this to be attributed to an over-boiling of honest Humphrey's Welsh blood, if the other matters he is accused of be true. He is said to have borrowed (4) books out of the publick library at Oxford, without taking any care to restore them: upon which the university, as they had good reason, declined lending any more, 'till forced to it by a mandate, which he made a shift to procure from the king. In other places he likewise pillaged the (5) libraries at his pleasure; and, at last, sent over a (6) whole ship-load of manuscripts to Rome. And yet when this publican himself left England, (when there was no further occasion for his (7) collecting the papal revenues) King Edward VI. is said to have dismissed him with several handsome presents: which we are not to look upon as a reward, as a certain (8) late writer expresses it; but rather to consider, that the young king being about to take his final leave of the pope, and all that belonged to him, resolved to do it as courteously as was possible.

John Rastal, &c.

The other historians of his time have been much eclipsed by the glaring lustre of this foreigner; insomuch that some of their writings have hardly ever seen the light. John Rastal, a citizen and printer in London, who married Sir Thomas More's sister, and died A. D. 1536. wrote an (9) English Chronicle; but I know no more where to find it than another of the same age, written by Richard Turpin, a Leicestershire gentleman, and an officer in the garrison at Calais, which I find quoted by his (10) countrymen. Tho. Lanquet, who died at London in the twenty-fourth year of his age, A. D. 1545. began an abbreviation of chronicles, but brought it no lower than the birth of our Saviour. Its third part, which chiefly relates to this kingdom, was written by the learned Tho. Cowper, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, and by him (11) published. He calls it, as justly he may, an Epitome of our Chronicles, and it is a meagre one too, far short of the performances of the same author on other subjects. The like slender abstract of our English history was, about the same time, penned by George Lilly, son of William, the famous grammarian, which, together with his short account of the wars betwixt the houses of York and Lancaster, and his genealogy of our kings, has had several (12) impressions. Somewhat bulkier is the work of Edward Hall, who was some time recorder (if I understand my (13) author right) of London, where he died, A. D. 1547. He wrote a large account of the fore-mentioned wars, which, in a very flattering epistle, he dedicates to Henry VIII. If the reader desires to know what sort of cloaths were worn in each king's reign, and how the fashions altered, this is an historian for his purpose; but in other matters his information is not very valuable. A great borrower from this Hall was Richard Grafton, who, as (14) Buchanan rightly observes, was a very heedless (15) and unskilful writer; and yet he has the honour done him to be sometimes quoted by Stow and others.

R. Holinhead.

Of much better note are the joint labours of William Harrison and Ralph Holinhead, whose (16) chronicle has been well received, and still bears a good part among our books of that kind. These authors are (17) supposed to have been both clergymen; but it is not certainly known where they spent the most of their days. So remarkably careful have they been to

(1) Vid. Mantiff. ad Deg. Whear. Method. &c. p. 143. (2) Not. in Ælfr. R. Vit. p. 152. (3) Comment. Brit. Descrip. Frag. fol. 6, 17, 19, &c. (4) Hist. Oxon. lib. 2. p. 50. (5) S. Taylor's Gavelk. p. 83, 84. (6) Th. Gale, Præf. ad Hist. Angl. Tom. I. (7) Rymer, Tom. XIII. p. 515, 516. (8) Ant. Harmer, p. 95. (9) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 38. & J. Pitts, p. 726. (10) Burton, Descript. Leic. p. 153. (11) 4to. Lond. 1560. (12) 4to. Venet. 1548. Francof. 1565. Basil. 1567, &c. (13) J. Pitts, p. 735. Vid. etiam Fuller's Worthies, p. 219. in London. (14) Hist. Scot. lib. 8. (15) Fol. Lond. 1569. (16) Fol. Lond. 1577, 1587, &c. (17) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 189, & 270.

benefit the publick, without the vanity of making their own story known to posterity! Holinshed **PART I.** frequently owns the great assistance he had from Francis Thynne, some time, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Lancaster herald, and an eminent antiquary. He has been severely treated by (1) Sir Roger Craig, for some insolencies which that learned gentleman supposed him guilty of, in relation to the kingdom of Scotland: whereas, in truth, that part of the book no farther concerned poor Mr. Holinshed, than as the whole was sheltered under his name. In the second edition the history was continued to the year 1586. by John Hooker, alias Vowel, of whom we shall have occasion to make some further mention hereafter. The common books of Holinshed's history are visibly castrated, above forty pages, from page 1491. to 1536. being omitted. I have seen one (2) copy, which supplies this defect, and shews manifestly that it was occasioned by F. Thynne's singular respects to the Lord Cobham, at that time very unreasonable. All that is left out relates to royal grants in favour of that unfortunate peer and his ancestors: and his disgrace happening at the very time of this impression, it seems to have been thought wise in this continuer to leave out this whole matter, reserving no more than a single copy of the whole to himself. I am the rather inclined to make this conjecture, because this book is beautified with the blazon of the arms of the great men, in the course of the history, from the conquest to the latter end of Edward the Third, in their proper colours, fairly drawn in the margin.

1601. Industrious John Stow leads the van in the last century; and he well deserves to be remembered with honour. He was a member of the Merchant-Taylor's company in London, and, as has been already observed, a special benefactor to that city, in enquiring after, and preserving its antiquities and records. He travelled on (3) foot through a good part of England, in search after the manuscript historians in the libraries of our cathedral churches, and was very exact and critical in his collections. Having spent above forty years in these studies, he was put upon the correction and publishing of Reyne Wolf's chronicle by Archbishop Whitgift; and he had fairly transcribed his work, and made it ready for the press, when he died, A. D. 1605. He always protested, and we may take his honest word for it, that he never was swayed by favour or fear in any of his writings; but that he had impartially, to the best of his knowledge, delivered the truth. This good opinion the greatest of our later historians seem to have of him, since even Sir Francis Bacon and Mr. Camden, not to mention others of a less repute, have boldly taken several things upon his single credit, and, sometimes, without being so just as to own their benefactor. Upon his death, the revising and continuation of his book was committed to Ed. Howes, who says he bestowed thirty years in bringing it into that good order and method in which we (4) now see it. He is very unfortunate, if, after so great pains, he be justly liable to the sharp sentence that (5) one has passed upon him; That he is "as far short of Mr. Stow in goodness, as our age is of the integrity and charity of those that went before it." I am abundantly sensible of the degeneracy of our age, and how corrupt our morals are, beyond the precedents of former times: but how applicable this grave comparison may be to Mr. Howes, I know not: he does indeed say some great things of King James and King Charles; and if that be a fault in him, it is transgressing with a multitude. Not long after Mr. Stow, died R. White, (Vitus he calls himself) Canon of Doway, who left nine (6) books of our English, or rather British history, in a pretty elegant Latin style: his business is to assert the rights of the papacy in this kingdom; and therefore, having settled religion by Augustine the monk and other emissaries, he ends his story, A. D. 800.

Our next historian of eminence was Sam. Daniel, some time groom of the privy-chamber to Queen Anne. He was a person of great wit, a notable poet, and of an affable and winning conversation. His first and second part of the History of England fell no lower than the end of Edward III's reign; but was penned in so accurate and copious a style, that it took mightily, and was read with so much applause, that it quickly had several (7) impressions. It was

(1) Scotland's Sover. 8vo. Lond. 1695. per totum. (2) p. D. Episc. Eliens. (3) See his Chronicle published by Howes, p. 811. (4) Fol. Lond. 1631. (5) Tho. Fuller's Worthies, p. 220, 221. in London. (6) 8vo. Duac. (7) Fol. 1602. Lond. 1618, 1621, &c.

PART afterwards enlarged, and (15) continued to the end of King Richard III's reign, by John Truffel Alderman of Winchester, who has not had the luck to have either his language, matter or method, so well approved as those of Mr. Daniel. About the same time Will. Martyn, Recorder of Exeter, wrote his (16) History and Lives of the Kings of England, from William the Conqueror to Henry VIII. This came recommended to the world by the author's own sons: but I cannot learn that any other family in the nation could ever discover so much worth and beauty in the book, as they pretend to see in it. Upon a (17) second edition it was enlarged by R. B. master of arts, with the reigns of Edward VI. Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. Contemporaries with these were John Clapham, Edward Ayscue, and William Slatyer; the first whereof left us the (18) History of Great Britain; the second that of the (19) Wars, Treaties and Marriages with Scotland; and the third his (20) Palæ Albion, in ten books of Latin and English verse.

J. Speed. John Speed, who died at London, A. D. 1619, must be acknowledged to have had a head the best disposed towards history of any of our writers; and would certainly have out-done himself, as far as he has gone beyond the rest of his profession, if the advantages of his education had been answerable to those of his natural genius. But what could be expected from a (1) taylor? however, we may boldly say, that his chronicle is the largest and best we have hitherto extant: it begins with the first inhabitants of the island, and ends with the union of the kingdoms under King James, to whom it is dedicated. Though some (2) say he spent twice seven years in compiling the whole; he himself owns he made more haste than he ought to have done, and that he was forced to trust a deal of his work in the hands of his friends and journeymen. And the truth of this honest acknowledgment and confession is obvious enough to a discerning reader, who will easily find a mighty difference in the style, as well as matter, of several of the reigns. Those of King John and Henry II. were written by Dr. Barcham (3) Dean of Bocking, a curious antiquary, who has done them answerably to the good opinion which men of learning had of him. Several remarkables in that of Henry V. were collected by (4) George Carew Earl of Totnes as was his catalogue of the monasteries by (5) Will. Burton, &c. He had also great assistances from Sir Robert Cotton, who perused his copy, and frequently corrected it, both in matter and style. See Sir Robert's Life by Dr. Smith, p. 24.

Sir Rich. Baker. Sir Richard Baker, who died in the Fleet, A. D. 1644. was a person of those accomplishments in wit and language, that his chronicle has been the best read and liked of any hitherto published; which looks as if almost every body in the kingdom, as well as himself, believed it to be "collected with so great care and diligence, that if all other of our chronicles were lost, this only will be sufficient to inform posterity of all passages memorable or worthy to be known." His method is new, and seems to please the rabble: but learned men will be of another opinion; for it is the same with that of Suetonius, which is justly complained of by (6) Mr. Dodwell. In the (7) first and second editions we have nothing more than the authors own work, containing the history of our kings from the Roman government down to the end of King James the First's reign; but afterwards it was (8) continued to the restoration of Charles II. by Edward Philips, who, having the perusal of some of the Duke of (9) Albemarle's papers, might have set that great revolution in its true light, had not ambition and flattery carried him beyond truth and his copy. Soon after these additions were published, the whole book was examined by Tho. Blount, a barrister of the Inner-Temple, who (10) printed his animadversions upon it, and gave the world such a specimen of its many and gross errors, as ought to have shaken its credit. And yet, so little regard have we for truth, if a story be but handsomely told, the chronicle has been reprinted since that time, and sells as well as ever, notwithstanding that no notice is taken of the animadversions, but all the old faults remain uncorrected. Mr. Blount himself spent

(15) Fol. Lond. 1638, &c. (16) Fol. Lond. 1616. (17) Fol. Lond. 1638. (18) 4to. Lond. 1606. (19) 4to. Ib. 1607. (20) Fol. Lond. 1621. (1) So Fuller in his Worthies, p. 181. (2) Deg. Whear. Method. p. 146. (3) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 9, 10. (4) Id. Vol. I. p. 452. (5) Sir H. Spelm. Concil. Tom. I. p. 215. (6) Pælect. Camden. p. 36. (7) Fol. Lond. 1641, & 1653. (8) Fol. Lond. 1660, 1671. (9) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 34. (10) 8vo. Oxon. 1672.

some years in writing an (11) English Chronicle, which we may believe would, at least, want P A R T those errors which he had descried in the labours of other men: but where it is to be had, I ^{I.} know not.

There are some later histories, which are so well known to all that are any thing curious in these matters, that I need do little more than mention them. Such are, 1. Sir Winston Churchill's (12) *Divi Britannici*, which gives the reader a diverting view of the arms and exploits of our kings down to the restoration in 1660. 2. Fr. Sandford's (13) *Genealogical History of the Kings of England, and Monarchs of Great Britain, from the Norman Conquest to the Year 1677*, with their several Effigies, Seals, Tombs, Arms, &c. 3. Let me add Dr. Howel's (14) *Medulla Historiæ Anglicanæ*, which though only a very concise epitome of our history, is done with that great judgment, that it deserves a place among the best of our writers on this subject. There have been some editions made to this treatise since the doctors death, in 1683, which, whatever relish they may have with some readers, are not to be laid to his charge. 4. Dr. Robert Brady's (15) *compleat History of England*, wherein he endeavours to prove that all our adored liberties are derived from the crown, and owing to the concessions of our princes. He shews that the Normans themselves, weary of the tenure of knight-service, and other drudgeries of the feudal law, raised all our old civil commotions in England; and that no ancient rights and properties of the subject were any part of the true controversy. He very well illustrates many dark passages in our English-Saxon laws, by comparing them with those of the old Germans, Franks, Lombards, &c. His Preface to the Norman History largely accounts for the customs of that people, and shews what sort of government and laws they brought with them into this kingdom. Afterwards we have a good view of the seven first reigns after the conquest. His chief author is M. Paris, well epitomised and confirmed, with authentick evidence from records, a great many whereof are printed at large in his Appendix. He has also published an introduction to this history apart, which, treating chiefly of matters of law and government, will be considered hereafter. 5. James Tyrrel, esq; has made good advances in his much more voluminous undertaking, which he styles (16) *The General History of England, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, from the earliest Accounts of Time to the Reign of King William III.* This very diligent writer seems to be as hearty an advocate for property, as Dr. Brady is for prerogative; and, having buttressed his fabrick with as fair a shew of authorities, I know not why any man should doubt of the sincerity of this his solemn protestation: (17) "I call God to witness, that neither from a vain ambition of glory, nor prospect of any temporal advantage, nor design of gratifying any party or faction, have I wrote any thing that may disgust men of different principles and notions." 6. The Reverend Mr. Echard, Archdeacon of Stow, and Prebendary of Lincoln, begins his (18) history a good deal lower than Mr. Tyrrel, at Julius Cæsar's entrance into this island, and brings it down, in the volume already published, to the death of King James I. which is farther than I have occasion to follow him. This being chiefly intended for the useful diversion of the nobility and gentry, is put into such a method as appeared to be the least irksome to the reader; every reign being divided into so many stages or periods, as give frequent opportunities of pause and rest. 7. The (19) *Memorials of Sir Bulstrode Whitlock*, one of Queen Christina's knights, have been lately recommended to the publick by Dr. Welwood, and Mr. Penn, as the best epitome of the affairs of England, from the supposed expedition of Brute, to the end of King James the First's reign, giving us a true idea of the legal power of our kings, and the legal liberties of their subjects. To me they seem rather a chronological abstract of our history, for the author's private use; or, at least, the project of a work which he did not live to finish. 8. With these great names allow me to mention an anonymous writer of the (20) history of England in two pocket-volumes; whose title page assures us that his collection is "faithfully extracted from authentick records, approved manuscripts, and the most celebrated histories of this kingdom in all languages."

(11) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 34. (12) Fol. Lond. 1675. (13) Fol. Lond. 1677. (14) 8vo. Lond. 1679. (15) Fol. Lond. 1685. (16) Fol. Lond. Vol. I. 1697. Vol. II. 1700, &c. (17) Introd. p. 128. (18) Fol. Lond. 1707. (19) Fol. Lond. 1709. (20) 8vo. Lond. 1702. 2d Edit.

PART

I.

This writer, whoever he be, has hitherto met with a kind reception; such as might have prevailed with a very modest person to unmask: and highly he deserves this entertainment, since it is generally acknowledged that he has kept his one design always in view, "to shew the excellency of our English constitution, the danger of departing from it, by inclining to other models; and the care that all good men ought to have in preserving it in its ancient glory, power, wealth, and magnificence."

Anonymous
Histories.

There are also many anonymous historians, whose books are said to remain in several of our publick and private (21) libraries, which ought to be referred to in this chapter. It is true, the numbers of these might be lessened, if they were viewed by proper persons, before their titles were sent abroad in our catalogues; whereas we are now told of forty nameless authors, who, upon perusal, prove only imperfect copies of Paris, Westminster, Hoveden, &c. A few, we are sure, are not of this kind, but appear to be of good value in themselves, though of an unknown authority. Such are three manuscripts of good esteem in the library at Lambeth, sometimes quoted by (1) Mr. Wharton; a fourth, referred to by (2) Archbishop Usher; a fifth and sixth by (3) Mr. Selden; a seventh, now in the possession of my worthy friend Mr. Thoresby of Leeds in Yorkshire, &c. To which we might add a large scroll of those that bear only the names of such monasteries as they were penned in; but these may happen to be remembered when we come more particularly to treat of the registers and records of those religious houses.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Writers of particular Lives of our Kings since the Conquest.

THE historians that have been already mentioned in the foregoing chapter, have usually treated most copiously of the reigns of those princes that ruled in their own times; and are to be most especially consulted in such transactions as may be supposed to have happened within the compass of their own view and observation. Others have confined their pens to the history of this or the other particular monarch; and from them, if not manifestly under some prejudices and temptations, either to invective or panegyrick, we may expect the best and most comprehensive account as far as their subject carries them. Of these I shall give the reader as full a list as I can; following the succession down to the union of the two kingdoms.

William
the Con-
queror.

William the First's conquest or (4) conquest of this kingdom, was a revolution that appeared so great and glorious, that it is a wonder how we come to have so few writers of his story, whose labours have continued to this day: for it is plain our Englishmen have been as backward in paying this compliment to his memory, as they were in acknowledging his title. Among those that have done it, William of Poitiers, Pictaviensis, is the largest; and though a foreigner, and under some seeming obligations to the king's interests, have so fairly acquitted himself, as to find good credit with the most of our historians. Archbishop Lanfranc (5) is said to have written his life also; and he is observed to have been so well affected towards the English nation, though a Lombard himself, and to have carried so even betwixt their new governor and them, that it is very probable he would likewise approve himself an unbiaffed author. There is a short anonymous history of this reign, published by Silas Taylor, in the end of his (6) Treatise

(21) Bibl. Cott. Julius. A. 1. 2. 8. D. 6. Tiber. A. 6. 7. B. 1. C. 11. E. 6. 8. Calig. A. 10. Claud. C. 9. Nero. A. 6. Galba. E. 5. 8. Otho. B. 3. 13. Vitell. A. 16. E. 4. Domitian. A. 4. Cleop. D. 2. (1) In notis ad Vol. I. Angl. Sac. p. 55, 109, 121. (2) Hist. Eccles. Brit. p. 72. (3) Tit. of Hon. p. 25, 83. (4) Vid. H. Spelm. Gloss. in voce Conquestus. (5) Bale (Edit. 1.) Cent. 2. cap. 28. (6) 4to. Lond. 1663.

of Gavel-kind. He guesses the author was a Monk of Battle-Abbey: but I see no cogent reason in the tract itself, to press such a persuasion. It is plain the writer lived in the days of Henry I. and so might be sufficiently informed of the truth of all he relates. There was sometime in the library of Sir Kenelm Digby, a manuscript history of the life and death of the conqueror, said to have been written by Sir Walter Raleigh; but my (1) informer reckons it amongst some other pieces, which he thinks unduly fathered upon that great man. Sir John Hayward's (2) History of the three Norman Kings was undertaken at the request of Prince Henry; who hardly lived to read it, and not to requite the author's pains. He calls his lives of these monarchs (3) descriptions rather than histories: and so indeed they are; being only short portraitures of them, in such a witty and humours style and method, as might better serve to divert the young prince, than instruct him. I shall give the reader but one instance of the care he took in the chronological part of his story. He says (4) Henry I. was crowned the second of August; which is the same day whereon he acknowledges King William II. was slain, a little before sun-set, in the New Forest. A small fragment of the conqueror's history is among Camden's Anglica, &c. and some particulars relating to the reigns of this and the two following kings may be picked out of Guil. Gemeticensis, and others published by the learned (5) And. du Chesne. But, above all, Sir William Temple has lately given us the most excellent and judicious account of this (6) king's reign and policy; the old laws he preserved, and the new ones he enacted; his good conduct and success in his many wars, both in England and France; several instances of his clemency and wisdom, &c. Upon all which he makes such reflections as become a statesman, and a person so conversant in the management of publick affairs, as that author is known to have been.

William II. was more unfortunate, both in his life and death, than his father; and has also been so unhappy, as to have none to attempt the preserving his memory, in any special history, that I have yet heard of.

Henry I. though he reigned much longer than his brother, and founded several religious houses in this realm, met with the like treatment: unless we reckon Walter de Mapez's book De Nugis Curialium, to be something of that kind; seeing a great many witty things, relating to the history of this king, are quoted out of it by (7) Mr. Camden. That author was Archdeacon of Oxford, and a merry good fellow in the reign of Henry II. There is an old English history, in Saxon letters, of the transactions of some years of his reign, 1123, in the (8) Cottonian library.

King Stephen's memoirs were collected by Richard, Prior of Hexham; whose book is like to be preserved as long as the most durable of our English records, having had the honour to make a part of the noble edition of our (9) Decem Scriptores. Mr. Selden (10) quotes another anonymous writer of his life, who seems to be a voluminous author. In Du Chesne's collection there is a pretty large life of this king; whose author, though anonymous, seems to have lived in the latter end of this, or the beginning of the next reign: and Pitts assures us that Ralph de Diceto's Annals of King Stephen are in the library at Bennet College.

Henry II. Henry the Second's long contests with the haughty Abp. Becket, gave occasion to vast numbers of writers to engage on both sides; so that we have several pictures drawn of this king, who is represented sometimes as a god, and elsewhere as a devil, according as the author favoured the court of England or Rome. Gilbert Folioth (11) Bishop of London, who died before the end of this reign, A. D. 1187. was the earliest stickler for the king against the archbishop, and wrote smartly in defence of the prerogative royal, and against the papal and prelatical usurpations of those times. Will. Stephens, or Fitz-Stephens, the London antiquary, is (12) said to be another writer of this king's life; but I suspect the truth of the story. Stow and others quote him sometimes as writing in the reign of Henry II. and that is enough for Pitts

(1) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 373. (2) Lond. 1623. (3) Epist. Ded. (4) P. 216. and 223. (5) Fol. Paris. 1619. (6) Introd. to Engl. Hist. 8vo. Lond. 1695. (7) Remains, p. m. 260, 262, 264. (8) Tiberius, B. 4. (9) Fol. Lond. 1652. (10) Tit. of Hon. p. 537, 557, &c. (11) J. Pitts, p. 251, 252. (12) Id. p. 257.

PART

I.

to conclude that he wrote his life. Prior Richard of Hexham is (1) brought in for another; as is also John Oxfordius (2) Bishop of Norwich. This last was sometime Dean of Salisbury; and was certainly sent by King Henry to Rome, to give the pope a true account of Becket's behaviour. But whether he did really draw up a journal of his embassy, with an apology for his master, I cannot assuredly inform the reader; though Hector Boethius pretends to have seen it, and recommends it as a treatise highly worth the perusal. Three of Gyraldus Cambrensis's many historical books are likewise (3) reported to be written on this subject: and Mr. Wharton (4) mentions a manuscript history of the same reign by Benedictus; whose book, we are (5) since told, is full of notable and politick remarks, and is much followed by Hoveden and Brompton. Pet. Blesensis (6) certainly wrote his life; though we know not what is become of it. Tho. May, the translator of Lucan, has given us (7) seven books, in English poetry, on this subject; to which is annexed his character in prose, with a Short Survey of the Changes in his Reign, and a comparative Description of his two Sons Henry and Richard. Some (8) say that the life of this king, as we now have it in Speed's Chronicle, was composed by Dr. Barcham, Archbishop Bancroft's chaplain; and penned chiefly in confutation of one Bolton, a papist, who had newly enlarged too far in the justification of Becket's insolent carriage to his prince. These are mostly the king's friends; and such as engaged on the behalf of our English monarchy. What was to be said on the other hand, for good Saint Thomas, must be learned from those that have recorded the actions, sufferings and miracles of that worthy Roman saint and martyr: an account whereof shall be given in their proper place.

Richard I.

Richard the First's meritorious expedition into the Holy Land, gained him so much repute, that he is as highly extolled by the monkish writers of that and the following ages, as his father is reproached for his persecution of their St. Thomas. The chief remarkables in his life, that part of it especially which was spent in the Levant, are largely treated on by Richard (9) Devisiensis, [i. e. of the Devises in Wiltshire] a Monk of Winchester; Walter (10) Constantiensis, Bishop of Lincoln, who accompanied him in some of his travels; Will. (11) Peregrinus, so called from the peregrination he also made in attendance on this king; and Rich. (12) Canonius, (Augustine Canon of St. Trinity in London) another of his retinue. Jos. Iscanus (or, of Exeter) had the like curiosity; followed the fortunes of his prince in the holy war; and, at his return, celebrated his acts in a book, which he thought fit to call Antiocheis. It is in heroic verse; and in a (13) stile and strain of poetry, much beyond what one would expect to meet with in the writings of that age. John Leland, who thought himself as great a master and judge in poetry as history, says of this author, that he was (14) *Poeta Britannus omnibus numeris elegantissimus*; and calls his book *Opus immortale*. His life is also said to have been written by (15) Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and (16) Alexander de Hales the famous school-man. But we have not so particular directions where to look for these as for an (17) anonymous manuscript to the same purpose, in the library of Magdalen College in Oxford. The learned (18) Dr. Gale has obliged us with one of the largest of this king's journals, taken by one Jeoffrey Vinefauf, or de Vino Salvo, whom he takes to be the same man with the fore-mentioned Walter Constantiensis, who sometimes, he says, is also called Walter Oxoniensis. He likewise believes that Richard of the Devises, and Richard the canon were the same person: So that instead of having our store enlarged by what he has done for us, we have lost some of our former stock. But perhaps he is mistaken in that conjecture; since Rich. Devisiensis was certainly a Monk of Winchester. However, to make up the number there is an old printed life of this Cœur de Lyon in (19) English metre, though I cannot inform him who was its author.

(1) J. Pitts, p. 259. (2) Id. p. 265. (3) Id. p. 281. (4) Angl. Sacr. Vol. I. p. 169. (5) Bibl. Cotton. Julius, A. 11. (6) Vid. P. Elef. Epist. 14. (7) 12mo. Lond. 1633. (8) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. Par. II. p. 241. (9) Bale, Cent. III. cap. 28. (10) J. Pitts, p. 263. (11) Id. p. 266. (12) Id. p. 268. (13) Camd. Remains, p. m. 317. (14) Avert. Arith. fol. 7. b. (15) J. Pitts, p. 304. (16) Id. p. 316. (17) Id. p. 824. (18) Hist. Angl. Scrip. 5. Fol. Oxon. 1687. (19) 4to. Lond. 1528.

King

King John's unhappy reign was not a subject so taking as that of his brother; and therefore has not been enquired into by so many curious authors. John de Forda or Fordeham, who is ignorantly confounded with John Fordan, the Scottish historian, by (16) John Pitts, was the first that attempted it; and being this king's chaplain, had opportunities enough of knowing the truth, if he was a person of such unbiassed honesty as to reveal it. Gyraldus Cambrensis, living also at the same time, is (17) said to have likewise penned his story; and we may believe it will discover that warmth of temper which runs through all that author's writings. Some of the learned men of the present age, have thought the extraordinary freaks of this prince worth their considering, and have therefore bestowed good pains in collecting and methodizing the most notable transactions of his reign. Of these Dr. Barcham's history is, as we have already observed, published in Speed's Chronicle: and is so well done, that an industrious (18) antiquary gives this character of it; "That it shews more reading and judgment than any life besides in that history." And another (19) witty author says, "it is the king of all the reigns of that book, for profound penning." The voluminous (20) Will. Prynne has also carefully and largely informed us of the public occurrences of this reign, as well as the two next following, in order to the asserting and vindicating of the ancient sovereignty of our English monarchs against all foreign encroachments and innovations whatever.

Henry the Third's long reign might seem to afford matter enough to employ one man's pen; and yet, till the disturbances given him in the latter end of his time by S. Monfort and the other barons, so few memorable things happened in so many years, that it has not hitherto been very nicely enquired into. In a late edition of the learned (1) Sir Robert Cotton's Remains, the table of the several discourses reckons the last of the sixteen, The Life and Reign of Henry III. compiled in a Critical Way: but the reader, to his great disappointment, will meet with no such thing in the book: perhaps it is to be had in a former edition of that treatise, as published by James Howel.

Edward I. was a brave and victorious prince, and his achievements in Scotland deserved to be recorded by some persons of abilities suitable to so noble an undertaking. To this purpose he carried Robert Baſton, (2) Prior of Scarborough, with him into that kingdom, to describe his battles, and, particularly, the famous siege of Sterling. This was done in pretty elegant heroics: but the author, being the next year unfortunately taken prisoner by the Scots, was, by the over-powering commands and severities of R. Bruce, obliged to recant all, and to extol the Scotch nation as highly as he had lately magnified the English. Will. Rishanger, who was historiographer royal during the king's whole reign, composed a special treatise of the annals of Edward I. whereof, I presume, three other tracts of the same man's writings, intituled by (3) J. Pitts and others, De Joanne Baileolo Rege; Super Electione Regis Scotorum; and De Jure Regis Anglorum ad Scotiam, are only so many several parts. Peter de Langetoft, who drew up an (4) Epitome of our Chronicles, in old French Rhimes, bestows one whole book upon Edward I.

Edward the Second's misfortunes are very honestly, without either flattery or contempt, written by Stephen Eiton or Eden, a (5) canon regular of Warter in Yorkshire, sometime about the year 1320. The annals of the greatest and best part of his reign, from 1307 to 1323, were digested by (6) John de Frokelow, a monk, as the history of his treaty of peace, in the sixteenth year of his reign, with Robert, King of Scots, was by Henry de Blanford. Walter de Heminford's Life of Edward II. is said to have been in the library of Bennet College; which we are not so sure of, as that his Life of Edward III. is in that of Magdalen College in Oxford, as well as in the (7) Cottonian at Westminster. His life was more accurately penned in French by Sir Thomas de la More, who was knighted by (8) Edward I. was counsellor to Edward II. and

(16) J. Pitts, p. 277. Vid. Stillingfl. Orig. Brit. p. 349. (17) J. Pitts, p. 281. (18) Ant. à Wood. Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 10. (19) Tho. Fuller's Worthies, p. 276. in Devonsh. (20) Hist. of K. John, K. Henry III. and K. Ed. I. fol. Lond. 1670. (1) 8vo. Lond. 1679. (2) Bale, Edit. 1. Cent. 3. fol. 127. Pitts, p. 399. But the story is told otherwise by Ant. Wood. Hist. Oxon. Par. I. p. 101. (3) J. Pitts, p. 403. (4) Bibl. Cott. Julius, A. 5. (5) Id. p. 410. (6) Ib. Claudius, D. 6. (7) Ib. Nero, D. 2. (8) So says Pitts: but Sir Thomas himself says otherwise; see Stow, p. 233.

PART I. lived to the beginning of Edward the Third's more prosperous reign. It was first translated into Latin by (9) Walter Baker, or Swinburn, Canon of Osney near Oxford, and has been frequently published in English by our general chroniclers. In our age, Sir Henry Carey (Lord Viscount Faulkland) wrote the (10) history of this unfortunate prince, with choice political observations on him and his unhappy favourites, Gaveston and Spencer. There was also an historical poem written about the same time, though it appeared abroad much (11) sooner, on the same subject, whose author was Richard Hobert, a younger brother to Sir Henry, who himself made some additional observations, that are (12) "of good use and ornament to it."

Edw. III. Edward III. reigned long and prosperously; and yet I cannot assuredly inform the reader of one ancient writer, who has singly treated on those glories and successes that attended him. Great scruples I have upon me as to some *Res Gestæ* of this king, which are said to have been written by Robert Bale, sometime Recorder of London. And yet John Pitts (13) avers, that in his time such a treatise was kept, as a choice rarity, by the citizens of London, in their publick library, together with some historical pieces of the same author's penning, which more immediately related to that city. The victorious achievements of the Black Prince, falling all within the compass of his father's reign, make up a good share of its story: and these were collected, and (14) separately treated on in French, by Will. Packington, who was secretary and treasurer to that hero, and constantly attended him in the wars. The English historian will observe, that in this and many of the following reigns, this kingdom was so constantly engaged against the united policies and forces both of France and Scotland, that it will be convenient for him to consult the accounts given by the writers of those nations, as well as our own; especially since the testimony of an enemy, if to the advantage and honour of our country, is of double value with that of a friend. R. James, in some volume of his MS. collections, reports, that Robert Avesbury, registry of the Archbishop of Canterbury's court, wrote *Mirabilia Gestæ R. Edw. III. post conquestum, procerumque suorum, tractis primitus quibusdam gestis de tempore patris sui, D. Edw. 2. quæ in Regnis Angliæ, Scotiæ, & Franciæ, & in Aquitaniâ & Britanniâ, non humanâ sed Dei potentiâ contigerunt.* Tho. May, the poet, has likewise some (15) English raptures upon this king's life: nor ought I to forget that Sir John Froissard is said to have written two books on that of Queen Philippa, the first glorious patroness of Queen's College in Oxford. Above all, Mr. Joshua Barnes (16) has diligently collected whatever was to be had, far and near, upon the several passages of this great king's reign. His quotations are many; and generally, his authors are as well chosen, as such a multitude can be supposed to have been. His inferences are not always becoming a statesman; and sometimes his digressions are tedious. His deriving of the famous institution of the garter from the (17) Phœnicians, is extremely obliging to good Mr. Sammes; but came too late, it seems, to Mr. Ashmole's knowledge, or otherwise would have bid fair for a choice post of honour in his elaborate book. In short, this industrious author seems to have driven his work too fast to the press, before he had provided an index, and some other accoutrements, which might have rendered it more serviceable to his readers.

Rich. II. Richard the Second's good success in Ireland was so far out-balanced by the other, more unlucky, adventures of his reign, that I have not heard of any who have thought it worth their while to write his life, except only a poor knight of John Pitts's creation. That author (18) says, that one Sir John Gower, a Yorkshire knight, and contemporary with the famous Chaucer, died in the year 1402, leaving behind him a deal of monuments of his learning, and, amongst the rest, a Latin Chronicle of King Richard II. There was indeed one Mr. John Gower, a noted poet, who lived about the time he mentions. This witty person took the liberty, that has always been allowed to men of his profession, to make free with his prince; and Mr. (19) Stow, or his continuer Howes, has done him the honour to translate the elegy he made on this king's untimely death. Richard Maidstone, a learned Carmelite, wrote also in Latin verse, what

(9) Stow's Chron. p. 217. (10) 8vo. Lond. 1680. (11) 8vo. Lond. 1629. (12) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 501.
 (13) Pag. 654. (14) J. Pitts, p. 530. (15) 8vo. Lond. 1637. (16) History of Edw. III. fol. Cantab. 1688.
 (17) P. 294, 295. (18) Id. p. 576. Bibl. Cot. Tiberius, A. 4. (19) Stow's Chron. p. 325.

he called (20) *Concordia inter Ricardum Secundum & Cives Londinenses*; and Hen. Knighton's *PART I.* History of his Deposition is among the *Decem Scriptores*, as another short account of his reign is in the (1) Cottonian library. Amongst later pamphlets on this subject, the (2) *Idol of Clowns* (or the *Insurrection of Wat. Tyler*, as a *Parallel*, with some *Occurrences* in our later Days of Rebellion) may balance the exact Account of the Articles and Proceedings, &c. There is another treatise written and published by (3) Sir Robert Howard, which, in the title page, is said to be the History of the Reigns of Edward and Richard II. But the author himself seems to have more rightly named it *Reflections upon some select Passages in them*. His design is to give a prospect of the hazard and madness of a prince's following the "misguiding meteor of arbitrary power:" and by comparing the misadventures of these two unhappy kings, with the triumphs of their prosperous predecessors, to shew what (4) "glory and safety wise and virtuous princes have obtained, and what ruin the cruelty and folly of others have brought upon themselves and subjects." I have seen an old French MS. in verse, which treats of the affairs of this reign; the title whereof, in a hand more modern than the book itself, is this, (5) *Histoire du Roy D'Angleterre Richard, traictant particulièrement la Rebellion des ses Subjects, & Prinse de sa Personne, &c.* Composée par un Gentil-homme Francois de Marque, qui fut à la Suite du dict Roy, avecque Permission du Roy de France. At the end, in a hand as old as that of the book, is written: *Ce Livre de la Prinse du Roy Richart d'Angleterre est à Monseigneur Charles Damon Conte du Maine & de Mortaing, & Gouverneur de Languedoc.* In this treatise the curious reader will find that the doctrines of abdication and the vacancy of the throne are more primitive in England, than some learned men could readily believe them to be. Here, rather than it should be wholly forgotten, let me put the reader in mind of the elegant history of our old civil wars, written in Italian by Sir Francis Biondi, of the bed-chamber to King Charles I. and translated into (6) English by the Earl of Monmouth.

Henry the Fourth's surprizing and pompous accession to the throne, was a more proper *Hen. IV.* subject for a poet to descant upon, than the melancholic reign of his predecessor; and therefore we may the more readily believe, what the same author tells us, that the fore-mentioned northern bard wrote his panegyric. Pitts also (7) says, That Rob. Mafcall, Bishop of Hereford, was employed in several embassies during the reigns of this king and his successor; and that (dying at Ludlow in the year 1417) he left, among other things, a treatise *De suis Legationibus*. Sir John Hayward, King James the First's historiographer at Chelsea, wrote Henry the Fourth's Life, among others, and had the repute, in those days, of a good clean pen, and smooth style; though some have since blamed him for being a little too (8) dramatical. This piece is certainly the least liable to that censure of any this author ever wrote, being the most elaborate of all his works, and what looks like a part of what he designed for just history; but the little that is (9) published, should rather be intitled the reign of Richard II. since it reaches no farther than his death, and the settlement of his successor in the throne.

Henry V. was a most heroic prince; and his single victory at Agincourt might have afforded *Henry V.* matter for more volumes than, as far as I can yet learn, have been written on his whole reign. It is said that his exploits were carefully recorded by Peter (10) Basset, who was of his bed-chamber, and an attendant on him in all his triumphs: but what the same (11) person writes of another anonymous author, who translated Livy's history into English, and also wrote the Life of Henry V. is such stuff as is common with him. The truth is, his life was written at large by one who called himself Titus Livius, who by that name, dedicated it to King Henry VI. and is still quoted by Stow and others. We have to this day two good copies of his work; one in Sir John Cotton's library, the other in that of Bennet college. Out of these, carefully collated, a third was prepared for the press by (12) the worthy publishers of the *Decem Scriptores*; which, with several other historical treatises, some whereof have been

(20) MS. in Bibl. Bodl. (1) Tiberius, C. 9. Claudius, B. 9. (2) 12mo. Lond. 1654. (3) 8vo. Lond. 1690. (4) Vid. p. 17. (5) In Bibl. Harleian. (6) Fol. 2. Vol. Lond. 1641, 1646. (7) J. Pitts, p. 598. (8) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 824. (9) 4to. Lond. 1599. (10) J. Pitts, p. 616. (11) Id. p. 824. (12) See White Kennet's Life of Somn. p. 65, 66.

PART
I.

printed, was afterwards purchased by that indefatigable promoter of all sorts of learning, the late pious Bishop Fell. This treatise is abundantly quoted by our general chroniclers: but no piece of history relishes so well at the second hand, as it does when we have it from its first author. It were therefore to be wished, that the good prelate's executors would do him and themselves, as well as the publick, so much right as to print it, together with the like valuable manuscripts which have thus fallen into their hands. There is a very fair MS. in Bodley's library, intituled, A Translation of Titus Livius's Life of Henry V. dedicated to Henry VIII. But it is more truly a history of that prince's life, compiled out of a French book, called *Enquerrant*, which, of all the French chronicles is said to treat most copiously of the wars betwixt England and France, and out of Titus Livius: "To which book (says the author, or translator, in the prologue) I have added divers sayings of the English chronicles, and to the same matter also divers other opinions that I have read of the report of a certain honourable and antient person, and that is the honourable Earl of Ormond." There are likewise two several lives of this king in (13) Cotton's library; whereof the one was written by Tho. Elmham, Prior of Lenton, and the other by an anonymous author. Fran. Thynne, in the conclusion of Holinshead's chronicle, mentions one by Roger Wall, herald at arms. Out of some of these, and many other good authorities, Mr. Goodwin compiled his (14) history of this king's reign; which, besides the circumstantial account that he gives of the prosecution of the Lord Cobham and other Lollards, affords us notices of some remarkable occurrences in the civil state, communicated to the author by Mr. Rymer and others. What was done by Sir George Carew, Earl of Totness, has been already observed to be remitted into J. Speed's Chronicle; where the reader will meet with some remarks becoming a statesman, a general, and a scholar.

Hen. VI. Henry the Sixth was as good as his father was great; being as conversant in the holy scriptures and books of devotion, as the other was in arms and feats of chivalry: and yet I do not find that all his strict piety gained so far upon the monks of his time, as that there was any great struggling among them, who should most effectually recommend him to posterity. Archbishop (15) Usher tells us of one John Blackman, a Carthusian, who was particularly intimate with him, and has left a collection of the many good things he had taken notice of, in the most secret passages of his life. Tho. Walsingham, who also lived in his time, took a journal of his reign; out of which is composed that which some have intituled his (16) *Acta Regis Henrici Sexti*. Had the pope favoured the attempt which was afterwards made at the enshrining or fainting of this king, it is very likely that his legend would have outgrown his history, and have been penned by more writers than his life: since the Roman saints are commonly most active after their decease, and the wonders of their relicks are usually much greater than those of their persons.

Edw. IV. Edward the Fourth can hardly be said to have enjoyed so much quiet, during the twenty years of his supposed reign, as to have settled the house of York in the throne: so that even the favourers of justice and his cause, have not known what account to give of the times; or how to form a regular history out of such a vast heap of rubbish and confusion. Mr. (17) Habbington has given us as fair a draught as the thing would bear: at least, he has copied this king's picture as agreeably as could be expected from one standing at so great a distance from the original.

Edw. V. Edward the Fifth had the name of a king for some few weeks; and purchased the compliment at far too high a rate. His accession to the throne, the tower, and the grave, all within the compass of little more than two months, are largely and elegantly described by the famous Sir Thomas More, Lord-Chancellor of England; who has sufficiently shewn how a short and doleful tale may be improved into a complete history, by a person of good skill and judgment. This treatise has met with such a general acceptance, as that it not only finds admission, by wholesale, into all our late chronicles; but has also been (18) separately printed, without any other alteration than a small change of the English orthography, according to the usage and

(13) Julius, E. 4. Tiberius, B. 6. Claudius, A. 8. E. 4. (14) Fol. Lond. 1704. (15) *De Script. & Sacr. Vernac.* p. 171. (16) J. Pitts, p. 630. (17) Fol. Lond. 1640. (18) 8vo. Lond. 1651.

mode of the present age. The short epitome of this and the three following reigns, that was PART
1. written (1) and published by William Fleetwood, serjeant at law, is so thin a piece, and refers so peculiarly to the transactions in the courts at Westminster, that it has been rather looked on as a table or index to the year-books of those times, than any historical treatise.

Richard the Third's short and unfortunate reign, had its (2) Tragical History begun by Sir Thomas More, who did not bring it to such a final conclusion, as he had done that of his nephew and predecessor. Neither Bale nor Pitts take notice of any such thing: but Vossius seems to have seen and perused it. (3) *Ut fufe* (says he) *persequitur quibus sceleribus ille ad regnum pervenerit; ita quomodo id gesserit, non exponit: ac nec ea parte, quam habemus, ultimam manum accepit. Præterea elegantia Latini sermonis ab aliis ejusce viri operibus longe vincitur.* Which last words must refer to Sir Thomas's life of this king; and not to that of Edward, which indeed might seem to be an introduction to this, and would answer all the former part of Vossius's story: but King Edward's was only written in English; whereas Richard's was in both languages, and, as appears from (4) Stow's account, was more copiously treated on in Latin. Great additions have been since made by a more candid (5) composer of his annals; who endeavours to represent him as a prince of much better shapes, both of body and mind, than he had been generally esteemed. Various are the censures which have passed upon this work. I shall only trouble the reader with that of Dr. Fuller: (6) "His memory (says he, speaking of King Richard) has met with a modern pen, who has not only purged, but praised it to the height; and pity it is, that so able an advocate had not a more meriting person to his client. They that are dissatisfied with any passages in this book, may have recourse to a (7) copy corrected and amended in every page."

Henry the Seventh, having most fortunately and wisely united the houses of York and Lancaster, continued his reign as prosperously as it began; and is justly esteemed one of the most politic princes that ever sat on the English throne. He is mightily extolled by B. Andreas of Tholouse, his poet-laureat and historiographer; who has written (8) two sufficient volumes on the most eminent transactions of his reign. It appears Sir Thomas More had once some (9) faint thoughts of writing this king's life, whilst he was in hand with those of his immediate predecessors: but I know not whether he ever lived, or not, to digest them. Sir James Ware has industriously collected and (10) published such occurrences of this reign, as relate to the affairs of Ireland: and a poetical history of the whole has been (11) printed by Charles Aleyn. But this good work was the most effectually undertaken and completed by the incomparable (12) Sir Francis Bacon, who has bravely surmounted all those difficulties, and passed over those rocks and shallows, against which he took such pains to (13) caution other less experienced historians. He has perfectly put himself into King Henry's own garb and livery, giving as sprightly a view of the secrets of his council, as if himself had been president in it. No trivial passages, such as are below the notice of a statesman, are mixed with his sage remarks: nor is any thing of weight or moment flubbed over with that careless haste and indifferency, which is too common in other writers. No allowances are given to the author's own conjecture or invention; where a little pains and consideration will serve to set the matter in its proper and true light. No impertinent digressions, nor fanciful comments, distract his readers: but the whole is written in such a grave and uniform style, as becomes both the subject and the artificer.

Henry the Eighth was a prince of great virtues and accomplishments, and as great vices: Henry so that the pleasing varieties that were in his life and reign, might have tempted many more writers, than we know of, to engage in the composition of so entertaining an history. Edmund

(1) Elenchus Annalium RR. Edw. IV. &c. 12mo. Lond. 1597. (2) 8vo. Lond. 1651. (3) De Hist. Lat. lib. III. cap. 13. (4) Stow's Chron. p. 458. (5) G. Buck's Hist. of Rich. III. fol. Lond. (6) Worthies, p. 282. in Northamptonshire. (7) Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, E. 10. (8) Bibl. Cott. Julius, A. 3, 4. B. 12. (9) Stow's Chron. p. 459. col. 1. (10) In Append. ad Disquisit. de Hibernia, 8vo. Lond. 1658. (11) 8vo. Lond. 1638. (12) Fol. Lond. 1676. (13) De Augment. Scient. lib. 2. cap. 5.

PART I. Campian wrote a narrative of the most remarkable passages relating to his divorce of Queen Katharine, which is printed at the end of Nich. (1) Harpesfield's Church History, and is written with the true spirit and heart, as well as eloquence, of a Jesuit. Fran. Godwin, (Bishop of Landaff, who will be remembered at large among our ecclesiastical historians) compiled also the (2) annals of this and the two following reigns: whereof (3) one of our criticks gives this just character, that his book is penned, *Non magis succineta quam laudabili brevitate*. The author was a perfect master of the Latin tongue, and wrote in that language: but his annals were translated into English, and so have been frequently published, by his son Morgan Godwin, LL. D. Sir Robert Cotton had drawn together some notes and collections, as materials for a future history of this king's reign: but these fell unfinished into the hands of John Speed, who has taken care to preserve them, as orderly as he could, in his chronicle. I suppose that which was written in Greek verse by George Etheridge, sometime regius professor of that language in Oxford, and by him (4) presented to Queen Elizabeth, was intended only for the use of her majesty, and its author; and, for that reason, has ever continued in manuscript, & *sub noctibus atticis*. Above all, Edward Lord Herbert, of Cherbury, may be truly said to have written the life and reign of King Henry the Eighth; having acquitted himself with the like reputation as the Lord Chancellor Bacon gained by that of Henry the Seventh. For, in the politic and martial part this honourable author has been admirably particular and exact, from the best records that were extant: though, as to the ecclesiastical, he seems to have looked upon it as a thing out of his province, and an undertaking more proper for men of another profession. The Oxford antiquary (5) tells us, That he had seen four thick volumes, in folio, of collections, which this lord had furnished himself withal; as materials necessary for the firm erecting of so noble a structure. Out of these, and other helps, he at last finished his excellent history; the original manuscript whereof he was pleased to bestow on the university of Oxford, in whose archives it still remains. It has been frequently printed, and the several impressions as greedily bought up: but the (6) last edition is indeed, what is always pretended, the best and most correct.

Edw. VI. Edward the Sixth. The most considerable transactions of this reign, are (it may be) as well registered by the young king himself, as any other historian, in the Diary, written with his own hand, and still preserved in Sir John Cotton's famous library; from whence our learned Bishop Burnet transcribed and (7) published it. There was a notable discourse, touching the state of the times in this king's reign, written by (a person admirably well skilled in the antiquities and laws of England) Dr. Gerard Langbaine, provost of Queen's College in Oxford; which he published, by way of preface, to Sir John (8) Cheek's True Subject to the Rebel. As for Sir John Hayward, he is the same man in his (9) Life of Edward the Sixth, that we have already observed him to be in that of Henry the Fourth: only his stile is here sometimes too sharp and pungent; especially when he comes to give characters of the nobility, ministers of state, &c. where an intelligent historian ought no more to be clownish, than he needs turn courtier when he converses with plowmen.

Q. Mary. Queen Mary's reign had blemishes in it, which have discouraged some sort of writers from attempting its story; though I cannot but wonder that others have not thought themselves obliged to endeavour to represent it as advantageously to posterity, as art can do it. A slender historical account of Wiat's rebellion, was set out by one (10) John Proctor, school-master of Tunbridge; who, for any thing I have yet learned, must be looked upon as the only particular historian of this reign.

Q. Elizabeth. Queen Elizabeth, in a long and prosperous reign, gave the world very ample proofs of her sex's being capable of government, and the most gallant achievements. Her blasting the

(1) Fol. Duaci, 1622. (2) 4to. & fol. Lond. 1616, 1628, &c. (3) Deg. Whear, Method. p. 144.
 (4) Vid. Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. I. p. 289. & lib. II. p. 235. (5) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 19.
 In Bibl. Coll. Jesu. Oxon. (6) Fol. Lond. 1682. (7) In Appendix ad Vol. II. Hist. Reformation.
 (8) 4to, Oxon. 1641. (9) 8vo. Lond. 1622. (10) 12mo. Lond. 1555.

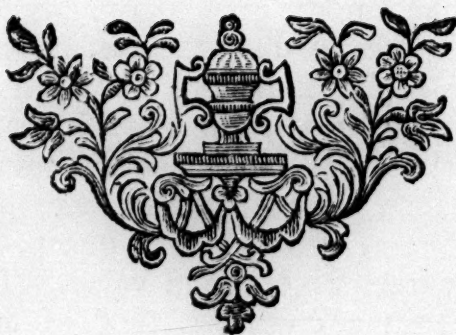
longing hopes of Spain after an universal monarchy in temporals, and putting a final period to that of Rome in spirituals, together with her personal endowments, were such extraordinary glories, as tempted a great many artists to try how fairly they were able to take the features of such an original in all points of sovereignty. Her establishment of the reformation, and executing the laws upon some few turbulent persons of the Romish communion, whetted the stile of that party against her; and, particularly, provoked Tho. Bouchier, a Franciscan doctor of the Sorbonne, to write a history of the (1) martyrdom, as he terms it, of the men of his order. The Life and (2) Martyrdom of Mary Queen of Scots, was also written by Robert Turner, sometime scholar to Edward Campian, who was afterwards doctor of divinity at Rome, and secretary to Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria. Some of her better subjects have furnished us with more agreeable accounts of the chief passages in her reign. Sir Henry Unton has drawn up a journal of his embassy in France, giving a full register of his commission, instructions, expences, &c. a manuscript copy whereof is now in the publick library at Oxford. Heyward Towneshend, an eminent member of the House of Commons, preserved the debates in parliament of her last fourteen years; which, long after the author's death, were published under the title of (3) Historical Collections, &c. But this, as vast an undertaking as it seems to be, is only a part of that more comprehensive one of Sir Symonds d'Ewes; whose journal of both houses, during her whole reign, was soon after given us in (4) print. Her wars with Spain, the several engagements of her fleet at sea, with their many successful expeditions, &c. have been well described by Sir William Monson, who bore a high command in most of them, and has shewn such a judgment in maritime affairs, as well qualified him for such posts of honour. His book bears the title of (5) A particular and exact Account of the last seventeen Years of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, both Military and Civil: the former kind being the work of Sir William, and the latter Mr. Towneshend's. Out of all these, and many other good helps, Mr. Camden composed his most exquisite history of this queen; which, as Dr. Smith shews in his (6) life, was undertaken by the special directions and command of the great Lord Cecil. It has had many editions, and in several languages; though 'tis pity it should be read in any other than its author's polite original Latin. Dr. Fuller (7) observes, that one of its English translations, for it had several, was done out of French by Abraham Darcy, who understood not the Latin, and has therefore committed many mistakes. Hugh Holland, one of Camden's (8) scholars at Westminster, and a papist, is said to have written this queen's life as well as his master: but it is only, if it be at all, an English manuscript, and very probably not worth the seeking. Sir Robert Naunton's character of her court and favourites has been lately published with Sir Francis Walsingham's (9) Arcana Aulica; and a short system of her policies hath been offered to our late sovereign, and excellent queen, by the ingenious (10) Edmund Bohun, esq; author of many other treatises of good value. There are several other treatises which will be useful in furnishing out a compleat view of her long and prosperous reign; as, 1. Eliza, (11) or the Life and Troubles of Queen Elizabeth, from her Cradle to her Crown, by Tho. Heywood. 2. Elizabeth, or a (12) Panegyric on the most considerable Occurrences of her Reign, in Latin Verse, by Chr. Ocland. 3. The (13) Felicity of her Time, by Sir Francis Bacon. 4. Sir Dudley Digge's (14) Compleat Ambassador, containing all the Letters, Instructions, Memoirs, &c. relating to the French Match with that Queen. 5. Some good materials may be had from the (15) Itinerary of F. Moryson, who was secretary to the Lord Montjoy, General and Governor of Ireland. This is drawn up in that useful method, which is now generally allowed to be the most pleasing and instructive, giving us at

(1) 8vo. Paris 1586. (2) J. Pitts, p. 799. (3) Fol. Lond. 1680. (4) Fol. Lond. 1682. (5) Fol. Lond. 1682. (6) Vid. Camd. Vit. Epist. Præf. p. 57. (7) Worthies, p. 94. in Margin. (8) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 498. (9) 8vo. Lond. 1694. (10) Character of Queen Elizabeth, 8vo. Lond. 1693. (11) 8vo. Lond. 1631. (12) 12mo. Lond. 1582. (13) 12mo. Lond. 1632. (14) Fol. Lond. 1655. (15) Fol. Lond. 1617.

PART I. large all those original evidences, whereby the author justifies his narrative. 6. Sir John Hayward likewise acquaints (1) us, that he presented Prince Henry with some years of her reign, drawn at length, and in full proportion; but these, I think, were never printed. 7. Dr. Barth. Clerk, (2) dean of the arches, was put upon the writing of her history by the Lord Buckhurst; and he seems to have been every way fit for the undertaking: but whether he might not afterwards be prevented by death, or Mr. Camden's engaging in the same design, I know not. This I do know, that in the (3) Harleyan library there are vast stores of letters and instructions to ambassadors from about the middle of King Henry the Eighth's reign, down to the very last year of this queen's.

(1) In Epist. Ded. ad Hist. RRR. Norman. (2) See his Preface to Castilion de Aulico. (3) 37. B. 1, 2, 3, &c. ad 16. & C. 1, 2, &c.

THE END OF THE FIRST PART.



T H E

T H E
E N G L I S H
HISTORICAL LIBRARY.
P A R T II.

C H A P. I.

Of the Writers of the Affairs of the British Church.

IF (1) Gildas had cause to complain, that in treating of the civil history of Britain, he had no assistance from any monuments or records of his own country, but was forced to seek his whole information from foreigners; they that take upon them to write the church history of the first British christians, will find themselves much more obliged to strangers, and must look abroad for their intelligence. It was happiness enough to enjoy the gospel light, as long as the heathen Romans were our masters, without the rejoicing in it so openly as to have had our publick notaries registering the acts of our councils, convocations and synods, even amongst such of our ancestors as had, at once, learned to write and to obey; and they that, either in the north or west, had shunned the Roman yoke, and enjoyed their liberty and (2) traditional christianity in the woods and mountains, are generally believed to have been so much unacquainted with letters, as not to have been able to transmit their own story to posterity. Some remains there are of those ancient times, and the state of christianity in them; and our church has not wanted men of learning and industry, who, even at this distance, have successfully employed themselves in gathering up the scattered fragments, that no part of so valuable a treasure might be lost.

Master (3) Bale tells us, there are some that, with a deal of probability on their side, have guessed, that Joseph of Arimathea wrote several epistles to the churches of Great Britain: and for the better strengthening of such a conjecture, he assures us, it was usual for the primitive fathers to send such letters to those churches to which they were some way or other specially related. He might as well have told us of some epistles sent hither by St. Peter or St. Paul, since it is likely that one or both of those apostles were as instrumental in planting christianity in this island, as this Joseph himself; and we are also very sure, that they used to write such epistles. Joseph of Arimathea.

Our next ecclesiastical writer is said to be (4) King Lucius, who, about a hundred years after Joseph's death, wanted somebody, it seems, to instruct him in the first rudiments of christianity; and thereupon sent a letter to Pope Eleutherius, desiring some persons in holy orders might be sent hither to baptise him and his people. There is not any copy of this epistle now extant; and yet I dare not say the original is lost. Not to mention the inconsistencies that are among K. Lucius

(1) De Exid. Brit. cap. 2. (2) See the Bishop of St. Asaph's Pref. p. 8. where he also quotes Irenæus for his opinion. (3) De Script. Brit. Edit. Wesal. fol. 14. 2. (4) Vid. Nennii Hist. Brit. cap. 18. & Pont. Virum. Hist. Brit. l. 4. Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 4.

PART I. the several authors, upon whose credit this whole story rests, it is observable that the pretended epistle, in return, from Elutherius, seems to intimate, that Lucius's request was quite of another nature; and that his enquiry was after the imperial (civil) law, and not after the precepts of the gospel: so that I know not how we shall be sure of such a royal church historian. But, in short, the pope's letter has so many undeniable marks of (1) forgery upon it, that we cannot think it worth our while to be very inquisitive after the king's; and though a genuine piece of this kind were highly to be prized, we do not desire to build upon shadow and fable.

Eluanus and Medvinus. This story of King Lucius has helped us to a couple more of ecclesiastical historians, Eluanus and Medvinus, who, forsooth, were first employed in the forementioned embassy to Rome. After their return, Eluanus was made Abp. of London, and wrote a (2) book, *De Origine Ecclesiæ Britannicæ*. Medvinus had not the luck to mount equally in perferment with his fellow ambassador; but he rivalled him in the publick services of his pen, having written *Fugati & Damiani Gesta* in Britannia. These were Pope Eleutherius's Legates, and are by others called Faganus and Derwianus. The most probable part of this account is, that this latter book was found in the rubbish at Glastonbury: It is no matter whether at the repairing of that monastery by St. Patrick, or at some other time.

Augustine. After these, we hear no more of the writers of our British Church History, before the coming in of a more famous and true legate, Augustine the Monk, who is believed to have (3) written something of the state of christianity in these parts, even before his own arrival. If we could be assured of this, we could not have a better authority in some of our modern disputes with the court of Rome: but it is more than probable, that those learned men that assert such a thing, mistook the meaning of William of Malmesbury, who seems to have been their informer in that matter. That historian, speaking of something relating to the first foundation of the monastery at Glastonbury, which he had met with, *apud sanctum Augustinum, Anglorum Apostolum*, his unwearied readers presently concluded that he quoted some latent MS. work of that monk: whereas in truth, he meant no more, than that he had met with such an account in the library at St. Augustine's in Canterbury. The like phrase is common with him; and in the same paragraph, (4) *apud sanctum Edmundum*, is to be Englished, in the library at St. Edmundsbury.

Dinoth. The remonstrance of Dinoth, Abbot of Bangor, against the pretensions of this legate, Augustine, challenging a supremacy for his master in this isle, is of some better credit; since even (5) John Pitts himself owns that he stoutly opposed such encroachments, and that he has left to posterity his thoughts on that subject: having written, among other things, two books, entitled, *Defensorium Jurisdictionis Sedes Menevensis*, and *De Conservandis Britannorum Ritibus*. Both of these treatises have certainly been framed out of that answer of the abbot's, which Sir H. Spelman (6) has given us in Welsh, English and Latin: having found it in an old transcript out of a more ancient manuscript in the two former languages; and adding a translation of his own, in the last. The critique that our learned Stillingfleet gives upon this piece, and its publisher, is what I dare not add to: (7) "There is," says he, "all the appearance of ingenuity and faithfulness that can be expected; and he was a person of too great judgment and sagacity to be easily imposed upon by a modern invention, or a new-found schedule." I know some Romanists have endeavoured to persuade the world, that this monument bears no great age, and was probably forged since (8) the reformation: But since venerable Bede (9) himself, who was as great a favourer of Augustine, and as professed an enemy to the ancient British church, as they could wish, confirms the main of the story, they will not easily persuade us that the whole is improbable.

S. Graal. I can hear of no more ancient treatises relating to the ecclesiastical state of old Britain, save only the Sanctum Graal: which, says trusty John Pitts (10) was written by an anonymous hermit

(1) Vid. H. Spelm. Concil. Tom. 1. pag. 34. (2) Joh. Pitts, p. 79. (3) Vid. Antiq. Brit. pag. 3. & Fr. Goodwin de Convers. Brit. pag. 12. (4) Vid. Cl. Ufferii Antiq. Brit. Eccles. p. 56. (5) Page 104. Vide & Balcum, fol. m. 35. (6) Concil. Tom. 1. p. 108. Extat etiam Wallace in Bibl. Cott. Claudius, A. 8. (7) Orig. Brit. p. 360. (8) Eman. Schellstraet, Dissert. pag. 103. (9) Eccles. Hist. l. cap. (10) Pag. 122.

about the year 720, and gives an ample account of the miracles wrought by Joseph of Arimathea. Indeed Vincentius (1) of Beauvais mentions such a French legend; which, as he observes, had the name of Graal, or Gruel, because it likewise treated of a dish of meat, miraculously preserved since our Saviour's last supper: but the book, he confesses, was somewhat hard to be met with. In this dish, which was to be seen among the sacred *κειμήλια* at Glastonbury, they pretended to have part of the true blood of our redeemer: but whether it was of that shed on the cross, or of that which was at the said last supper, after consecration, he (2) dares not be positive. However, from hence the same person gives the relick the name of Sangreal, i. e. Sanguis Realis: and from him it is (3) probable the following writers gave that title to the legend itself. The learned reader will pardon me, if I give him a further account of the rare French MS. out of Monsieur Borel's (4) glossary: which, because the book is not in many of our English libraries, I shall do at large in his own words: *Il ya un Romant ancien, says he, intitule, La Conqueste du Saingreal, c. du St. Vaisseau au estoit le sang de Jesus Christ, qu'il appelle aussi le Sang real, c. le sang royal. Et ainsi ces deux choses sont confundues tellement, qu'on ne connoist qu'avec peine quand les anciens Romans qui en parlent fort souuent, entendent le Vaisseau, ou le sang. Perceual l'explique bien en ces mots:*

Senefolt que li greaus,
Qui tant est beaux & precieux,
Que le S. Sang glorieux,
Du Roy des Roies y fu receus.
Et ailleurs: Un greal Trestout descouvert.
Item, Et puis apporta un greaux
Tout plein de pierres precieuses.

R. de Merlin MS. Ne oneques peus ne fust veu au siecle, ne du Greal ne palle. *Et apres il dit:* et cil rois pecheors avoit le digne, sang Jesus Christ en garde. *D' ou il est manifeste que le R. de Sangreal, n'est que du sang royal de Jesus Christ.* *Item,* Pensa moult a la lance, & ou Graal qu'il avoit veu porter. *Ce texte monstre que c' estoit un vase. Mais en suite le mesme autheur parlant du Graal, l'appelle un Vaisseau; car il parle ainsi:* et quand le premier mes fust apportee, si issi le Graal fors d'une chambre, & les dignes reliques auenc; & si tot comme perceualle vit qui moult en avoit grand desir de scavoir, si dit: fire, je vos prie que vous me diez, que l'en sert de cest vessel que cest vallet porte. *Et encore il dit ailleurs:* et porce laupelon nos Graal qu'el agree as prodes homes. En cest vessel gist le sang de Jesus Christ. *En ce texte il donne une etymologie differente du sang royal, a scavoir le sang agreable aux hommes, en ce qu'ils en lavent leurs pechez. Et derechef confirmant cela, il dit vers le commencement de son livre.* Et ils distrent, & porrons dire du vessel que nos veimes; & coman le clameron nos qui tant nos gree, cil qui ly vaudront clamer ne metre non a nos esciens, le claremont le Greal qui tant agree: et quant cil l'oyent, si dient, bien doit avoir non cist vesselaux graax. *Et ainsi le nomment. Et enfin il dit:* Ou li vessel de Graal fait. *C'est le vase ou Joseph (dit il) recueillit le sang qui sortit des playes de Jesus Christ, lors qu'il lavoit son corps pour l'embaumer, a la maniere des Juifs.* See Dr. Davis's Dict. Cambro. Brit. voce Greal. And E. Lbwyl, p. 262, & 265. Tit. vii. Lbyvyr y Greal.

The present age, amongst her many writers in all parts of learning, has afforded us some that have thought it an undertaking worth their pains to search after the remains of our first British church; and the discoveries they have made have met with very different characters and entertainment, according as they have fallen into the hands of proper or improper judges. The first of these, I suppose, was R. Broughton, a secular priest, who was bred at Rheims, and sojourned some time (5) in Oxford. In this latter place he collected materials for his (6) ecclesiastical history of Great Britain, from the nativity of our Saviour, unto the happy conversion of the Saxons. The account that Mr. Wood gives of this book, is this; "though it is

(1) Specul. Histor. lib. 23. c. 27. (2) Tho. Malorii Hist. Arthuri R. (3) Vid. Usserii Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 9: & Orig. Brit. p. 13. (4) Tresor de Recherches & antiquitez Gauloises & Francoises, 4to. Paris, 1655, in voce Graal. (5) Athen. Oxon. Vol. 1. pag. 854. (6) Fol. Duaci, 1633.

PART

II.

a rhapsody, and a thing not well digested, yet there is a great deal of reading shewn in it." It is said King James I. was overjoyed to hear of (1) Sir R. Cotton's design of writing our church history, from the first planting of christianity, to the reformation: and so far he carried on the project, as to draw together no less than (2) eight large volumes of collections, which have long been, and still are, very serviceable to those that engage in those studies.

J. Usher.

The like collections were made, about the same time, by Abp. Usher, the most reverend and learned primate of Ireland, and soon after commendatory bishop of Carlisle; of whom (3) one, that knew him well, and was as able as any man to judge of him, gives this character; *Vir ob eruditionis immensitatem, morumq; sanctitatem toto orbi venerandissimus*. His book was first printed at Dublin, under the title, (4) *De Primordiis, &c.* and is since published by the name of (5) *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*. It was begun by command of King James I. who gave him licence, under the great seal of Ireland, to retire from his bishoprick of Meath to one of our English universities, for the more effectual carrying on of so good a work: and this (6) grant was had and enjoyed above a dozen years before the book was first published. He begins with a collection of whatever narratives and old stories he could meet with about Simon Zelotes, Joseph of Arimathea, and others, first planting christianity in this island: from whence he proceeds to the legend of King Lucius, and the whole succession of those archbishops and bishops descended from Jeoffrey of Monmouth's *Flamines* and *Archi-Flamines*. After this, we have the settlement of three metropolitical thrones, at London, York and Caerleon; which are afterward removed to Canterbury, Dole, in Britany, and St. David's. Then follow the generous endowments of Glastonbury, and other places by Lucius and Arthur: The martyrdom of St. (Alban, and his friend or cloak) Amphibalus, with many more of their fellow-faints: the famous expedition of Urfula, &c. Interwoven with these reports, the reader will find a deal of excellent learning, and the clearing of many doubts in our British, Roman, and Saxon antiquities. He also gives a particular account of the original and progress of the Pelagian and Semi-Pelagian heresies; and concludes with the remains of St. Patrick, and the ancient Scottish, or Irish Church. The author himself (7) modestly calls the work, *Ex omni Scriptorum genere promiscue congesta farrago*. Which Sir Geo. Mackenzie has, a little bluntly, translated, (8) "a confused rabble," and a "formless lump of fabulous nonsense." It is a more just account that another gives of this treasure of our ancient church history, that, (9) "all that have written since, with any success, on this subject, must own themselves beholden to him for his elaborate collections. In the late edition, the references which the author makes to the several parts of his work, are very faulty: the margin of the former quarto edition having not always been corrected.

H. Spelman.

The same year with Abp. Usher's book, was published Sir H. Spelman's first tome of the councils, ecclesiastical laws and constitutions, &c. of this kingdom, and its dependencies; whereof we are to give some farther account anon. For the present, the reader is only to be informed, that the excellent publisher of those collections has prefixed to them an elaborate and learned discourse of his own, touching the first preachers of the gospel in this country, our British metropolitans, and the state of the churches under them.

W. Lloyd.

The next that engaged in these dark enquiries, was our learned Doctor William Lloyd, then Bishop of St. Asaph, now of Worcester, in his historical account of ancient church government in Great Britain and Ireland (10). The undertaking became a bishop of our English church; and the performance answered the great opinion that men of learning have always had of this worthy prelate. His aim in it, was the encountering an objection against the order of episcopacy, from the story of the Scotch Culdees: An argument put into the mouths of our schismatics, by Blondel and Selden, out of the abundant kindness they had for our establishment. In the answering of the several cavils of these learned men, the bishop thought himself

(1) D. Smith, de Vit. D. Rob. Cotton, pag. 24. (2) Bibl. Cott. Cleopatra, E. F. (3) D. Joh. Masham, in *προσωπ.* ad Monast. Angl. Tom. i. (4) 4to. 1639. (5) Fol. Lond. 1687. (6) See his Life by Dr. Parr, pag. 24, 45. (7) In Præfat. p. 2. (8) Defence of Royal Line, p. 11. (9) Dr. Parr, in Vit. Auctoris, p. 44. (10) 8vo. Lond. 1684.

obliged to give a short history of the first planting of the Scots in Great Britain; which thwarted the common road of their historians since the days of Hector Boethius, and bereaved them of about forty of their first monarchs. This shortening of the royal line, his majesty's advocate of Scotland, the late ingenious and learned Sir George Mackenzie presently resented as an affront little short of what the lawyers of that country call Lese-Majesty; and therefore published (1) a Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland. In this tract the zealous author was so wholly on fire, that it was not safe for the bishop himself to approach him; but his incomparable friend, Dr. Stillingfleet, took the (2) pains to confirm, at large, the bishop's positions, and to answer the most considerable of Sir George's objections. Soon after, the advocate published a (3) reply to his new antagonist, under the title of, the Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland, further cleared, &c. I am not now concerned to enquire whether these two great opponents, or their no less ingenious answerer, had the better in these debates; though I may perhaps hereafter weigh some of the arguments on both sides, if I live to publish my notes on the Scotch and Irish historians. For the present, I shall only observe, that the cause of our church in this controversy was thought long since to have been secured, in few words, by Sir John Marsham: (4) *Columbanus* (says he) *postquam in Hybernia armacanum monasterium fecerat, anno 565. Britanniam venit ad Pictos: australes autem Pictos Nynias Brito ad veritatem converterat, anno 412. & Hy insulam episcopatus sedem fecerat.* This last particular was more than needed; and is what he could not prove from his avowed author, venerable (5) Bede, who says no such thing. He never speaks of Nynias's being at Hy; but expressly tells us, that his church was at Whithern.

The latest of our British church historians, and who shall come after him? is the renowned Dr. Stillingfleet, late Bishop of Worcester, whose (6) *Origines Britannicæ* have perfected all the collections of former writers on that subject. The design of the book is to vindicate the liberties of the ancient British church, against the pretended jurisdiction of the bishops of Rome: so that it reaches only from the first appearance of the christian faith in this island, to the conversion of the Saxons. It is penned with an accuracy of judgment and purity of style peculiar to its great author; and clears many doubtful passages that had escaped the diligence of the famous Abp. of Armagh. He tells us, in the conclusion of his preface, that it comes forth as a specimen of a greater design, to clear the most important difficulties of ecclesiastical history. He rejects, for very good reasons, the Glastonbury legend of Joseph of Arimathea; but confirms the story of St. Paul's planting a church in this our *τέματι τῆς Δύσεως*. The history of King Lucius he endeavours to set free from the monkish fopperies and contradictions that clog it in other authors; explains the subscriptions of the British bishops in the council of Arles; shews the probability of some of them being present in the council of Nice; excellently illustrates the state of Arianism and Pelagianism, &c. The Picts he thinks (contrary to Camden's opinion) to have been a people originally distinct from the ancient Britons; and agrees with Hector Boethius, for better reasons than ever he knew, that they were some of the old maritime inhabitants of the Baltick sea. He teaches his reader how to judge of the antiquities and antiquaries of Scotland and Ireland; and concludes with a very particular and full account of the great revolution in this island, upon the coming in of the Saxons. His preface, as we have already hinted, was attacked by Sir George Mackenzie; and the book itself by Emanuel a Scelstrate, keeper of the Vatican library, in his (7) Dissertation concerning Patriarchal and Metropolitane Authority. To the latter there needs no other reply, than only to tell him; 1. The probable arguments alledged for St. Paul's preaching christianity in this isle, are not to be overthrown by less probable ones on the behalf of St. Peter: nor should the man that admits King Lucius's and Pope Eleutherius's epistles as genuine, reject the MS. account of Abbot Dinoth and his monks. 2. Mr. Launoy and Dr. Beveridge agree with Dr. Stillingfleet, in their exposition of the sixth canon of the Nicene council, as well as the anonymous French author of the treatise *De Disciplina Ecclesiæ*; who exactly jumps with our great prelate in his

(1) 8vo. Lond. 1685. (2) In Præfat. ad Orig. Brit. (3) 8vo. Lond. 1686. (4) In *περοπυλ.* ad Monast. Angl. (5) Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 4. (6) Fol. Lond. 1685. (7) 4to. Angl. Edit. Lond. 1688.

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notion about the Suburbicarian churches. Dr. Bafire's (19) four positions, asserting the legitimate exemption of the British church from the Roman patriarchate, contain only a short essay towards the proof of what we have more amply advanced, and more clearly demonstrated, in the *Origines*; not to mention, that the greatest part of them are borrowed from John Barnes's (20) *Catholico-Romanus Pacificus*.

Saints.

The lives of our British saints must be read with the allowance that it is usually given to those of our neighbouring nations; and we are not under any great difficulties to learn what opinion even the Romanists themselves have of the writings of their monks on these subjects. *Dolenter hoc dico*, says (1) *Melchior Canus, multo severius a Laertio vitas philosophorum scriptas, quam a Christianis vitas sanctorum, longeque incorruptius & integrius Suetonium res Caesarum exposuisse, quam exposuerint Catholici, non res dico imperatorum, sed martyrum, virginum & confessorum.* It is the sense of the gravest and best writers of that church, and what will very well agree to those of the times and country we are now mentioning. There cannot be bolder, nor more inconsistent miracles, than those we meet with in the stories of St. Alban and St. Patrick: and the whole treasury of legends seem to be outvied by the choice adventures of St. Ursula, and her train. To furnish the reader with an exact list of all the ancient saints of this island, would be as edifying as to present him with a catalogue of the parishes of Wales, most of which bear the inscription and name of some one or other of them. Besides the general pains taken by (2) Surius and others in this matter, there are some who have more particularly treated of our British saints; and others that have applied themselves to the history of the life, actions, and sufferings of some special hero. John Pitts (3) tells us of Johannes Anglicus, (who seems to have been a Welshman, notwithstanding his name) that wrote a book *De Vitis Sanctorum Wallensium*: and we are also told, by a (4) brother of his, of somewhat better authority, that there is now in the library of the English College at Rome, a manuscript treatise, of the like import, by William Good, a fugitive papist under the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It is likewise certain that Ricemarchus (whether (5) Bishop of St. David's himself, or only son to Sulgenus, bishop of that place, or both) wrote such a martyrology: though perhaps in the Manuscript Lives of the British Saints, which are now in the (6) Cottonian library, the life of St. David is only to be ascribed to that author. In perusing those of the several other writers, who have made it their business to collect or invent matter for the magnifying of some single martyr, the reader will be cautious in separating the chaff and good corn; and so, by distinguishing the monk from the historian, a good use may be made of these romantic ones that follow:

S. Alban.

St. Alban is our proto-martyr, and might therefore justly challenge the first place in our catalogue, if the method of the alphabet, which shall be our guide, had not given it him. His life has been the subject of some learned pens, and of some that were otherwise. The first that we hear of was a (7) person of good abilities, who wrote about the year 590, but had the modesty to conceal his name. This work was translated into Latin by (8) Will. Albanensis, a monk of St. Alban's, who afterwards prevailed with his brother (9) Ralph de Dunstable, to turn it into heroic verse. Unwon, an old priest well skilled in the ancient British language, translated another such volume, but of much greater antiquity, at the request of Abbot Ædmar, about the year 970, whereof we have a notable account given by (10) Matt. Paris, who is also (11) reported to have written two books of the martyrdom of St. Alban and St. Amphibalus. Dr. Watts could not meet with them; and indeed Pitts is not very consistent in the account he gives of them; for he elsewhere tells us, that a certain modest gentleman, who calls himself (12) *Miserorum Simplicissimus*, wrote these same books, which were translated

(19) *Ancient Liberty of the Britannick Church*, 12mo. Lond. 1661. (20) 8vo. Oxon. 1680. (1) *Loc. Com.* lib. 11. cap. 6. (2) *De Sanctor. Hist.* tom. 7. Fol. Colon. 1576. & *Collect. Hist. Sanct.* Edit. Lovan. 1485. (3) P. 868. *Ubi & Liber MS. extare dicitur in Bibl. Gu. Copi.* (4) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. p. 182. (5) *Vid. Ufferii Antiq. Brit. Eccles.* page 3. & H. Wharton, *Præf. ad Angl. Sacr.* vol. 2. page 25. (6) *Vespasianus*, A. 14. (7) Pitts, p. 103. *Vid. etiam Uffer. Antiq.* p. 80. (8) *Bibl. Cott. Faustina*, B. 4. (9) *Ibid. Claudius*, E. 4. (10) *In Vit. Abbatum S. Albani Edit.* Wats, page 41. (11) *Joh. Pitts*, p. 339, 887. (12) In the conclusion of that translated by W. Alban, the author calls himself *Miser*, and *Peccator ultimus*: and this is what M. Paris translated into French, *Uffer. Antiq.* p. 82, 83. *Bibl. Cott. Otho*, D. 8.

into French verse by M. Paris; as they were afterwards into English metre by John Lydgate. PART II.
The latest writer of his life is Stephen Gourmeline, a (13) Cornish man, who is said to have published something of that kind about the year 1585.

St. Columba's life translated out of Cornish, was in the hands of M. Roscarrock, who communicated it to (14) Mr. Camden; and thereby convinced him of an error, which he had advanced in some of the first editions of his *Britannia*, that St. Columb's, a market town in Cornwall, had its name from Columbanus the famous Scotch apostle. S. Columba.

St. David's had almost as many pen-men as St. Alban's. The oldest, says (15) Bollandus, is the Utrecht manuscript, which he publishes. The next to this he thinks that in Coldanus, which he believes to be that which was written by Ricemarchus, and is now published by (16) Mr. Wharton. This industrious person observes, that, out of this, all the latter writers of his life have transcribed their treatises; particularly Giraldus (17) Cambrensis; who omits some miracles, but gives new ones in lieu of them, and is, with the like freedom, epitomized by John of Tynmouth and Capgrave. For this reason, he has thought it sufficient to give us Giraldus intire; adding only what he was pleased to omit in that of (18) Ricemarchus. S. David.

St. Dubricius, Archbishop of Caerleon, is beholden to one Benedict, Monk of Gloucester, who is supposed to have written his life about the middle of the twelfth century. This is also published by the same learned person, who (19) acknowledges he passed over some fulsome miracles, and guesses that its author borrowed his best materials from Geoffrey of Llandaff, whose manuscript history of this saint was in the same volume, out of which this is given us. S. Dubricius.

St. Germanus's embassies, under Pope Celestine, have been treated on at large by some foreigners, and others of our own nation: of whose performances the inquisitive reader will have a better account from our great (20) Abp. Usher, than I can pretend to give him. S. Germanus.

St. Kentigern (better known to our northern borderers by the name of St. Mungo) had his life largely written by Josceline, a monk of Fournes in Lancashire, whose book is now in Sir John Cotton's library: but whether that which was written by his scholar (1) St. Asaph, be any-where extant, I dare not take upon me to determine. Josceline says, that in his passage betwixt Clydesdale and Wales, he built a church at Crosfeld in Cumberland. The parish church of Crosthwait, in that county, is indeed dedicated to St. Kentigern; and so is that of Caldbeck, in its neighbourhood, both in the foresaid road. S. Kentigern.

St. Lupus was Germanus's colleague in the notable undertaking for confounding of the Pelagian heresy, and re-establishment of catholicism in this island; and has been particularly obliged by an (2) anonymous writer of his life. S. Lupus.

St. Ninian (who by our neighbours on the borders of Scotland is corruptly called Ringen, and is remembered in our nine churches in Westmoreland) is (3) reported to have had his wonders recorded by Ealred, Abbot of Rievaulx; which is not so certain, as that his life was sometime (4) extant and pretty common in Ireland. S. Ninian.

St. Patrick, the great (5) apostle of Ireland, is challenged by the monks of Glastonbury; and therefore may be reckoned indifferently either a British or Irish saint. Under the former denomination we must believe that his history was written by (6) Giraldus Cambrensis; and under the latter by Josceline and (7) Rich. Stanyhurst. S. Patrick.

St. Teliau (or Eliud, St. David's successor in his archbishoprick) had his life penned by Geoffrey of (8) Landaff, brother to Urbane, bishop of that see, about the beginning of the twelfth century; whose treatise is still to be had at large in an (9) old register book of that church. S. Teliau.

(13) Pitts, 784. (14) Vid. Camd. Epist. p. 91. & Britan. Edit. noviss. p. 10. (15) Act. Sanctor. Martyr. lib. 1. § 1. num. 5. (16) Angl. Sacr. vol. 2. p. 645. (17) Ibid. p. 628. Bibl. Cott. Vitellius, E. 7. (18) Bibl. Cott. Vespasianus, A. 14. (19) Vid. Præfat. ad vol. 2. Angl. Sacr. p. 26. & deinde, p. 654, 655. (20) Antiq. Brit. Eccles. p. 175. (1) Bale, Cent. 1. cap. m. 53. & Pitts, p. 103. (2) Antiq. Brit. Eccles. p. 176. (3) Vid. Pitts, p. 229, 230. (4) Usserii Antiq. p. 347. (5) Abp. Usher mentions an old MS. Life of this Saint in the library at Lovain, which quotes some passages out of his own writings. See his Letters, p. 1. (6) Pitts, p. 279, 280. & Præf. ad Angl. Sacr. vol. 2. p. 23. (7) 8vo. Antwerp, 1587. (8) Bibl. Cott. Vespasianus, A. 14. (9) Vid. Usserii Ant. Brit. p. 44.

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II.

S. Ur-
fula.

St. Urfula, and her eleven thousand companions, had reason to expect to have their story handed down to posterity in a method peculiar to themselves; and therefore (about thirteen ages after their martyrdom) they deputed one Verena to bring hither a true relation of their sufferings. This she punctually revealed to one Elizabeth, a nun of Schaffhausen, who published (with the great applause of the monks of Cologne, who set her on work) her (10) visions on this occasion.

S. Wine-
fride.

St. Winefride's miracles (and the many glorious cures done by her well in Flintshire, were registered by (11) Robert, Prior of Shrewsbury, who, about the year 1140, translated her relicks to his own convent: so that it is justly (12) wondered how Giraldus Cambrensis came to take no notice of this sacred fountain, in his Itinerary of Wales, which was penned many years after. The wonder will increase, when we consider that, long before the prior's time, her life was written by (13) Elerius, a monk of St. Asaph, who himself, about the middle of the seventh century, instructed her in the monastic rules; and had the comfort of seeing her so great a proficient as first to turn nun, afterwards to become an abbess, and, in the end, a martyr under the tyranny of Carodocus. Whatever is now become of this same Elerius's performance, we are sure that there are still extant several other lives of this saint: as, 1. One anonymous, of considerable age, in the (14) Cotton library. 2. A larger, written by Robert, Prior of Shrewsbury, about the year 1140, when the bones of St. Winefride are supposed to have been newly translated to that monastery. This, with the history of the said translation, may be seen (bound together, and thence conjectured to be written by the same author) in the (15) public library at Oxford. 3. J. Tynmouth's, transcribed by Capgrave, and abbreviated by Surius. 4. A short one in English metre, lately printed from the Bodleyan (16) manuscript. The second of these was translated into English about eighty years ago, and published by J. F. a Jesuit, whose pains were kindly accepted by the popish gentry in North Wales, in whose families the book was no stranger. This had lately a (17) re-impression, as the publisher calls it; which was doubtless intended for the service of those zealous pilgrims, who, as he observes, croud into the town of Holy Well in the travelling seasons. Hereupon it was thought "not altogether unseasonable for a protestant (who had some particular concern for that place) to be a little zealous for his religion also, when superstition had so many votaries:" and therefore he immediately gave the world a (18) second edition of this life, with some historical observations made thereon. The Jesuit's dose of miracles, thus corrected, will, I dare undertake, have an agreeable relish with any true English reader of a proper warmth, either of affection for the reasonableness of our established faith, or of aversion to the dotages of popery.

J. Tyn-
mouth.

Abstracts of these lives, and many others, which are either now lost, or at least have not come to my knowledge, may be had in the voluminous work of John of Tynmouth's (19) Sanctilogium Britanniae, which gives the best and largest account, that is any where extant, of the lives of our British, English, Scotch, and Irish saints. The whole is a collection of such passages as related to these holy persons, out of his Historia Aurea, mentioned in the first part of this work: and this, perhaps, gave occasion to Mr. Pitts to split the Sanctilogium into a Majus and Minus, and to provide a pair of (20) Appendices Martyrologii to bind up with these two books. There is an ancient and fair copy of it in the (21) Cottonian library; at the end whereof we have this note: *Hunc librum dedit Dominus Thomas de la Marc, Abbas Monasterii Sti. Albani Anglorum Proto-Martyris, Deo Ecclesiae B. Amphibali de Redburn; ut fratres ibidem in cursu existentes per ejus lectionem poterint celestibus instrui, & per sanctorum exempla virtutibus insigniri.*

J. Cap-
grave.

John Capgrave, provincial of the Augustine friars, and confessor to the famous Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, epitomized Tynmouth's book, adding here and there several fancies and interpolations of his own. It was translated into English by Caxton, and first printed in the

(10) 8vo. Paris 1513. & Colon. Agrip. 1628. (11) Bale, Cent. 2. cap. 76. (12) Ath. Oxon. vol. 1. p. 605.
(13) J. Pitts, p. 109. (14) Claudius, A. 5. (15) MSS. Laund. lib. 21. fol. 140. (16) Bibl. Bodl. sup. Art.
A. & C. 72. fol. 189. (17) 8vo. ib. 1712. (18) 8vo. Ib. 1714. (19) MS. in Bibl. Cott. Tiberius, E. 1.
(20) J. Pitts, p. 500. (21) Tiberius, E. 1.

year 1516; since which time it has been frequently re-printed, both here, and beyond the seas, and is common in the families of our gentlemen of the Roman communion. He is not quite so modest as his principal John of Tynmouth, who sometimes (20) prefaces a miracle of a more than ordinary size, with leaving his reader to a liberty of believing or disbelieving, as his own reason shall guide him. But, so far is both Capgrave and his translator from any thing of this bashful temper, that they always load a man's faith with more than it well can carry. For example; the story of St. Ursula and her eleven thousand virgins was thought, in former times, a sufficient glorious army of martyrs; but Mr. Caxton assures us, there were also fifteen thousand men that suffered with them, and so the whole company consisted of no less than 26,000. This part of the history was vouched to him by the men of Cologne, who seem to have had some farther revelation since the days of Tynmouth and Capgrave.

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II.

C H A P. II.

Historians of the ENGLISH Church, from the Coming in of AUGUSTINE the Monk, to the Conquest.

THE conversion of our Saxon ancestors happened at a time when learning run very low, and when a general credulity and want of thought gave opportunity to the monks of coining their legendary fables, and obtruding them upon the world for true and unquestionable history; so that the main part of the ecclesiastical story (if we may so call it) of those ages, is to be had amongst the lives of our English saints, which are much of a piece with those of the British already mentioned. The account that (1) Augustine gave Pope Gregory of the success of his apostleship in Kent, is hardly extant: but we have the queries he put to that holy father, with the Pope's answers, in (2) Bede, from whom several of our later historians have transcribed them. Both the questions and answers are plain enough, and of no great moment; yet I think Bale's censure a little too severe, when he affirms that they are *Omnis Evangelii atque Legis Eruditionis vacuæ, immo ineptissimæ*.

In truth, venerable Bede is the only person of those times, that deserves the name of an ecclesiastical historian, there having not been many of his contemporaries furnished with either learning or judgment sufficient for such an undertaking. The account which (3) himself gives of his own life, is, that he was born within the territories (of Sundorplande, says the Saxon paraphrase) of the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul at Weremouth and Jarrow, where he was afterwards educated. That he was, when seven years old, committed to the care of Abbot Benedict; that he was ordained deacon at nineteen, and priest at thirty, by St. John of Beverly; that from thenceforth he continued still in the same Monastery to the fifty-ninth year of his age. Here he employed himself in writing commentaries on the scriptures, and distinct treatises upon almost every part of learning, most of which are still extant. What we are at present concerned in, is, his Ecclesiastical History of this Island, in five books, which have had many (4) impressions in Latin, the language wherein he penned them. It is plain he had seen and perused several chronicles of the English kings before his own time, witness that expression, (5) *Unde cunctis placuit Regum tempora computantibus*, &c. But he first attempted an account of their church affairs, and kept correspondence in the other kingdoms of the heptarchy, the better to enable him to give a true state of christianity throughout the whole nation. He treats indeed most largely of the conversion

Bede.

(20) Vid. Cl. Ufferii Antiq. p. 10. 11. & 332. (1) Bale, Fol. m. 35. (2) Eccles. Hist. lib. 1 cap. 27. (3) Ad fin. lib. 5. Hist. Eccles. pag. (See Edit. Wheloc.) 492. (4) 8vo. Antwerp, 1550. Heidelb. 1587. Colon. 1601, &c. (5) Lib. 3. cap. 1.

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of Northumberland, and the progress of religion in that Kingdom; but always intermixes what other relations he could borrow from books, or learn from such living testimonies as he believed to be credible. Some have censured his history as composed with too great partiality, favouring, on all occasions, the Saxons, and depressing the Britains. Such a charge is not wholly groundless. He must be pardoned for stuffing it here and there, with thumping miracles, the natural product of the zeal and ignorance of his age, especially since so little truth was to be had of the saints of those days, that there was a sort of necessity of filling up books of this kind with such pleasant legends, as the chat of the country, or a good invention, would afford a man. It is worth our observation, that none of the writers of his own life have mentioned one single miracle wrought by him, because they had enough of truth to relate; not but that we may boldly reckon him (as a foreign minister is said once to have done) a much better saint than many of those Thaumaturgi, that we read of in his history. There was a paraphrase very early made of it in the English Saxon tongue, which has been printed (6) together with the original Latin text; but whether it was done by the famous King Alfred, or some other hand, we are not very certain. Mr. Wheloc dares not be positive; yet thinks it very (7) probable, that it was the work of that great monarch, to whom (in his title-page) he has confidently ascribed it. Sir John Spelman (8) proves him the author, from a distich in the front of that very manuscript, out of which Mr. Wheloc afterwards published it; which runs thus,

*Historicus quondam fecit me Bedæ Latinum,
Ælfred Rex Saxo transtulit ille prius.*

Indeed, he is commonly so reputed; and particularly by (9) one, who of all men now living, is the best able to give a character of the performance, which the reader will be pleased to have in his own words. *Nil Regiis versionibus perfectius dici possit. Bone Deus! Quam in illis natus, facilis & simplex sermo! Præcipue in Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ Bedæ Paraphrasi; cuius augustissimum auctorem, sive dictionis in ea puritatem, sive perspicuitatem styli, sive hypotyposin illam miram, qua res omnes quasi ob oculos legentis ponit, spectes, Cæsari in dicendo æqualem censebis.* The publisher of this noble monument has beautified his edition with some learned annotations of his own, wherein he takes frequent occasion to shew, in what points of doctrine our Saxon ancestors differed from the present members of the Roman church, and agreed with those of the reformed. If we live to see this paraphrase reprinted, (and why should we despair?) it will have considerable enlargements from the excellent notes of Fr. Junius, (10) who has carried his animadversions and illustrations through the whole work; and some advantage may be given it from a manuscript copy in (11) Corpus Christi college in Oxford, which Mr. Wheloc never saw. The history itself was translated into English by (12) Tho. Stapleton, a doctor of divinity in the university of Lovain; but, as on other occasions he has shewn himself too partially inclined to serve the interests of his own church, so we have here (13) sometimes just cause to complain that he does not deal fairly and honestly with us. Richard Lavingham, Prior of the Carmelite monastery at Bristol, and a mighty writer in divinity about the latter end of the fourteenth century, is (14) reported to have epitomized Bede's history, beginning his work with *Britannia, cui quondam Albion*, &c. There is such an abstract added in Wheloc's edition, with a continuation to the year 766, which perhaps may be the same; for, though it does not begin with these words, Bede himself begins with such as are very like them; and to confound two writers, if they appear under the same cover, is no great transgression in my author. There is another anonymous continuer of this history, who descends below the conquest, and whose book (now in MS. in the public library at Oxford) is quoted by some of our most learned (15) writers.

(6) Fol. Cantabr. 1644. (7) In Præfat. ad Lect. (8) Ælfredi Mag. vit. p. 166. (9) G. Hickes, in Præfat. ad Gram. Anglo-Sax. p. 12. Edit. 4. (10) Inter Godd. MSS. Junianos. Oxon. (11) Vid. Not. in Ælfr. m. vit. p. 166. (12) 8vo. Anverp, 1565. (13) Vid. Ædit. Wheloc. p. 29, & 115. (14) J. Pitts, p. 534. (15) Guil. Somner, Antiq. Cantuar. p. 157. Hist. Oxon. lib. 1. p. 49.

All that looked like truth in Bede's collections, and was purely ecclesiastical, was remitted into the first volume of Sir Henry Spelman's (16) councils; to which were added such other genuine remains, of the Saxon church, as that industrious and truly religious knight could any where meet with. This good work was undertaken at the entreaty of Abp. Abbot, and his successor, Laud; and mightily encouraged by Bishop Andrews, who had thoughts of engaging in it himself. Many of the notes are owing to Abp. Usher, who seems to have furnished the author with more than were published. He is mightily perplexed in some of them, when he comes to reconcile the times of the kings and bishops mentioned together in the laws; and the difficulties increase upon him, by his adhering too stiffly to bishop Goodwin's and Sir H. Savil's authority. Had he had the compleat Saxon chronicle, (especially with the advantages of such accurate indices, as are now published with it) these mists would have vanished more readily, and he would have had much fewer achronisms to disturb him. He confesses, he often follows blind guides, and is therefore apprehensive of the danger he is in of leading his reader into the same ditch with himself. Some laws, he acknowledges, were omitted, (he knows not well by what misfortune) which were even in his own possession, and others were communicated by his friends, (chiefly the learned primate of Armagh) when it was too late to insert them in their proper places. His translations are mostly Lambard's, which we have already observed to be incorrect. Where those failed him, he made use of W. L'Isle, and sometimes his son Sir John Spelman, who seems to have understood our ancient language better than his father. He had also great assistances from Mr. Stevens, a person eminently skilled in our English antiquities, and who, for his good services in the edition of this very book, is (17) said to have had a prebend of Lincoln procured for him by Abp. Laud. There are several mistakes in the very titles of his chapters. I shall only instance in two: 1. (18) *Ædgar Regis Anglorum Charta de Oswaldes-Law, hoc est, de ejiciendis Clericis Uxoratis, & introducendis Monachis*. It is known, St. Oswald was canonized for his inveterate hatred of secular and married clergy; and for that he helped to enact severe laws against them. But none of these were ever called by the name of Oswald's Law; which signifies no more than a certain hundred of that name in the county of Worcester, whereof we have this account in an old register of that church: (19) *Idem Rex [Ædgaris] fecit de tribus centuriatibus, sc. Welperdes-Lawe, & Wiburneto, (qui erant episcopi) & de Chutberes-Lawe, (qui erat Prioris & Conventus) unum centuriatum, i. e. hundredum: Deditq; Beato Oswaldo, & ejus successoribus, eandem per omnia libertatem perpetuo possidendam, quam ipse Rex habuit in suis hundredis. Et vocatur Oswaldes-Lawe*. So that here is a very unfortunate mistake, and of the same nature with that we have already observed of Denelege, &c. in the first part. I wonder we never had any mention of the laws of the Picts, as well as those of the Danes; since we read of (20) Pithland-Law in Hector Boethius, of the like signification with the former. 2. The proof that a learned person (1) alledges for Amesbury being in the primitive ages of English writers called Urbs Ambrosii, is not conclusive; for the title there referred to is manifestly Sir Henry's own, his author mentioning only Ambresbyrig, which may admit of another signification than Urbs Ambrosii. It may be as well, and it was as anciently translated, Mons Ambrii. We wait impatiently for a new edition of these councils; and the worthy undertaker (if God please to bless him and us with the continuance of his health) will amply answer our expectations. He will be able, out of Junius's collections, and other dormant manuscripts, to make large additions, and to insert them, appositely translated, in their proper places. He will finish the pains which Mr. Somner long since took (2) to collate all the Saxon pieces already printed, with the original MSS. and to collect the translation. He will give us necessary prefaces to the whole, subjoin a convenient glossary, and in a word, do all that is requisite to the rendering of such a work as compleat as we can wish it.

(16) Fol. Lond. 1639. (17) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. 2. p. 223. Vide etiam ipsius H. Spel. Præfat. ad Lect. (18) Pag. 432. & 434. (19) Regist. MS. Cænob. Wigorn. in Monast. Angl. Tom. 1. p. 120. (20) Vid. Usserii Antiq. p. 350. (1) W. Kennet, Paroch. Antiq. p. 24. (2) Inter MSS. Somner, in Bibl. Cantuar.

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Dr. Inett.

We have the greater cause to wait with patience for the finishing of this laborious design, since the want is already, in a great measure, supplied by the learned Dr. Inett, chanter of the cathedral church of Lincoln, in his (3) *Origines Anglicanæ*; which is intended, as the title imports, for a continuation of the ecclesiastical history of this kingdom from that period of time wherein Dr. Stillingfleet concludes his *Origines Britannicæ*. He begins with the state of religion in Great-Britain, when in the fifth century, the natives unfortunately called in the Saxons, who were soon disposed to receive christianity, on a different foot from that whereon it stood in the British Church. Having set the whole frame of Augustine the monk's mission in a proper light, he proceeds to the forming of English diocesses; the holding of national synods, for the better regulation of the doctrine and manners of the clergy and laity; the incorporation of the civil and ecclesiastical states; the foundation and opulent endowment of monasteries; and the gradual introduction of several Roman corruptions in the faith. After these, we see the like encroachments in matters of discipline, by obliging our metropolitans to fetch their palls, as badges of their vassalage, from the popes, subjecting even our kings themselves to papal interdicts; fomenting of inveterate dissensions betwixt the regulars and seculars; and encouraging of disloyal and traitorous pilgrimages. Throughout the whole book, the author continues the thread of his discourse with that evenness of stile, and handsome connection of all the parts of his story, as if there were as good vouchers for the intire histories of those distant ages, as can be had for the times within memory. These latent evidences, as I said, the reader may hope to see produced very shortly; and these, added to the Doctor's marginal authorities, will demonstrate the certainty of several springs of action in this history, which some have hitherto taken to be only conjectural.

Saints.

When this is done, we shall have no occasion to search any further for the history of our English Saxon church; unless the lives of the saints of those times, which are very numerous, will afford us some little supplies, together with what the reader will find considered in other chapters. I pretend not to any certain account of the *Vitæ variorum sanctorum*, written by (4) Egwine, Bishop of Worcester, and founder of the abbey of Evesham; those of Osbert Clarentius, (prior of Westminster, A. D. 1136) are said to be in the library of Bennet College; and Henry of Huntingdon's, in that of the Jesuits at Antwerp. There are two books of these lives, in the Saxon language, in Cotton's library; whereof the one was written by Ælfric, and the other by an anonymous author. I know not but they may be the same with two small treatises amongst Junius's Saxon transcripts, *de Sanctis in Anglia sepultis*. His *Menologium* also (which is a kalendar of those ancient saints, and was transcribed by him out of two old copies in the Cottonian and Bennet libraries) is a piece which he thought highly valuable, and which he sometimes refers to under the titles of *Martyrologium* and *Fasti Anglo-Saxonici*. Some of their lives are described at large in the Old Homilies; though the main of all those stories comes usually out of Bede's shop. This is observable in the Homilies on St. Edmund and St. Cuthbert in Bodley's library; on St. Cuthbert, St. Ætheldrytha, St. Bennet jun. and St. Oswald, in the public library at Cambridge; on St. Ceadda amongst Mr. Junius's manuscripts; and on St. Cuthbert, St. Swithin, and St. Ethelgetha, in that of Bennet college. Other general historians of this kind, besides John of Tynmouth and Capgrave, already mentioned, we have not many. John Wilson's *Martyrology* is not much to be heeded; since an unquestionable (5) judge of these matters has thought fit to bestow the epithet of *Nugivendus* upon its author. And I know not what greater regard can be had to Tho. Fuller's (6) great friend, father Jerome Porter, and his *Flowers of the Saints*. Particular lives may be ranked in the following order

St. Aldhelm.

St. Aldhelm's is most copiously written by W. of Malmesbury, whose Fifth Book of the English Bishops is almost entirely upon this subject. It has been lately published, both by Dr. Gale, and Mr. Wharton; whereof the former is (7) said to have employed a careless

(3) Fol. Lond. 1704. (4) Pitts, p. 121, 205, 212. (5) Usher, *Antiq. Eccles.* p. 109. (6) *Hist. Eccles.* lib. 1. p. 40. lib. 2. p. 91. &c. (7) *Vid. Epist. Ded., ad Ang. Sacr.* vol. 2. & *Præfat. ad Læc.* p. 1, 2.

amanuensis; and the other confesses he transcribed a very faulty copy. Be that matter as it will, PART II.
betwixt the two we may hope for an entire book; whereas Father (7) Mabillon gave us only an imperfect abstract. Of what authority this writer is to be reckoned, we have already been acquainted: it is in this treatise, chiefly, that his credit flags, and that he falls below himself. *Pervenisset ad summam laudem*, says (8) Dr. Gale, *si carbasua sua non impleisset poetico furore; si veritatem historiae fabulis officiosis non contaminasset; si de splendore & dulcedine Aldelmi minus prolixè judicasset*. We are not sure the like was done for this renowned prelate by Egwine, Daniel, his contemporary Bishop of Winchester, and Alfred, Abbot of Malmesbury; though Pitts (9) affirms it: nor can we tell what is become of those that were written by Osmund of Salisbury, or Eadmerus, which (10) Mabillon vouches for with the same assurance.

St. Augustine's is (11) reported to have been treated on by venerable Bede, in a very large volume, the manuscript copy whereof is said to be in Walter Cope's library. Bede (12) himself says, he corrected a false translation of the Life of St. Anastasius; which I am apt to think is the ground-work of this story. There is hardly so good an one for (13) Nothelmus's three treatises of his Life, Miracles, and Translation; which were undertaken at the joint instances of Bede and Alcuinus. It is enough, that we have a bigger and a less history of him, as well as two other like treatises on his miracles, written by Gotfeline, sometime Monk of Canterbury; the former whereof is published by (14) Mabillon, and the latter by (15) Mr. Wharton.

St. Cedda's was either penned by Daniel (16) Bishop of the West-Saxons; or, which is the same thing, to Bale and Pitts, some particulars of it were by that prelate communicated to Bede, who took care to transmit them into his ecclesiastical history. S. Cedda.

St. Cuthbert's has been treated on at large by a great many hands: it was first engaged in by venerable Bede himself, in a particular (17) tract; wherein he has omitted no miracle that could well be swallowed, even by the greedy faith of his own age. He wrote it first in heroic verse, and afterwards in prose. It is also (18) said to have been compiled by Laurence Monk, and Precentor of Durham, as it certainly was by Reginald (19) another monk of that church. Archbishop Usher (20) quotes a manuscript life of this saint collected out of the Irish histories; and there is another in English metre, answerable to the forementioned Latin poetry, in the Right Honourable the Earl of Carlisle's library at Naworth. Many more are in (1) other libraries. But that which I would especially recommend to my reader, for his diversion, and a pleasant entertainment, is the printed (2) Legend of St. Cuthbert, with the Antiquities of the Church of Durham, which was published by B. R. a gentleman of the old (3) Lord Fairfax's retinue, but written by one Robert Hegge, sometimes Fellow of Corpus Christi College in Oxford. The latter part of the title might have been spared, since there is not much in it, that will any way illustrate the antiquities of that church: but the saint's own history is prettily composed, in a good orderly method, and handsome stile, intermixed with great variety of learning, and witty reflections. The publisher did not do his author justice: for, besides the concealing his name, he (4) omitted a great many considerable passages, all his quotations, and a learned preface. All these defects have been lately supplied from the author's own manuscript, by Dr. Tanner, who has also added some curious notes and observations of his own. This piece he has had, for some time, ready for the press: and, methinks, the members of that great cathedral, which owes so much to the memory of this saint, should encourage and countenance his pains. S. Cuthbert.

St. Dunstan's wonders were as famous in the west, as St. Cuthbert's in the North, and have been as duly recorded. This was first done by Bridferth, Monk of Ramsey, who was his S. Dunstan.

(7) Aët. Bened. Sæc. 4. par. 1. p. 726. (8) Præfat. ad Hist. xv. p. 11. (9) Pag. 121, 144, 180. (10) Præfat. ad Aët. Bened. Sæc. 4. (11) J. Pitts, p. 136. (12) Hist. Eccles. Edit. Wheloc. pag. 494. (13) Pitts, p. 141. (14) Aët. Bened. Sæc. 1. p. 499. (15) Angl. Sac. vol. 2. p. 56. (16) Pitts, p. 144. (17) Inter opera ejus. (18) J. Pitts, page. 122. (19) Bibl. Cott. Claudius, D. 4. (20) Antiq. Eccles. p. 489. & Bibl. Cott. Otho, D. 14. (1) Ibid. Nero, A. 2. Vitellius, E. 1. (2) 8vo. Lond. 1663. (3) Ath. Oxon. vol. 1. p. 455. (4) Vid. D. Tho. Marshall, Præfat. ad Observat. in Evang. Anglo-Sax. pag. 192.

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contemporary, and whose treatise is published in the (5) Antwerp collection. This was afterwards epitomized and beautified with a set of new miracles, by (6) Adalard, at the command of St. Elphegus, to whom it is dedicated. This is also published with the former. Out of these two, and some other helps, Osbern, a very learned Monk and Precentor of Canterbury, about the year 1704, composed a couple of elegant treatises; in one of which he gives us the Life, and in the other the posthumous Miracles of St. Dunstan. The former of these was published by (7) Mr. Wharton, and both of them by Monsieur (8) Mabillon.

S. Edmund.

St. Edmund, King of the East-Angles, has been celebrated in Saxon by Abbot (9) Ælfric; and in old English by John (10) Lydgate Monk of Bury. Both Bale and Pitts tell us a formal story of one Burchardus, a Dorsetshire hermit, whose company was much affected by Fremund son of King Offa, whose life, after he was martyred by the Danes, he took the pains to write; and (11) Bale pretends to have seen it. This very life is quoted by John (12) Stow, who says it is the life of St. Edmund, and that Burchard was secretary to King Offa. It is also written by (13) William, Monk of Croyland; and more fully penned, at the request of King Æthelred and St. Dunstan, by the famous Abbot Floriacensis, about the year of our Lord 985. And, soon after the conquest, another book of his miracles was composed by Archdeacon Herman. The two last are bound up in (14) one volume; with several other pieces relating to the monasteries of St. Edmondsbury and Ely.

S. Elphegus.

St. Elphegus, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was also murdered by the Danes, is indebted to the above-mentioned Osbern; whose two books on his passion and translation are still (15) extant.

S. Ethelbert.

St. Ethelbert was slain by King Offa, A. D. 793, and had afterwards the honour of being reputed a martyr. To him the old church of Hereford was dedicated; and therefore Gyraldus Cambrensis, who was sometime canon there, took the pains to write his (16) life, among many others that his teeming pen has given us.

S. Ethelreda.

St. Ethelreda, commonly called St. Audry, was the famous virgin queen to Egbert King of Northumberland, and first foundress of a religious house at Ely. Upon this latter score, she has her life largely treated on by (17) Thomas, a Monk of that city; part whereof has only been published by (18) Mabillon, to whom we are likewise indebted for (19) Wulfstan's life of St. Ethelwold.

S. George.

St. George. Though neither Tynmouth nor Capgrave mention him amongst our English saints, yet we meet with him in both our old Saxon Legendaries. I cannot promise the reader that he will have any great stock of English history in his life: but it is written at large by (20) Dr. Heylin, who designed to have obliged, for ever, our knights of the garter, by such a signal service to the memory of the great guardian saint and protector of their order. Out of this elaborate book have been stolen (1) two shorter accounts of his life; which bear the same title, and are sometimes sold amongst romances and ballads.

S. Guthlac.

St. Guthlac, the tutelar saint of Croyland, had his austerities early described by Felix, a monk of that place, about the year 730, who has the honour to be quoted by our learned (2) Camden, as a poet fortunate enough in his descriptions; though Bale is pleased to give this harsh character of him, (3) *fictis narratiunculis, immo manifestissimis mendaciis, historiam monachico more implevit*. The like was done in Latin heroics by (4) William Ramfey, who died abbot of that monastery, A. D. 1180, of whom (5) Leland, who was a good judge of poetry, gives this account, that he was *poeta tam barbaro sæculo clarus*. We are told of a third, by Ælfric, in the Cottonian (6) library; which I guess to be that Saxon translation of Felix's

(5) Mail. tom. 4. p. 344. (6) Bibl. Cott. Nero, C. 7. Vid. & E. 8. It. Cleopatra, B. 13. (7) Engl. Sacr. vol. 2. p. 88. (8) Act. Bened. Sæc. v. p. 654. (9) Bibl. Cott. Julius, E. 7. (10) MS. in Bibl. Hon. D. Com. Caerleol. (11) Fol. m. 63. (12) Survey of Lond. p. 28. (13) Bibl. Cott. Vitellius, D. 14. (14) Ibid. Tiberius, B. 2. (15) Engl. Sacr. vol. 2. p. 122, 143. Bibl. Cott. Nero, C. 7. Otho, A. 12. Vitel. B. 17. (16) Ibid. Vitel. E. 7. (17) Ibid. Domitianus, A. 15. (18) Act. Bened. Sæc. ix. p. 739. Vid. etiam Bede Hist. Eccles. Edit. Wheloc. p. 312. 313. (19) Sæc. v. p. 608. (20) 4to. Lond. 1631, 1633. (1) 4to. Lond. 1661. & 8vo. Ib. 1664. (2) Rem. p. m. 319. MS. in charact. vet. Saxon. in Bibl. Ben. & Cott. Nero, E. 1. (3) Fol. m. 50. a. Vid. Pet. Blesens. in confin. Histor. Ingulfi. (4) Bibl. Cott. Otho, D. 14. (5) Comment. in Cyg. Cant. voce Granta. (6) G. Hickes, Catal. Libb. Septen. p. 175.

book, which is mentioned by Archbishop (7) Usher. We are further assured by (8) Mr. Pitts, PART II. that both Ingulphus and M. Paris wrote of the life and miracles of St. Guthlac: but I dare hardly rely on his single authority.

St. Frideswide's exemplary chastity is recommended to posterity by Philp, (9) sometime S. Frideswide. prior of her monastery in Oxford; whereof there is a fair manuscript copy in the library of Jesus college in that university.

St. John of Beverley's history was first written, at the request of Aldred Archbishop of York, by (10) Folcard, a Benedictine monk, about the year 1066; which was enlarged by Will. (11) Asketel, or Chettel, clerk of Beverley, A. D. 1320. Another draught was taken of him by (12) Alfred, canon and treasurer of that church, in the beginning of the twelfth century; and a third or fourth by an (13) anonymous writer, about 1373. S. John of Beverley.

St. Marcellinus would have been utterly forgotten by our English historians, had not Pitts met with him in his travels beyond the seas, and learned from his own (14) printed works, that he was a Dominican Monk of York, and one of the twelve apostles sent by Abbot Egbert, A. D. 690, to convert the Pagan Germans. The particulars of their mission, with their entertainment in Westphalia, Friesland, &c. We have from his own pen. S. Marcellinus.

St. Neot's Life, written by Will. Ramsey, is in the library at Magdalen College in Oxford. It is in verse: but of so (15) low a strain, that the author seems to have failed here of that spirit which Leland observed in his Guthlac. The matter is likewise as fulsome, as the composition is flat; so that it is not probable we shall ever see it out of manuscript. I suppose this is the same which is quoted by (16) Leland and some of our later writers. S. Neot.

St. Oswald, Archbishop of York, merited highly of the regular clergy; and therefore it is no wonder that a manuscript copy of his life was to be had in almost every monastery of the kingdom. That whereof Eadmerus was the author (which seems to have been collected with good judgment, out of some others that had been written before him) is lately (17) published; as is also another written by an (18) anonymous Monk of Ramsey. A third, more voluminous than either of these, was composed by another nameless Monk of Ramsey, which is now amongst the many more valuable manuscripts in (19) Sir Jo. Cotton's library. There also, as I (20) guess, the reader may meet with his Saxon Legend, by Abbot Ælfric: but where he will find either of those that were penned by (21) Folcard, or (22) Senatus Bravonius, I cannot inform him. S. Oswald.

St. Swithun's miracles were recorded by Lamfrid, or Lantfred, a Benedictine Monk of Winchester, about the year 980. Of whose book, we are told, there was a manuscript copy in the Lord (23) Lumley's library, and we are sure there now is one in (24) Cotton's. This treats only of the great things he did after his death: but it is probable there was a former part of the discourse, which seems also to have been (25) translated into the old English Saxon tongue, that took the story higher. The like, says Pitts, (26) was penned by Wolstan, the same famous Monk of Winchester, who, about the year 1000, did as much for St. Ethelwald: but I can hear of this piece no where else. S. Swithun.

St. Wilfrid's uneasy life and sufferings were first registered by Eddius, or Heddius, a noted Monk of Canterbury; whence he was brought by Wilfrid himself, to instruct his choir-men of the kingdom of Northumberland in the art of singing. Out of this (which is lately published (27) by Dr. Gale) there was a second account taken in Latin rhyme by Fridegod (28) another monk of the same church, who was put upon the employment by Odo Archbishop of Canterbury. The archbishop himself wrote a preface to the book, which was omitted by

(7) Antiq. Eccles. p. 33. Bibl. Cott. Vespas. D. 21. (8) P. 193. 339. Vid. Bibl. Cott. Nero, C. 7. (9) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. 1. pag. 12, & 55. (10) Pitts, p. 188. Bibl. Cott. Otho, C. 16. Faustina, B. 4. (11) Pitts p. 411. (12) Id. p. 204. (13) Hist. & Ant. Oxon. l. 1. p. 11. & Monast. Angl. tom. 1. p. 169. (14) Cola. 1508. (15) Vid. Not. in Ælfred. M. Vit. p. 103. (16) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. 1. cap. 13. (17) Angl. Sac. vol. 2. p. 191. (18) Apud John Mabillon, Act. Bened. p. 735. (19) Nero, E. 1. (20) Vid. Præfat. ad Angl. Sac. vol. 2. p. 14. (21) Ord. Vital. Hist. Eccles. lib. 2. ad An. 1108. (22) J. Pitts, pag. 237. (23) J. Pitts, p. 178. (24) Nero, E. 1. Vid. & Galba, A. 13. (25) Præfat. ad Angl. Sac. vol. 1. p. 29. 30. (26) Pag. 181. (27) Inter. 15. Scriptt. p. 40. (28) Edit. a Joh. Mabillon, Act. Bened. Sac. V. p. 283. Bibl. Cott. Claudius, A. 1.

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Mabillon, but is since published by (1) another; and for this Mr. Pitts (2) makes him a distinct writer of St. Wilfrid's life. A third was written in prose by (3) Eadmerus; and a fourth by Petrus Blefenfis, (4) dedicated to Jeofrey Archbishop of York. So that this Petrus Blefenfis and Mr. Pitt's Petrus Ripponensis, (5) though he makes them two several authors, are the same person. There is now in my possession a Latin manuscript life of this saint, which perhaps may be the same with the last mentioned. It is certainly different from the three first; and seems not to have length enough for that tedious discourse on this subject, which is said to have been written by one Stephen (6) a priest, and epitomized by William of Malmesbury. It begins, *Anno igitur ab incarnatione verbi Dei sexcentesimo tricesimo quarto*; and ends with St. Wilfrid's Epitaph, in twenty hexameters.

S. Wul-
stan.

St. Wulstan, as two of his immediate predecessors, held the Archbishoprick of York, together with the bishoprick of Worcester, and was sainted for the same reasons as St. Oswald. There is a double account of his life already published; a short one by (7) Hemming, a Monk of Worcester; and another, more at large, by the famous (8) William of Malmesbury: but what is become of those by (9) Bravonius and M. Paris, we know not.

These are they that make the most considerable figure in the Saxon Calendar, and whose lives, being most amply treated on, will afford some passages that may be of use to our English historian. Nor are the little inferior saints of those times to be wholly despised by him. He will meet with abundance of such in the several voluminous collections to which we sometimes refer him: and I dare promise that, in most of them, he shall frequently discover some hidden treasure, even in the midst of the most drossy miracles. I cannot here omit the most hearty recommendation of Mr. Wanley's incomparable catalogue of Saxon, Anglo-Danish, and Norman manuscripts, in all the public and private libraries of England, relating to the affairs of the times last mentioned; which came abroad, as an agreeable companion, with Dr. Hickes's famous Thesaurus, under the suitable inscription of (10) *Atiquæ Literaturæ Septentrionalis Liber alter*. The indefatigable and judicious compiler has therein pointed at our whole stock of materials for the framing an ecclesiastical history of the Saxon ages; and, in his Preface, teaches his reader how to prepare himself for the right use of such a treasure, instructing him how to read the abbreviations of their darkest scribes, and justly to determine the age of each amanuensis. Thus qualified, our church historian will readily, with the help of this catalogue, pick up every thing that is for his purpose, from the first arrival of Archbishop Austin down to his Norman successors; namely, in all these particulars: 1. The usual forms, within the compass of that epocha, in absolutions, exorcisms or charms, oaths, ordale, penance, &c. 2. Rules and canons observed in manasteries and nunneries, and in religious guilds and fraternities, spontaneously confederated, as well as those of greater councils and synods. 3. Laws of several kings, concerning the due payment of tythes, oblations, and other church dues. 4. Charters granted to ecclesiastical communities by kings, dukes, bishops, &c. with directions for the discovery of such of these as are forged and counterfeit. 5. Commemoration homilies on the births and obits of holy kings, queens, bishops, abbots, monks, nuns, and on the dedication of churches. Wills of princes and priests, abbots and abbeesses, &c. 7. Annals and chronicles, martyrologies and registers of monasteries, and other collegiate churches.

(1) Angl. Sac. vol. 2. p. 50. (2) Pag. 174. (3) Apud J. Mabillon, Act. Bened. Sæc. III. par. 1. p. 196. & Bibl. Cott. Caligula, A. 8. (4) Vid. Monast. Angl. tom. 1. p. 172. (5) J. Pitts, p. 257. (6) Id. p. 911. (7) Angl. Sac. Vol. I. p. 541. (8) Ibid. Vol. 2. p. 241. (9) J. Pitts, p. 237, & 339. (10) Fol. Oxon. 1705.

C H A P. III.

Of our Church Historians, from the Conquest to the Reformation.

THE subject of this chapter is, in a great measure, dispatched already. The general historians of the kingdom, during this whole period, were mostly monks and other church-men, who have taken care to register our ecclesiastical transactions as accurately as the civil, and to carry along with them the affairs of our church and state together. Canon law and appeals to Rome were first brought into England in King (17) Stephen's reign, upon the debates that arose betwixt the Bishop of Winchester (the pope's legate) and the Archbishop of Canterbury: and these soon introduced that exaltation of the clergy, that they were necessarily in at every thing; no intrigue, either of the court or camp, being to be managed without them. So that it is no wonder if, after that time, our histories are generally crammed with disputes and other matters of a purely ecclesiastical nature; and the main body of them look like the annals of St. Peter's patrimony.

Odericus (or Ordericus) Vitalis ends his ecclesiastical history at the year 1121, sometime before these alterations happened in England. He was monk of St. Eurolé's [Utici] in Normandy, where he lived fifty-six years. The most of his thirteen (18) books are spent in affairs of the church within his own native country: but, towards the latter end, he has intermixed a great many passages that relate to us. There are in his writings two faults, and they are great ones, which Lucian of old condemned in history: for, 1. He is immoderate in the praise of his friends, and the dispraise of his enemies; either all panegyrick, or all satire. Now such discourses are rightly observed to be strangely monstrous and unnatural productions: they want metre to become poems, and truth to make them just histories. 2. He is too large in his descriptions of little petit matters; and, on the contrary, passes too cursorily over some things of such weight, as would well endure reflection and a second thought. We are told of one (19) Richard Pluto, who was a monk of Canterbury, A. D. 1181, a writer of the Ecclesiastical History of England; which he dedicated to Richard Duke of Normandy. Where, or what it is, I know not. But what is hoped for in that book, may possibly be found in the (20) Burtonenses Annales; written, I suppose, by some monk of Burton, in Staffordshire: for it begins with the foundation of that monastery, A. D. 1004, and ends at the year 1263. Many passages in it are borrowed from Roger Hoveden, whom the author calls Hugh, and not a few from M. Paris. The latter of these was certainly contemporary with this author, whoever he was; and they may be to good purpose read together. The reader will meet with a great many remarkable stories in it, that are hardly to be had elsewhere; none, perhaps, having a better collection of letters, memorials, &c. of the church history of those times.

The defects of these annals will be, in part, supplied by W. Linwood's (1) Provinciale, being a collection of canons and ecclesiastical constitutions, enacted and published by no less than fourteen Archbishops of Canterbury, from Stephen Langton, inclusively, down to Henry Chicheley. These give us a view of what points were chiefly under debate in the church for about 200 years, and are ranked, after the example of the decretals, under several distinct titles, or common places, having annexed to them a large commentary or gloss of the learned collector's own composition. This writer was doctor of laws, official of Canterbury, and, at last, Bishop of St. David's, after he had been employed by King Henry the Fifth in (2) several embassies, and entrusted with his privy seal. The book was first published by (3) Jodocus Badius, and dedicated to Archbishop Warham; but the abbreviations in the original MS. being retained in

(17) Vid. Gervaf. Dorobern. Act. Pontif. Col. 1665. Num. 20. 30. (18) Inter Script. Norman. Fol. Paris. 1619. (19) J. Pitts, p. 248. (20) Inter Hist. Angl. Fol. Oxon. 1684. (1) Fol. Oxon. 1679. (2) Godwin. de prefat. p. 613. (3) 4to. Paris. 1506.

PART
II.

this and two following editions, it was lately reprinted at Oxford, much more accurately and correct. The legatine constitutions of the two cardinals, Otho and Othobon, in the years 1236 and 1268, have been always added to these in the prints, together with the like commentaries of John Acton or Athon, sometime Prebendary of Lincoln. The Oxford edition gives us the canons of the several archbishops intire and apart, as well as in that confusion to which Linwood's method had reduced them; and it also intermixes some other edicts of a spiritual kind, such as Edward the First's statute of Circumspecte Agatis, the decree of the university of Oxford against some tenets of Wickliff, &c. Lastly, it furnishes us with some other canons, made by Stafford and Warham, which will bring us down as low as the beginning of the reformation.

H. Spelman.

What is here missing, may be sought for in Sir Henry Spelman's (4) second volume of our English councils, which unhappily wanted the finishing hand of its author. Indeed, he was so far from perfecting what he had projected, that he is (5) said to have left no more than fifty-seven sheets of the two-hundred, which are now published under his name, the rest being entirely owing to the indefatigable pains of our late excellent antiquary, Sir William Dugdale. It is a pity that the joint labours of two such great men as these should stand in need of a third hand to compleat them: and yet, the errors that were committed, either in transcribing, or printing, or both, are apparently so many, that we cannot but earnestly wish, that better care may be taken in a second edition. Archbishop Sheldon and Chancellor Hyde thought such a structure as this worth the rearing; and will none of the present patrons of our church think fit to repair it? Mr. Somner has long since made a considerable advance toward so good a work, having with (6) "great pains and accuracy collated the printed copy with many of the original records, and in the margin amended the infinite defects." This book is now, amongst others of the same worthy person's valuable labours, in the library of Canterbury, where it cannot lie much longer in obscurity.

Dr. Inett.

In the mean time Dr. (7) Inett has obliged us with the second volume of his *Origines Anglicanæ*, which begins at the Norman conquest, and ends with the death of King John. As short as this stage is, it has afforded the author a wider field of matter than he met with in the six foregoing centuries, which has raised the size of his book proportionably. Herein we see by what steps the papal usurpation advanced its universal empire; after Pope Gregory the Seventh, who was in the chair, when Duke William came to the crown of England, bestowed on himself the title of pastoral-general of the catholick church: with what artful management and address the many long conferences and disputes were carried on, before our princes could be made so pliant as to give up one of the brightest jewels in their imperial crowns, the investiture of their prelates: how tamely, by degrees, they and their subjects submitted to the yoke, and bowed to the sovereignty of a Roman legate: how shamefully the bishops permitted all causes of ecclesiastical cognizance to be snatched out of their consistories, and, most commonly, the innocent party dragged, by an appeal, over the Alps: how meanly and sheepishly they admitted of peculiars and exempt jurisdictions: and lastly, how scandalously our governors, both in church and state, conspired to put themselves and their people, all hoodwinked, under the conduct of a pretended infallible guide. The faint and fruitless attempts which were made towards the recovery of ourselves out of this bondage, lasted above three hundred years, which are reserved for the mournful scene of our author's third volume.

N. Harpesfield.

After the papal yoke was thrown off, in that great revolution, which was begun in our church by King Henry the Eighth, and finished by Queen Elizabeth, the Roman emissaries tried all imaginable expedients to reduce us to our former obedience; and, amongst others, spared no pains in representing to us the primitive state of christianity in this isle. The first of these doughty champions was Nicholas Harpesfield, sometime Archdeacon of Canterbury; but outed, A. D. 1559, for refusing the oath of supremacy. J. Pitts (8) says he was afterwards imprisoned. So far from it, that Archbishop Parker took him into his own particular care, and

(4) Fol. Lond. 1664. (5) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 627. & W. Kennet, Life of Somner, p. 88, 89. (6) W. Kennet, *ibid.* (7) Fol. Oxon. 1710. (8) Page 781.

gave him all the assistance he could wish for, in compiling what he calls his (9) ecclesiastical history of the British church. In the first ages he has lazily followed Bede and Malmesbury, transcribing the very errors of such copies as he met with, and not giving himself leisure to examine the incoherencies in chronology, and other contradictions, that he delivers for good and grave history. In after times he amasses things together, out of the registraries and other helps he had at hand, without any sort of order or form; insomuch, that sometimes the reader is plagued with several sheets of tedious impertinencies; and elsewhere, scarce meets with the bare names of the prelates for some ages together. Some things are said to have been expunged out of his original manuscript, by the licenser of his book, being mostly particular opinions of his own, condemning the (10) "discords, broils, and ambitious poverty of the begging friars:" so that we may probably want the best part of his work, since this would have a little balanced that (11) load of infamy which he endeavours to lay upon the chief of our reformers. I confess our Oxford antiquary gives a somewhat different character of this history: (12) *Quo quidem in libro eruditio an industrio conspicua magis sit, haud facile dicendum. Utroq; revera nomine laudandus adeo comparet, ut, nisi partium studio abductus suorum in utilitatem omnia rapuisset, haud modice de republica literaria meruisset.*

PART II.

Another zealous engager in this undertaking was the famous Jesuit, Robert Parsons, who wrote an account of the three conversions of England from paganism to christianity in as (13) many little volumes. The first of these he ascribes to St. Peter, whom he very logically proves to have been here, because he was not at Rome when St. Paul sent his epistle thither. His story of King Lucius's change is (14) shewn to be borrowed from Baronius, who also (though he would have been loth to have owned any such thing) had it from the centuriators. The whole seems to have been designed in answer to Mr. Fox, whom he professedly opposes throughout a great part of his second and third volumes. He represents that author as a person very ignorant and very dishonest, perverting the sense in some of his quotations, and mistaking it in others.

R. Parsons

Rich. Smith, titular Bishop of Chalcedon, who took upon him to exercise episcopal jurisdiction here in the beginning of King Charles the First's reign, was not much short of Parsons in learning, and was certainly much his superior in that candour and fair dealing, which ought to be the property of an historian. He made very large collections out of our English histories, which were published, in seven books, under the title of (15) *Flores Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ Gentis Anglorum*. The whole volume is rather an indigested heap of materials, than a just and formal history: and thus much may be said in its commendation, that it honestly quotes the reformed writers, as well as those of the author's own persuasion.

R. Smith.

After these Flores, came out of the *Annales Ecclesiæ Britannicæ*, in (16) four volumes, by Michael Alford, a Jesuit; whose true name is (17) said to be Griffith. From this work a late (18) learned member of our church has well proved how vain and empty are the brags of our Romanists; who are frequently valuing themselves upon the great treasure they have of our ancient English records. These, they say, were carried off by monks and other religious people, who were forced to fly in the last age; and are now (*in salva custodia*) in several monasteries beyond the seas. It is much, as he unanswerably argues, that none of their own friends should ever reap any benefit from these mighty spoils: That this same Alford, for example, should not have the advantage of one of those venerable instruments to grace his book; but be forced to run on in the beaten track, and fetch all his quotations from such printed authors, as we poor hereticks have published for him. This is the true state of his case. There is nothing in him that carries the face of antiquity, save only some few shreds, that were picked up at Lambeth by Harpesfield; who has furnished him and his brethren with whatever looks this way.

M. Alford

(9) Fol. Duaci, 1622. (10) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 172. (11) Vid. Somner. Antiq. Cantuar. p. 272. (12) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. 2. p. 137. (13) 8vo. Audomar. 1603, 1604. (14) Usserii Antiq. Eccles. p. 26. (15) Fol. Par. 1654. (16) Leod. 1603. (17) Ath. Oxon. p. 387. (18) H. Warton, Angl. Sacr. in Pref. ad. vol. 1. p. 15.

PART
II.
S. Cressy.

Out of this gentleman, and some more of our late published historians, Serenus Cressy compiled his church-history; which should have been brought down to the dissolution of monasteries by K. Henry the Eighth, though what is (19) published reaches no lower than the conquest. It was much wondered, by those that had been acquainted with this learned person in Oxford, before he fled to the Roman communion, how he came to stuff his book so full of legendary miracles; since a man of good substantial learning, and that enlargement of thought which usually accompanies it, is very rarely split upon such rocks. "Yet let this be said for him," says honest and blunt (20) Anthony Wood, "that for as much as he mostly quotes his authors for, and leaves what he says to the judgment of the readers, he is to be excused, and in the mean-time to be commended for his grave and good style, proper for an ecclesiastical historian."

In the rear of these, let us remember such as have penned the lives of those few saints that flourished in the English church after the conquest; who have been usually canonized for such exploits as, in our days, are commonly thought to deserve another sort of treatment.

S. Anselm

St. Anselm, who is believed to have a better (1) title to his saintship than any of those that follow, had great contests with Henry the First about investitures: an account whereof, with the other remarkables of his life, was written by John (2) of Salisbury, an author much commended by Petrus Blesensis. It is the same with that which is now extant in manuscript, I suppose in the library at (3) Lambeth, and goes by the name of John Carnotensis.

S. Edmund.

St. Edmund's is (4) said to be penned by Rob. Bacon a secular priest, and Dr. of divinity in Oxford; who is also reported to have been sometime servant to that eminently learned and pious archbishop. The same authority assures us, that it was likewise written by his only brother and companion in all the varieties of his fortune, (5) Robert Rich; as also M. Paris. Let me add, it was also written by (6) Albert Abp. of Prussia, the pope's legate.

S. Gilbert.

St. Gilbert of Sempringham, the founder of our famous English order of Gilbertines, had his life written by a modest brother of his own order; who dedicates his work to Hubert Abp. of Canterbury. This is published in the Monasticon, out of the Cottonian library.

S. Goodric

St. Goodric. Nicolaus Dunelmensis, a monk of Durham, was, as M. (7) Paris tells the story, a great comrade of an eminent hermit of his time, called Goodric; whose life, Nicolas being by some of his friends desired to write and publish, he acquainted Goodric with the design, and desired his assistance. But instead of having an account of the remarkable instances of piety and mortification, which he expected, the hermit gives him a long schedule of all the crimes he had been guilty of, during his whole life: yet, on a second importunity, his request was granted; and plenty of materials given for such a treatise.

S. Remigius. S. Hugh.

St. Remigius and St. Hugh, were both bishops of Lincoln; and had their histories written in the same (8) treatise, by Gyraldus Cambrensis. The latter having himself been sometimes Prior of a Carthusian Monastery at Witham in Somersetshire, had his life also written by one Adam a monk of that order; which is supposed to be done about the year (9) 1340.

S. Richard

St. Richard, de Witz or Wych, Bishop of Chichester, was sometime chaplain to St. Edmund; and so intimately privy to all the severities of his life, that he could not well avoid the being very exemplary afterwards in his own conversation. This and the miracles that were necessary upon such an occasion, procured for him an enrolment in the Calendar of Saints by Pope (10) Urban, in the year 1259. And Ralph Rocking, his confessor wrote (11) two books of the History of his Life and Wonders, which he dedicated to Isabel Countess of Arundel.

S. Robert.

St. Robert's is reckoned among the works of (12) Joceline Bracland, a learned Monk of St. Edmundsbury about the year 1214.

S. Thomas Becket.

St. Thomas Becket was the great Goliath Saint of these times; and as his shrine out-did that of all the martyrs that had gone before him, so his life and miracles have had more writers

(19) Fol. Rotom. 1668. (20) Ath Oxon. p. 388. (1) Vid. Godwin. de Præsul. p. 95. (2) J. Pitts, p. 249. vide etiam Bibl. Cott. Nero, c. 7. (3) Angl. Sac. vol. 1. p. 109. (4) J. Pitts, p. 318, 319, 339. Bibl. Cott. Julius, D. 6. Vitellius, C. 12. (5) Ibid. Cleopatra, B. 1. (6) Hist. et Antiq. Oxon. lib. 2. p. 10. (7) Ad. an. 1170 p. 120. (8) Vid. Angl. Sac. 408, et 419. (9) J. Pitts, p. 442. (10) M. Paris, Edit. Wats. p. 982. (11) Godw. de Præsul. p. 554. et Pitts, p. 349. (12) II. p. 287.

to record them, for the use of after ages, than the most glorious adventures of the best of our kings. The following long list of them may be picked out of Leland, Bale and (13) Pitts; together with some of our later authors. 1. Herbert Bosenham, Bofeham (14) or Boffeham, secretary to this archbishop; who was also present at the slaughter of him. Others call him Herb. de Hofcham; and by that name we shall shortly meet with him again. 2. Edward, a monk of (15) Canterbury; the martyr's most intimate friend. 3. Joh. (16) Salisburienfis, who accompanied Becket in his exile; but never countenanced him in his misbehaviour towards his sovereign; being as sharp a writer against the encroachments of the papal see, as any man of his time. 4. Barthol. Ifcanus, or Exonenfis, Bishop of Exeter; where he died A. D. 1184. 5. E. a monk of Evesham, who dedicated his book, or wrote by way of epistle, to Henry Abbot of Croyland. 6. Will. Stephens, or Fitz-Stephen, a monk of Canterbury; and, for that reason, sometimes called Gulielmus Cantuarienfis. He is said to have written three several treatises of the Life, Martyrdom and Miracles of this precious Saint; which we are (17) told, are now in Cotton's library. But that which carries his name, seems to have been penned by Joh. Carnotensis, who is the same person with (18) Salisburienfis above-mentioned; since in the Quadripartite History, what we have from him, is often in the same words, in that life there attributed to Fitz-Stephen. 7. Benedictus Petroburgensis, Abbot of Peterborough; who died in the year 1200. 8. Alanus Tukefburiensis, Abbot also of the Monastery from whence he had that surname, who lived and died about the same time. 9. Roger, Monk of Croyland, who lived about the year 1214. It is (19) observed, that St. Thomas's miracles increased so fast in his time, that as late as he was started, he had matter enough for seven full volumes; in composing whereof, he spent no less than fifteen years. 10. Stephen Langton, a famous successor of his in the see of Canterbury; whose work on this subject is said to be in the library of Bennet College. 11. Alexander de Hales, so called from the monastery of Hales in Gloucestershire, where he was sometime educated; one of the most eminent schoolmen of his age, master to Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventure, &c. John Grandison, or Graunston, Bishop of Exeter, who died in the year 1369. 13. Quadrilogus, or the author of the book entituled, de Vita & Processu S. Thomæ Cantuariensis & Martyris super Libertate Ecclesiastica. It is (20) collected out of four historians, who were contemporary and conversant with him, in his height of glory and lowest depression: Herbert de Hofcham, Joh. Carnotensis, Will. of Canterbury, and Alan of Tukefbury; who are brought in as so many several relaters of matters of fact, interchangeably. This book was long since (1) printed in an old character and senseless method; and is often quoted by our historians, in the reign of Henry the Second, by the name of Quadripartita Historia. 14. Thomas Stapleton, the translator of Bede; in whose (2) Pair-royal of Thomas's, this gentleman makes as considerable a figure as either Thomas the Apostle or Thomas Aquinas. 15. Laurence Wade, or Wade, a Benedictine Monk of Canterbury, who lived and died we know not when or where; unless perhaps he be the same person with 16. an anonymous writer of the same life, who appears to have been a monk of that church; and whose book is now in manuscript in the (3) library at Lambeth. 17. Rich. James, nephew to Dr. Tho. James, our Bodleian library-keeper, a very industrious and eminent (4) antiquary; who endeavoured to overthrow the great design of the forementioned authors, in his Decanonizatio Thomæ Cantuariensis & fuorum, which, with many other MSS. of his compofure, is in the publick library at Oxford.

(13) pag. 239, 244, 249, 250, 257, 271, 286, 304, 316, 501, 797, 886. (14) Bibl. Cott. Nero, A. 5. (15) Bibl. Cott. Vespasianus, E. 10. (16) Ibid. Claudius, B. 2. (17) See W. Petyt's Pref. to his right of the commons, &c. p. 64. (18) Vid. Godw. de Præful. p. 459. (19) Fuller's Worthies, p. 164. in Lincolnsh. (20) See Dr. Brady's Pref. to his English Hist. (1) Paris 1495. (2) De tribus Thomis. Fol. Duac. 1588. (3) Angl. Sacr. vol. 2. p. 523. Vid. & Bibl. Cott. Vitellius, C. 12. Vespasianus, B. 14. (4) Athen Oxon. p. 524, 525. See also Abp. Usher's Letters, p. 303.

C H A P. IV.

*Histories of the Reformation, and of our Church-Affairs, down to the
End of Queen ELIZABETH'S Reign.*

J. Fox.

THE first man that engaged in the History of our Reformation, was Mr. John Fox, sometime Prebendary of Salisbury, who died at London in the year 1587. His Acts and Monuments were first written in Latin, for the instruction of foreigners; and were so published, during his own exile in the reign of Queen Mary. They afterwards grew into two large English volumes, which have had several (1) impressions; and have, at last, been published in (2) three, with fair copper-cuts. In behalf of this last edition, the publishers had well nigh prevailed with King Charles the Second to revive Queen Elizabeth's order and Abp. Parker's canon for the having a set of these volumes in the common halls of every archbishop, bishop, deacon, archdeacon, &c. But that project failed, and came to nothing: and indeed it would have looked a little oddly, to have paid such a respect to the works of an author, (3) *Qui matri ecclesie Anglicanae non per omnia amicus deprehenditur, utpote qui puritanis faveret, & ritibus ecclesiae se non conformem praestiterit.* The design of the author is to discover the corruptions and cruelties of the Romish clergy; together with the sufferings and constancy of the reformed, and of the maintainers of their doctrines in all ages of the church: which he has done so thoroughly, that it is no wonder to find those of the papal communion very much galled with his writings. Hence the Jesuit Parsons (4) took such pains to represent him as a corrupter of antiquity, an impertinent arguer, &c. And Nic. Harpesfield treated him as coarsely, in those (5) six dialogues of his, which were printed beyond seas in his friend Alan Cope's name during their true author's residing in England. It must be confessed that these volumes, being large and penned in haste, have some mistakes in them that are not to be dissembled: but, in the main, it is an honourable character that (6) one of the greatest historians of our age gives of them, that "Having compared those Acts and Monuments with the Records, he had never been able to discover any errors or prevarications in them, but the utmost fidelity and exactness." Indeed, where his stories are of a more modern date, and depend on common reports, or such informations as were sent him from distant parts of the kingdom, the like exactness is not always to be looked for; since the author's hasty zeal, against the papists, furnished him with a large stock of faith, and a readiness to avouch any thing that might effectually blacken them and their religion. One (7) unlucky tale occasioned a deal of trouble to a clergyman; who very innocently reporting from him, that one Greenwood had by perjury taken off a martyr in Queen Mary's reign, and came afterwards to a shameful end; the said Greenwood was, it seems, present at the sermon, and brought an action of scandal against the preacher. However, the judge cleared him at the trial, as only harmlessly quoted an author, without any malicious intent of flandering his neighbour. Such slips as these were pretty numerous in some of the first editions: but as many of them as came to the author's knowledge were rectified by himself; and others have been corrected since his death.

Popish
Histori-
ans.

Several papists were provoked to write counter-parts to these volumes; wherein they pretended to set forth the reformers in as bloody a dress, as Fox had painted them; and to draw up as large kalendars of their own martyrs. The chief of these were 1. Maurice Chancy, by some called Chamney, and by others Chawney, a famous Carthusian Friar in the monastery of that order near London; who fled upon starting the question of the king's supremacy, and died in

(1) Lond. 1583, 1596. (2) Ibid. 1684. (3) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. 2. p. 195. (4) De tribus Convers. vol. 1. (5) 4to. Antwerp. 1566. (6) G. Burnet, praef. ad Hist. Reform. vol. 1. (7) Young Lawyer's Recr. p. 161. and Roll's Reports, p. 87.

a voluntary exile, A. D. 1581. He wrote a large account of the sufferings of Sir Thomas Moore, Bishop Fisher, and others; as also of eighteen monks of his own order. This work bears the title of (17) *Historia aliquot nostri sæculi Martyrum*; and is falsely subdivided into three several books by John Pitts. 2. John Fenn, some time a civilian of New College in Oxford, and afterwards a member of the University of Lovain; who clubbed with one John Gibbon, a Jesuit, for such another martyrology: Which they published under the title of (18) *Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ in Anglia adversus Calvinos-Papistas & Puritanos*. This book was afterwards enlarged by John Bridgewater (or Aquæpontanus, as he styles himself) another Jesuit, who, having corrected many faulty particulars, and added about a hundred new martyrs, dedicated his (19) edition to the Archbishop of Triers. 3. Thomas Worthington, Doctor in Divinity, and sometime president of the English College at Doway, who died in England, A. D. 1626. His book or pamphlet (for it consists only of four sheets) bears the name of (20) *Catalogus Martyrum pro Religione Catholica in Anglia occisorum ab anno 1570, ad ann. 1612.* and is mostly taken out of the book last mentioned. It is chiefly valuable upon the account of a preliminary discourse; wherein the author gives the history of our English seminaries beyond the seas, and the success that has attended several missions out of them. 4. John Musheus, sent from Doway into England; where he lived A. D. 1612. somewhere in his native county of York. He is (21) said to have drawn up a register of the sufferings of all the Roman Catholics in the northern parts of this kingdom.

Nicholas Sanders deserves a peculiar respect, and ought to be considered by himself. The short of his story (as we have it from his nephew (1) Pitts) is this; he was born in Surrey, educated at Winchester and New-College in Oxford, where he was some time Regius Professor of the Canon Law. He afterwards fled to Rome; whence he attended Cardinal Hosius to the council of Trent, as also into Poland, Russia, &c. At last Pope Gregory the Thirteenth sent him as his nuncio into Ireland, where he died about the year 1580. He was an indefatigable writer, as well as warrior, for the Roman cause, and stuck at nothing that he thought might advance it. Amongst his many treatises, those that fall under our present consideration, are (2) *De Martyrio quorundam temp. Hen. 8. & Eliz.* running in the same strain with those of the like title already mentioned. (3) 2. *De Origine & Progressu Schismatis Anglicani*, with such enlargements as were made to it by Edward Rishton another popish emissary, (4) *Qui impie ingratus in Principem, cui vitam debuit, publicatis scriptis malitiæ virus illico evomit.* This libellous invective was mainly designed for a calumny upon Queen Elizabeth, in her birth and parentage. It was not in her reign allowed to be answered, because such an impudent slander (it was thought) would soonest fall to nothing, if slighted and despised. But this allowance of its walking abroad without controul, has emboldened some in our days to magnify its authority, and to quote it as a story of great truth and gravity. Hence it has had the honour to be translated, by a polite pen, into (5) French: A respect which had formerly been paid it in Italian by (6) Pollini, who (though he pretended to write a history of his own, yet) in reality was no more than a translator of Sanders. But sufficient care has been taken by our learned Bishop (7) Burnet, to guard the English protestant reader against any mistake that this bold romancer might lead him into, by publishing a catalogue and refutation of his calumnies and lies. His style is generally clean and pretty; and his way of telling his tales is facetious enough and pleasant: So that the book may pass, with *Argenis* and *Euphormio*, for good diversion, but ought not to be relied on for sound history.

Great were the clamours of many other Romanists upon this kingdom's breaking the papal tyranny, and the monarchy's resuming its ancient and just rights; insomuch, that pamphlets were penned and published by men of all professions, (priests, lawyers, and lay-gentlemen) aspersing our reformers with heresy, schism, apostacy, &c. As much of these as fall under our

(17) 4to. Mogunt. 1550. & Colon. 1607. (18) 8vo. Trev. 1583. (19) 4to. Trev. 1594. (20) 8vo. Duac. 1612. 1614. (21) J. Pitts, p. 810. (1) Pag. 775. (2) 8vo. Colon. 1610. (3) 8vo. Colon. 1585. Rom. 1586. &c. (4) Camd. Annal. R. Eliz. ad An. 1584. (5) 8vo. Par. 1673, 1674. (6) L'Hist. Eccles. della Rivoluzione d'Inghilterra, 8vo. Rom. 1594. (7) In fine utriusq; Tomi Hist. Reform.

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present consideration, and has been amply replied to by Sir Roger Twissden, in his most elaborate (8) historical vindication of the church of England in point of schism, as it stands separated from the Roman, and was reformed 1. Eliz. Wherein he shews, 1. How the papal usurpations grew upon us, and what immense sums they extorted from the English clergy. 2. That our kings were always believed to be invested with a plenary power in sacris, as much as is at this day acknowledged by our laws. 3. That the procedure of our princes, in this separation from the Roman see, was agreeable to that power, and consistent with the legal and primitive constitution of our government. These particulars he proves at large, by the irrefragable authorities of a vast number of our old histories and records, wherein no man was ever better versed, than this truly learned and religious Baronet.

H. Spelman.

Though Sir Henry Spelman (9) speaks of a third tome of his councils (which should give us a collection of all the acts and constitutions of our reformed English church) as of a work already finished, and ready for the press, we have no great encouragement to enquire after any such thing. We have seen in what an imperfect condition the second was left at his death; and though his grandson acknowledges some assistance given, in the edition of that volume, by Mr. Steven's, who, (10) he says not only corrected the press, but brought in a deal of materials; yet he says nothing of any such provision like to be made for the sending abroad his grandfather's third tome. The truth is, the gentleman takes no notice of his chief benefactor in that matter, who was, as has been already observed, Sir William Dugdale, and who seems to have had a resolution to have compleated the whole work. Amongst his MSS. at Oxford, there is one volume of his own collections, which he has intituled (11) Papers to be made use of for a third volume of the Councils, or History of the Reformation: And there is no doubt but they will be found to contain most of what was any where to be had on that subject.

T. Fuller.

Thomas Fuller's (12) church history must have the next place; for, though he begins higher, and goes lower than the strict limits of this chapter would require, his chief business falls within the times we are speaking of. It starts with the first planting of christianity in this Island, and ends with the death of King Charles the First. It is divided into eleven books, whereof the sixth gives the history of the abbies of England, from the first rise of monkery, to the final eradication of it under Henry the Eighth. These are subdivided into lesser sections, which are severally dedicated to such patrons as were most likely to make their due acknowledgements to the author. Nor were these infant lords and rich aldermen the only people he designed to flatter. He was to make his court to the powers then in fashion; and, he well knew, nothing would be more grateful to them, than squinting reflections on the management of the late King's chief ministers of state, eminent churchmen, &c. For such misbehaviour as this, he was severely taken to task by Peter Heylin, in his (13) *Examen Historicum*; to which was added Dr. Cofin's Apology, in answer to some passages in that history, which concerned himself. We have formerly observed, that his Worthies were sent abroad to apologize for the mistakes in his Church History; and we have here an ample instance of the truth of that remark. Upon the King's restoration, Dr. Cofin was deservedly advanced to the see of Durham; and it was then high time to harp upon another string, and to turn his eloquence another way. The late wavering Doctor is now the very (14) Atlas of the protestant religion, confirming the same with his piety and learning, &c. But to what purpose should we insist upon particulars? Through the whole he is so full of his own wit, that he does not seem to have minded what he was about. The gravity of an historian (much more an ecclesiastical one) requires a far greater care, both of the matter and stile of his work, than is here to be met with. If a pretty story comes in his way, that affords scope for clinch and droll, off it goes with all the gaiety of the stage; without staying to enquire whether it have any foundation in truth, or not; and even the most serious and most authentic parts of it are so interlaced with pun and quibble, that it looks as if the man had designed to ridicule the annals of our church into

(8) 4to. Lond. 1675. (9) In *Præfat. ad Tom. 1. p. 2.* (10) *Vid. Car. Spelm. Præf. ad Tom. 2.* (11) *Inter MSS. Dugd. in Museo Ashmol. lit. Y.* (12) Fol. Lond. 1655. (13) 8vo. Lond. 1658. (14) Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 295, in Durham.

fable and romance. Yet, if it were possible to refine it well, the work would be of good use; since there are in it some things of moment, hardly to be had elsewhere, which may often illustrate dark passages in more serious writers. These are not to be despised, where his authorities are cited and appear credible: but otherwise (in matters wherein he is singular, and without his vouchers) *μὴ μνηστο ἀπιστῆν*. PART II.

Another General Church History of England is lately published by Mr. Collier, in two volumes; and in both these the critical reader will be apt to observe some special respects occasionally paid to the Bishops and See of Rome. In the (1) former of them W. Prynne's voluminous proofs of the supremacy of our kings are shewn to have no strength; and that his own records demonstrate that those princes acknowledged, that all their power in spirituals was derived from papal concessions. We are indeed desired to "Take notice, that this dispute is only with Mr. Prynne;" and therefore we must, in this place, so understand the author "as if he had not any design to state the extent of the regale." In the following parts of the work there are several passages which can hardly admit of so fair an apology. He insinuates that most of the modern erroneous doctrines of the Roman church, even that of purgatory, were maintained here in the Saxon times. That Archbishop Anselm's behaviour to W. Rufus, in the case of Pope Urban, was on the right side of the question, and becoming a prelate of his fervent zeal and invincible courage; that Becket's conduct toward Henry the Second, was also innocent, as to any practice against the crown, the man having acted all along upon a principle of sincerity: that Edward the Third's letter to the pope, concerning provisions, misrepresents matter of fact; since, under the Saxon heptarchy, the English bishops were not, as is there asserted, creatures of the crown, &c. This volume ends with the death of Henry the Seventh. The (2) second begins with the reign of Henry the Eighth, and ends with the death of King Charles the Second. The Reformation, he observes, wrought so great a change in the faith and worship, as well as in the revenues and jurisdiction of the English church, that its history cannot be undertaken without some hazard: but, to avoid the failings of his predecessors, he resolves neither to take too much freedom with the dead, nor to be over-awed by the living. This rule seems to have been sometimes out of his thoughts; and more particularly when he drew the pictures of such divines, as had the greatest shares in the reformation of foreign churches. Hence Mr. Luther is represented as one upon the verge of distraction; a raiser of civil disturbances in the empire; a man that made no ceremony in breaking the chains of the canon law, and rushing too far towards the other extreme. John Calvin is said to be a professed enemy to liberty of conscience, and against all methods of moderation; a forward intermeddler in the settlement of religion in England and elsewhere, insolently dictating to such princes as did him the honour to advise with him. Above all, John Knox is the most severely handled; as making unusual room in the conscience for loose and over indulgent maxims; using the bible as coarsely as the civil magistrate, by wresting the scriptures to mislead subjects from their duty, and teaching them to treat their governors with much harsher language than St. Michael thought fit to use against the devil. Our martyrologist, Mr. Fox, is despised as an injudicious and lean tempered writer; to be read with caution; and hurried sometimes to an extremity of madness by prejudice and passion. He makes as free with King Henry the Eighth, whom he taxes with cruelty and covetousness; but confesses that these vices were not without a mixture of good qualities. This latter part of his character looks faint, and falls very much short of that of King Charles the Second, who is represented as a prince admirably qualified for the station he was born to; having some abatements in his private life, but dying with faction at his feet. What views soever the author might have at his first setting out, it is manifest, that, in this volume, his business is to compromise differences betwixt the churches of England and Rome, and to establish, on the authority of our two universities, with which he concludes, a fundamental hereditary right of succession to the imperial crown of this realm, supported by passive obedience and non-resistance.

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P. Heylin

The first that attempted a formal history of our reformation, was Doctor Peter Heylin, who, upon the return of monarchy and episcopacy, published his book entituled, *Ecclesia* (3) *Reftaurata*; wherein he pretends to give a punctual account of the rife and progress of that great work. But the first agitations in religion, as he calls them, are very slenderly touched, his story beginning at the year 1537. What he chiefly designed by it, I cannot well apprehend, unless it was to shew King Charles the Second the errors and mistakes of our first reformers, and to direct him how to settle the church on a better foundation: for he falls foul on all the princes of those times, without any regard to their good or ill wishes to the protestant interest. He represents King Edward the Sixth as one of ill principles, and soft; and censures his mother's relations with a more than ordinary freedom. He intimates, as if the Zuinglian gospellers would have carried all before them, had that prince lived; and observes, they were far too rife in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reformation, when many were raised to great preferments, who were too much inclined to the platform of Geneva. On the other hand, Queen Mary's bloodiness is no where set off in so lively a paint, as where he tell us, (4) she admitted of a consultation for burning the body of her father, and cutting off the head of her sister. It is a good rule which a modern (5) critick gives his historian, "That he should have a regard to his own birth, and not forget the respect due to the memory of those princes that have governed his native country." As this should restrain a man from exposing the failures of such governors in their own persons, so it ought to caution him against making too free with the frailties of their kindred and counsellors. He concludes with the act of establishing the government of the church by archbishops and bishops in the eighth year of Queen Elizabeth, whose famous court of high commission he calls "the principal bulwark and preservative of the church of England." If the reader desires any further character of this writer and his history, it is given him by one (6) who should be best acquainted with it: "he wrote, says he, smoothly and handsomely; his method and style are good, and his work was generally more read than any thing that had appeared before him. But either he was very ill informed, or very much led by his passions; and, being wrought on by some violent prejudices against some that were concerned in that time, he delivers many things in such a manner, and so strangely, that one would think he had been secretly set on to it by those of the church of Rome. Though I doubt not but he was a sincere protestant, but violently carried away by some particular conceits. In one thing he is not to be excused, that he never vouched any authority for what he wrote; which is not to be forgiven any who write of transactions beyond their own time, and deliver new things not known before." (The most of his materials, I guess, were had from the transcript which Archbishop Laud caused to be made of all that related to the story of the reformation, out of those eight large volumes of collections that are still in the (7) Cottonian library.) So that upon what grounds he wrote a great deal of his book, we can only conjecture; and many, in their guesses, are not apt to be very favourable to him. I know endeavours have been used to blunt the edge of this censure, by one (8) who has done all that a true friend could do, to place the doctor and his writings in a better light. But what would that kind gentleman have said to a sharper sentence passed by (9) another learned prelate on this book? How would he have resented the telling the world, that Dr. Heylin's representing our first reformers as fanatics, was an angry and scandalous injury to truth and our church? This, I confess, is very hard language; but, perhaps, it may more easily be digested than refuted.

G. Burnet

The defects of the forementioned author were abundantly supplied in the more compleat History of our Reformation by (10) Dr. Burnet, the present Bishop of Salisbury, whose first volume was published in the year 1679, by Secretary Coventry's order, and dedicated to King Charles the Second. In the months of December and January, in the year following, 1680,

(3) Fol. Lond. 1661. (4) Pag. 139. (5) Le Moyne, Dissert. 4. cap. 3. (6) Burnet, Præfat. ad Hist. Reform. Tom. 1. (7) Cleopatra, E. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. F. 1, 2. Vid. etiam Hist. & Synopf. Bibl. Cott. p. 43. (8) G. Vernon, in Vita D. P. Heylin, 8vo. Lond. 1682. (9) B. Bar. Re. pag. 181. (10) Fol. 2. vol. Lond. 1681.

the historian had the thanks of both houses of parliament for what he had already done, and was desired to proceed to the finishing of the whole work; which was done accordingly. This historian gives a punctual account of all the affairs of the reformation, from its first beginning in the reign of Henry the Eighth, until it was finally compleated and settled by Queen Elizabeth, A. D. 1559: and the whole is penned in such a masculine stile, as becomes an historian, and such as is this author's property in all his writings. The collection of records, which he gives in the conclusion of each volume, are good vouchers of the truth of all he delivers, as such, in the body of his history; and are much more perfect than could reasonably be expected, after the pains taken in Q. Mary's days, to suppress every thing that carried the marks of the reformation upon it. The work has had so much justice done it, as to meet with a general acceptance abroad, and to be translated into most of the European languages; inso-much that even the most piquant of the author's enemies allow it to have a (9) reputation firmly and deservedly established. Indeed, some of the French writers have cavilled at it: but the most eminent of them (Mons. Varillas and Mons. Le Grand) have received due correction from the author himself. (10) It was no wonder to see some members of the Roman communion laying out their best endeavours to raise themselves a name by so glorious a service to their church, as the disparagement of this writer, and the disgracing his history, might justly have been reckoned: but it was a little unaccountable, that the same rancour should possess men within the pale of our reformed English church, and such as desired to be looked upon as zealous maintainers of her honour, and the justice and honesty of her reformation. The first of these was (11) S. Lowth, who pretended only to batter the Erastian tenets in Mr. Hobbes's Leviathan; but took occasion, in the conclusion of his book, to censure the account Dr. Burnet had given of some of Archbishop Cranmer's singular opinions. This gentleman had the confidence to assert, "That both our historian and Dr. Stillingfleet had imposed upon the world in that particular; and had unfaithfully joined together in their endeavours to lessen episcopal ordination." I am not now concerned with his charge against Dr. Stillingfleet, who did him the honour, which he ought not to have hoped for, to expose his folly in a short letter to the Bishop of London. His quarrel with Dr. Burnet is wholly about method, and the (12) art of composition; wherein, most certainly, these two authors have extremely differed. And yet, notwithstanding the awkwardness of Mr. Lowth's stile, it is thought the man himself was not master of so much venom and ill-nature, as appears in his book: but that he had a great share of his spiteful language put into his mouth by a warm neighbour, who is now dead, and ought to be forgotten. The next assailant was a peevish gentleman in masquerade, who, under the feigned name of Anthony Harmer, published (13) A Specimen of some Errors and Defects in the History of the Reformation, &c. as if what he there gives, were only a sample of what he had in store for us; when it appears that he has stooped to such mean and pitiful remarks, as sufficiently shew that he had pumped himself to the bottom, and that his malice was upon the lees. It is a great indignity which some have put upon the memory of a late most reverend, learned, and pious prelate, in reporting him to have been the author of that malicious libel: for, whatever other unhappy mistakes he might be guilty of, he could never fall so low as to write at such an unmanly and uncharitable rate. The historian vouchsafed this book a short answer, in a (14) letter to the Bishop of Litchfield; to which the animadverter made no reply. To those that are still inclined to favour the specimen, I shall only say, that the whole 150 particulars, therein summed up, will fall under these six heads; as being either, 1. Such airy and superficial matters as we usually call impertinencies. 2. Some inconsiderable mistakes of the printers or copiers. 3. Others that have a little weight; but might have been corrected without noise, and do not affect the reformation. 4. Some few (a very few) that do

(9) Ant. Harmer, in Præfat. (10) Reflections on Varil. 120. Amstel. 1686. Defence of those Reflections Ibid. 1687. Continuation of Reflections. Ibid 1687. Answer to Joach. Le Grand's defence of Saunders, &c. 4to. Ibid. 1688. (11) Of the Subject of Church Power, 8vo. Lond. 1685. (12) See Dr. Burnet's Letters in Answer to Mr. Lowth, 4to. Lond. 1685. (13) 8vo. Lond. 1693. (14) 4to. Lond. 1694.

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touch upon its justice and honour: in most of which it is easy to discern the affection which the animadverter pretends to bear it, the appologies for the old monks and N. Sanders be any argument of such affection. 5. Others wherein himself is mistaken. 6. Several objections are raised purely for the sake of calumny and reflection. Something of a fresh attack was afterwards made by (14) one, who had set himself to discredit whatever had been published by the historian: and yet all that even such a writer could find chargeable on his History of the Reformation, was only, that (15) "in a matter of no great consequence there was too little care had in copying or examining a letter writ in a very bad hand;" and that there was some probability that "Dr. Burnet was mistaken in one of his conjectures." I think I may justly observe thus much of all those that have hitherto endeavoured to lessen the repute of this history; that they have apparently shewn their inclinations rather to bespatter the author, than his work: and, whatever success such persons may meet with in their attempts, they have commonly the misfortune to discover themselves to be, at least, men of like passions with their adversary. The right reverend author himself is best able to correct the mistake, and supply the defects of his own work: and this he will shortly do in a third, supplemental, volume, to the entire satisfaction of all his sober readers.

Burnet's
Abridg-
ment.

The author of these volumes published also an (16) Abridgment of them; wherein the reader has a full and clear view of the reformation, without any of those obscurities or defects that usually attend works of this kind. Take an account of it in his own words: "I have wholly waved every thing that belonged to the records, and the proof of what I relate; or to the confutation of the falsehoods that run through the popish historians. All that is to be found in the history at large. And therefore in this abridgment, every thing is to be taken upon trust; and those that desire a fuller satisfaction, are to seek it in the volumes I have already published."

J. Strype.

The memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, which were lately published by (17) Mr. Strype, shall conclude this chapter; though (were it not that the subject, rather than the title of the book, inclines me to bring them in here) they would more properly belong to another place. The writer of them has adhered to Dr. Burnet's method, giving us his own historical account in three books, ending with the several deaths of Henry VIII. Edward VI. and the martyr himself, and in the conclusion, a good collection of records. Several things relating to the state of the church, during that primacy, are well illustrated by him; and some authentick letters, and other original papers of value are discovered and made publick.

The first book largely accounts for the brightest part of that great prelate's life, as long as Henry the Eighth's changeable countenance shined upon him; though even this was somewhat shaded, under the violence of the Bishop of Winchester's persecutions of him, towards the latter end of that reign. In the second, upon Edward the Sixth's ascent to the throne, we have a new scene; wherein we behold our primate in a more flourishing condition than ever, and the late powerful Bishop of Winchester in durance. It is here that the reformation begins first to gather strength; and we see it growing up to somewhat of maturity, by the encouragement of Protestant preachers and professors in the city of London, and our two universities. The new liturgy and articles of 1552 look promising, and A. Nowel's catechism for schools seems to lay a durable foundation for the long continuance of this purity in doctrine: but all these warm expectations soon vanish on the untimely death of the young king, and the apparent insufficiency of the Lady Jane Gray's title to the crown. In the third book, the face of all things both in church and state changes again; and Queen Mary's unhappy reign enters with fire and sword. Now the Bishop of Winchester recovers his liberty and resigns his prison to the archbishop; who after an inglorious recantation seals his gospel-faith, as it was first established, in martyrdom. At the end we have a good collection of letters, and other authentick papers, in

(14) Discourses on Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson, &c. 4to. Lond. 1695. (15) See the Bishop of Sarum's Vindication, 8vo. Lond. 1696. p. 83, 87. (16) 8vo. Lond. 1682. (17) Fol. Lond. 1694.

confirmation of the foregoing history. The same worthy author has likewise compiled the PART
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(18) Annals of the first Twelve Years of Queen Elizabeth's Reign; which begin with the proceedings in parliament, for the obtaining of a legal re-establishment of uniformity in the pure worship of our God, and supremacy in the person of our sovereign. Then follows a review of the articles of religion; a fresh authorising of Nowel's Catechism; the re-admission of foreign divines; the Composure and Ratification of the second Book of Homilies in 1564; and lastly, the ineffectual struggles of Cartwright, and other puritans, against primitive episcopacy. The Appendix affords above forty very valuable original papers not hitherto printed. Next after this book, Mr. Strype obliged us with the (19) Life of Archbishop Grindal; which was forced from the press in haste, a little out of its course, by the obloquy of a very false son of the church, who had slanderously raked in the dust of this most reverend and most religious father. The honest compiler of this life demonstrates to posterity, that there never was a prelate of a more steady and unblemished reputation through all the stages of his conversation, than this excellent archbishop; whether we consider him in the University of Cambridge, as a divine; in his exile, as a confessor; or in the Sees of London, York and Canterbury, as a christian bishop. As it appears that he received favours from many protestant divines abroad; so it is likewise proved to his honour, that they met with grateful returns here from him. The sum of his character drawn from the contents of this whole book, shews that he was mild, affable, and courteous in his temper; unblameable in his life; sincere in the duties of religion; an exact conformist in the worship and discipline of the established church; an eminent and frequent preacher; an honest man; a good christian; a zealous protestant; and a wise prelate. Amongst the many papers of good note in the appendix, we have the archbishop's letter to the queen about prophesying; the encouragement whereof was just as criminal in him, as that of weekly or monthly lectures is in our present bishops: for it is an impudent and groundless suggestion, that he wickedly countenanced those, as nurseries of schism and non-conformity. The (20) Life of Archbishop Parker lost its due precedence, as it is said, at the press; but it is now happily published by the same industrious historian. These memoirs of Q. Elizabeth's chief counsellor, in perfecting the great work of the reformation, are divided into four books; whereof the first gives an account of his birth and education in the University of Cambridge, with the reputable character he there bore in several posts of subjection and government. The second recounts the most memorable transactions in the first five years of his primacy; the rites observed at his consecration; the impertinence of the known and most villainous Fable of the Nagg's Head; the great pains he took in visiting, and correcting the statutes of sundry cathedral churches in his province; his indefatigable zeal in bringing his clergy to an uniformity in habits and ceremonies; his importunate sollicitations and success in the procurement of Bishop Jewel's Apology, &c. The third gives a like account of his next five years; wherein we have a new translation of the Bible, in opposition to that of Geneva, printed in greater and lesser volumes, for the service of churches and private families; which with other undertakings of a like universal concern, never intermitted the diligence of his search after British and Saxon manuscripts. The fourth takes notice of his purging of the statutes of some more cathedrals, as well as of the University of Cambridge; the many and long struggles which he had with the new disciplinarians; his prosperous endeavours in the suppressing of popish and schismatical books; and lastly, of his death and benefactions.

(18) Fol. Lond. 1709. (19) Fol. ib. 1710. (20) Fol. ibid. 1711.

Histories of our Bishops in general, and those of their several Sees.

Josceline. **T**HAT Josceline de Fournes (an historian quoted by Stow and Fitzherbert) wrote several books concerning the ancient British bishops, John (18) Pitts is very certain; but, whether he was an Englishman, or, as he rather fancies, a Welshman, he dare not be positive. One book, indeed, of that kind was written by Josceline, a monk of Fournes in Lancashire, and is still (19) extant: but, as the author himself could not be of any great age, so his collections seem to have been made out of histories that were penned since the conquest. Of somewhat less account, I fear, is that of the Saxon prelates, whereof Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, is said to be the author; a MS. copy of it is likewise (20) reported to be in the public library at Cambridge.

Since the Conquest. After the conquest, the memoirs of our bishops were taken by a great many hands. Geoffrey, Prior of Winchester about the year 1100, wrote a panegyric account of them in elegant verse, says (1) Will. of Malmesbury; who himself more largely commented upon them in prose. His four first books were published by (2) Sir Henry Savil, from a very faulty manuscript; and his edition was copied more faultily in that of (3) Francfort. In these we have all that could be had out of the many old catalogues which swarmed in our English monasteries; together with what the author was able to inform us, of his own knowledge, touching his contemporaries. Henry of Huntingdon's (4) letter, to his friend Walter, describes the prelates of his own time, which immediately succeeded to Malmesbury's; and it is done with all the heartiness that becomes a familiar epistle, and a freedom inclining to satire. Ralph de Diceto followed these with a catalogue of his own drawing, from the coming in of Augustine the monk to the beginning of King John's reign: but there is little in it worth the publishing. Joh. Everiden, a monk of Bury, who died, says (5) Pitts, about the year 1336, is said to have written *de Episcopis Angliæ*, as well as *de Regibus*: but Mr. Wharton could never meet with any such treatise. He found, he says, some of Mr. Joceline's collections out of Everiden's Chronicle: so that perhaps he is the same man with that Johannes Buriensis, whom we have mentioned in the (6) first part. We are also told of a like book by one Nicholas Mantacute, or (7) Manacutius; who is believed to have been sometime master of Eaton school, because, forsooth, most of his works were in the library of that college. What good things were heretofore in that library, I know not: but, upon a (8) late search, nothing could be found that bore this author's name; save only a pitiful treatise, at Lambeth, *de Pontificibus Romanis*, not worth the reading. I fancy somebody's quoting this under the title *de Pontificibus* simply, has given occasion to Bale and Pitts, who collected and wrote in haste, to naturalize all his bishops. Polydore Virgil's book, or (9) scrawl of our English prelates, is boasted of in our seminaries beyond seas: and his great antagonist John Leland assures us, he had taken mighty care to collect their remains, (10) *Et majori [cura] propediem in ordinem redigam*. He had many other grand projects in his head, which came to nothing. John Pitts likewise very gravely refers his readers, in many parts of his book *de Illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus*, to another of his own compoſure *de Episcopis*: which we are (11) credibly informed, is only a poor and silly abstract of the first, and worst edition of that which falls next under our thoughts, and deserves to be separately considered.

(18) Page 884. (19) Vid. Uffer. Antiq. Eccles. p. 36. (20) J. Pitts, p. 178. (1) De Gest. Pontif. lib. 2. p. 246. (2) Fol. Lond. 1596. (3) Fol. 1601. (4) Angl. Sac. vol. 2. p. 694. (5) Page 435. (6) Page 172. (7) J. Pitts, p. 656, 657. (8) Præfat. ad Angl. Sac. vol. 1. p. 14. (9) Id. Ibid. (10) Comment. in Cyg. Cant. voc. Antonius Beccus. (11) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. 2. p. 142.

Francis Godwine, son of Thomas, Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, was most fortunate in his commentary, as he calls it, on this subject; being himself advanced to the episcopal order (12) for the good services that (as Queen Elizabeth thought) he had done the church by that book. It was twice published in (13) English; equally full of the author's and printer's mistakes. The faults of the latter edition especially, were so very gross, that they put him upon the speedy dispatch of another in Latin, (14) which came out the next year. The stile of this is very neat and clean, and he seems to have taken more pains in polishing it, than in gathering together all the materials of his history. He quotes no authorities; excepting, belike, that posterity should acquiesce in his singly, without enquiring any farther. He is particularly ungrateful to the author of the *Antiquitates Britannicæ*; from whom he has borrowed (by the great) his account of the see of Canterbury; varying only the phrase, and that sometimes for the worse. The like carriage he is guilty of towards Bale, Camden, and others: but what is most especially notorious, is his transcribing out of Josceline and Mason, what he pretends to have had immediately from the archives and registries, from the year 1559 to his own time. He is also frequently guilty of chronological mistakes; a too confident reliance on the authorities of counterfeit charters in Ingulphus and others; an uncertain calculation of years, beginning some at Michaelmas, and others at Christmas, &c. as his authors blindly led him: and lastly, a contenting himself with false and imperfect catalogues of the prelates in almost every diocese. These are the failures wherewith he stands charged by (15) Mr. Wharton; who modestly assures us, that a better progress had been made in these matters by himself, within the compass of eighteen months, than by this bishop in twenty years. Our Oxford (16) antiquary farther complains, that he puritannically vilified popish bishops; with a design thereby to advance the credit of those since the Reformation: whereby he had given unlucky advantages to William Prynne, the professed enemy of episcopacy, who made ill use of his book. I will not say that either of these censures are mistaken: but I must observe to the reader, that each of them intended to have furnished us with a view of this part of our ecclesiastical history, of his own drawing; and therefore, like all new buildings, they must be allowed to spy more faults in the old fabrick, than others can. The former has helped us to a noble stock of old writers upon the affairs of a great many of our sees, from their foundation, in his *Anglia Sacra*: and the latter has given us almost an intire history of our bishops, for the two last centuries, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*. These are good materials, and such as will direct to more of the same kind; whereof there are good store in the Bodleian and Cottonian libraries. We long only for a skilful architect, to put them into the figure we desire. And, I hear, the work is at last put into the hands of a person, who wants none of those helps or qualifications that are necessary to the undertaking.

Hitherto we have mentioned only such as have written the history of our prelacy with an honest intent, to represent it to the world in its proper and true colours: we have others that made it their business to daub it with false paint, endeavouring to give such portraitures of our bishops, as might most effectually defame and prostitute the sacred order. The first of these was one Thomas Gibson, a fanatical physician in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign; who entitled one of his treatises, *A History of the Treasons of the Bishops since the Norman Conquest*. Whether this was ever printed, my (17) author cannot inform me. The next was Sir John Harrington of Kelveston; who, soon after K. James the First's arrival in England, began to draw together some malicious remarks upon the bishops of his time; which he at last finished under the title of (18) *A brief View of the State of the Church of England, as it stood in Queen Elizabeth's and King James's Reign, to the Year 1608*. It was presented by the author, in manuscript, to Prince Henry; from whom the presbyterian faction expected great alterations in church government. After the downfall of episcopacy, it fell into such hands as brought it to the press; believing it to be a proper antidote against the return of the

(12) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. p. 497. (13) 4to. Lond. 1601, 1615. (14) *Comment. de Præful.* 4to. Lond. 1616.
 (15) *Præfat. ad Angl. Sac.* vol. 1. p. 17. (16) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. p. 469. (17) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. p. 109.
 (18) 8vo. Lond. 1653.

PART
II.

plaguy hierarchy. The last of this gang was that eternal scribler, William Prynne; who raked together all the dirt that had been thrown at any of our bishops, by the most inveterate and implacable of all their enemies; and heaped it into a large dunghill-book, inscribed (19) *The Antipathy of the English Lordly Prelacy, both to legal Monarchy and civil Unity*: wherein he pretends to give an historical collection of I know not how many hundreds of execrable treasons, conspiracies, &c. of the British, English, French, Scotch and Irish bishops, against our kings and kingdom. But—it is time to rid our hands of this filth and nastiness. The most ancient register books and records of our several dioceses and cathedral churches will less fully our fingers.

S. Asaph. S. Asaph. The history of the bishops and deans of this place was composed by the late learned and industrious Mr. Wharton; whose book was (20) published soon after his death; as a specimen of what his general work, of all the dioceses in England, would have been, if he had lived to have finished it. To this treatise, as well as to the other that is prefixed to it, there is an appendix of authentic instruments out of the register books, &c. according to the method first taught him by Dr. Burnet. In the lives of the bishops, he frequently quotes the *Liber ruber Aflavenfis*, an old cartulary of that church of good value.

Bangor. Bangor. Godwine (1) mentions a catalogue of the bishops of this see, in the archives of the church of Bangor; which I suppose was a very empty one, since (upon the two first editions of his book) he had not any thing to say of this diocese.

Bath. Bath and Wells. What has been lately done for this diocese, is already taken notice of (2) by Mr. Tanner; whose collections and references, let it be here observed, once for all, I shall not repeat, but shall wish the reader himself to consult his very useful book, saving only, that some of those authors he barely quotes, where I am able to do it, shall be set in the truest light I can give them. Let it be here also noted, that whenever he refers his readers, as he does in this place, to one or the other volume of *Anglia Sacra*, they are there sure to meet with a good view of such old writers as have treated of the ancient history of this or that diocese; or else they have, at least, a compofure of Mr. Wharton's, very valuable for the pains that author took in adjusting the true chronological succession of our bishops. Dr. Thomas Chandler, sometime (3) warden of New College in Oxford, and chancellor of this church, wrote a treatise de *Laudibus Bathoniæ & Welliæ*; which, I suppose, would afford us some such light as the same learned person has given in those lives, that have been gratefully penned by him, and will be taken notice of in another place. I guess the *Historia de Tempore Primævæ inchoationis Sedis Episcopalis Wellensis*, &c. which was made ready for the press by the noble publishers (4) of the *Decem Scriptores*, is part of what we have had since from Mr. Wharton; who also must be thought to have enriched his own notes out of the (5) great treasure of collections which was gathered and communicated to him by the reverend and learned Dr. Matt. Hutton.

Bristol. Bristol. This see, having only been erected by King Henry the Eighth, can have no records of any great antiquity: but it is hoped its intire story may be had out of such registers as are in the hands either of the bishop or dean and chapter of that church.

Canterbury. Canterbury, as in justice it ought, has had the most and best learned preservers of its history and antiquities, of any diocese in England. The first of these was Archbishop Deusdedit, or Adeodatus, who is (6) said to have recorded the acts of all his predecessors; which was no mighty undertaking, since he himself was only the sixth from Augustine. The eldest of those writers whose works are now extant, is Gotfeline the Monk; who, besides the *Life of Augustine*, published by Mr. Wharton, wrote also those of the six following archbishops. These are now in MS. in (7) Sir John Cotton's library: but being only collections out of Bede, with the enlargement of a few romantic miracles, they have not hitherto been thought worth

(19) 4to. Lond. 1641. (20) *Historia de Episcopis et Decanis Londinensibus; necnon de Episcopis et Decanis Aflavenfis*, à prima utriusq; sedis Fundatione ad An. 1540. 8vo. Lond. 1695. (1) De Præful. p. 644. (2) Not. Monast. p. 195. (3) Hist. et Antiq. Oxon. Par. 2. p. 134. (4) See Kennet's *Life of Somner*, p. 66. (5) Vid. Præfat. ad *Angl. Sacr.* vol. 1. p. 51, 52. (6) J. Pitts, p. 109. (7) *Vespasianus*, B. 20.

the printing. About the same time Osbern was Precentor of Christ-Church; and upon the (8) unhappy fire, which destroyed most of their records, A. D. 1070. took a deal of pains in recovering the histories of the archbishops; several of whose lives were written by him, besides those we have in print. Gervasius Dorobernensis, that is, Monk of Canterbury, has left three good treatises on this subject, which bear the following titles; (9) 1. *Tractatus de Combustione & Reparatione Dorobernensis Ecclesiæ*. 2. *Imaginationes de Discordiis inter Monachos Cantuarienses & Archiepiscopum Baldewinum*. 3. *Vitæ Dorobernensium Archiepiscoporum*. R. de Diceto's history of these primates was discovered in the Norfolk library, after some others (amongst whom he should have been ranked) were published: and it would not have been any great loss, if we had still wanted it; being (10) very short, and mostly stuffed with matters foreign to the purpose. Mr. Pitts (11) sends us to the library at Bennet College to enquire after a manuscript copy of Archbishop Langton's annals of his predecessors: but he that runs on his errand, will find himself mistaken. There are, indeed, in that library, some collections out of the last mentioned author's history of our kings, which relate chiefly to the affairs of this see; the transcriber whereof had some thoughts of copying out Steph. Langton's History of Richard the First, and so prefaced his work with the title of *Annales Stephani Archiepiscopi*: but he soon quits that subject, and so imposes upon a careless catalogue-monger. The next, in order of time, was Tho. Spott, Spottey, or Sprott, a Benedictine Monk of Canterbury, in the year 1274, (12) whose book has been vainly enquired after by some of our most industrious antiquaries, and particularly by (13) one whom hardly any thing on this subject could escape. The truth is, Mr. Somner seems to think it was rather a chronicle of the city of Canterbury, than of the archbishops: and if W. Thorn, who was a monk of the same house, in the year 1380, either epitomized or (14) enlarged it, it may probably prove only the same with his History of the (15) Abbots of St. Augustine's. Steph. Burchington's performance is largely accounted for by his late (16) publisher; who has assured us that nothing that either this writer, or any of the former can afford us, has been omitted by the diligent author of the (17) *Antiquitates Britannicæ*. Archbishop Parker was generally reputed the author of this admired book; till (18) Mr. Selden transferred the honour of it to his grace's chaplain, Mr. Josceline, who has since enjoyed it. I confess, I am far from being of Abp. (19) Bramhal's opinion, that the conclusion of the preface proves the archbishop himself to have been the author of that book: but it does fairly intimate that the composer of it, whoever he was, did desire the world should believe that most of his materials were handed to him by that learned metropolitan; who was also, he says, the director and overseer of the whole work. In the same place the Hallow edition is blamed for omitting Parker's own life; which perhaps was no fault in those that had the care of it. There were only a few copies of the first edition, such as were designed for (20) public libraries, and the accommodation of a few choice friends, that had the twenty-nine pages, which make up that life: so that it was not to be expected that the foreign publishers should print it otherwise than as it was commonly sold by our English booksellers. Mr. Wharton every where gives this writer more respect than any other he is pleased to cite: and yet he (1) observes a great many of his mistakes; and, I do not doubt but any skilful antiquary will easily take notice of many and many more. So imperfect will always be the most complete works of any single man! (2) The late learned Mr. Nicholas Battely has corrected several mistakes, and supplied many defects, in the *Antiquitates*, to which he has also given us a most accurate Supplement, in his *Cantuaria Sacra*; which makes a second part of his noble edition of Mr. Somner's *Antiquities* already mentioned. The

(8) Vid. *Præfat. ad Ang. Sac.* vol. 2. p. 9. (9) *Inter X. Script. Edit. Lond.* 1652. (10) *Angl. Sac.* vol. 2. p. 677. (11) Page 304. (12) So Pitts, p. 355. But Bale knew not when he lived. (13) W. Somner. *Pref. to Antiq. of Canterbury*, p. 8. (14) Vid. Pitts, 355. et 529. V. etiam Thorn. *inter X. Script.* (15) *Bibl. Cott. Vitellius*, D. II. (16) H. Wharton, in *Præfat. ad Angl. Sac.* vol. p. 18, 19, &c. (17) *Fol. Lond.* 1572. & *Hanov.* 1605. (18) *Hist. of Tythes*, cap. 9. (19) *Consecration, &c. of Pious Bishop*, p. 165. (20) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. page 588, 589. (1) In *notis ad Canon. Lichfield, de Succes. Archiep. Cant.* passim. (2) For the Controversy betwixt the Chapter of Canterbury and the Archdeacon, about the Right of Jurisdiction *Sede Vacante*, see *Bibl. Cott. Nero*, c. 9. *Galba. E.* 4. *Vitellius*, A. 2. 8. D. 7. E. 4.

PART II. **succession of the archbishops, priors, deacons, archdeacons, &c. is no where else so particularly recounted.**

Carlile.

Carlile. This remote and small diocese has been heretofore so much exposed to the continual incursions of the Scots, (before the kingdoms were happily united in King James the First) that there are not many of its ancient records any where now to be had. The only pieces of antiquity, in the bishop's possession, are two register books of four successive prelates; Halton, Ross, Kirkby and Welton; and these will furnish us with little more than the history of one century. The records of the dean and chapter go not much higher than their new denomination given them by Henry the Eighth; and are very broken and imperfect since that epocha. Out of these, and what other helps could be had from some neighbouring and distant libraries, Dr. Hugh Todd, prebendary of this church, has made a volume of collections, which is lately placed in the dean and chapter's library, under the title of, (20) An History of the Diocese of Carlile; containing an Account of the Parishes, Abbies, Nunneries, Churches, Monuments, Epitaphs, Coats of Arms, Founders, Benefactors, &c. with a perfect Catalogue of the Bishops, Priors, Deans, Chancellors, Archdeacons, Prebendaries; and of all Rectors and Vicars of the several Parishes in the said Diocese. The author hopes that the editions which will hereafter be made to this work, will, at last, make it answer its title; and I heartily wish I could do so too: but, to me, the prospect is so discouraging, that I know not which way to look for such helps as would be necessary for the compleating of so full and ample an account of our church and diocese. Our sufferings in the days of rapine and rebellion, equalled or exceeded those of any other cathedral of England; and, after our chapter-house and treasury had been turned into a magazine for the garison, and our very charter sold to make a taylor's measures, it can hardly be expected that so many of our records will ever be retrieved, as are requisite to furnish out such a history.

Chester.

Chester, being another of King Henry the Eighth's foundations, cannot have any great stock of records. Some notice may possibly be taken of its most early times by Mr. Urmston; who wrote an (1) account of the state of religion in Lancashire, part of this diocese, in the beginning of King James the First's reign.*

Chichester.

Chichester. Most of the ancient records of this church, were squandered and lost, upon the city's being taken and plundered by Sir William Waller in our late civil wars; and after the restoration, they never recovered more than three books belonging to the chapter, and a register or two of the bishops. These do not reach above 230 years backwards: so that the prime antiquities of this see, before the episcopal-throne was removed from Selsey to this place, and for some ages afterwards, are either wholly lost, or in such private hands as have hitherto very injuriously detained them from their right owners. Till a restitution is made, we must content ourselves with such poor fragments as Bede, Malmesbury and others will afford us, of the first foundation of the diocese, by our northern saint Wilfrid; who, with his successors, in the same order that Godwine has given them, stands yet pictured on the back side of the quire. Here are the chief remains of their history, as far as they are now to be had within the verge of their own cathedral: to which, if more shall be added, by such foreigners as are masters of their dispersed records; it will be a very grateful, as well as just service to the present members of that church.

St. David's.

St. David's. We have already noted the disputes there are about Abbot Dinoh's remonstrance against the pretensions of Augustine the Monk; and we are told that he did not only leave behind him his thoughts of that matter in the forementioned protestation; but that he also wrote another treatise, entitled, Defensorium (2) Jurisdictionis Sedis Menevensis. Bishop Godwine quotes a catalogue of the bishops of St. David's, not taken notice of either by Gyraldus or the Annales Menevensis; which he (3) says is in the archives of that church. There

(20) MS. in Fol. (1) MS. penes Tho. Brotherton Arm. (2) J. Pitts, p. 104. (3) De Præful. p. 602.

* An account of its more primitive state may be had from a MS. in the Cotton library, which bears the title of *Extractus Chronicarum Cestrensis Ecclesie per Joan. Rochford, a Christo nato ad annum 1410. [tamen Qu.]*

is also an anonymous manuscript in the library at (4) Magdalene College in Oxford, which PART II.
treats de Gestis & Ritibus Cleri Cambrensis; and may probably afford some discoveries of the
ancient state of this diocese.

Durham. The first collector of the History and Antiquities of this ancient and noble church, Durham.
was Turgot; who was (5) Prior, Arch-deacon, and Vicar-General of that diocese. He was
afterwards Bishop of St. David's; but upon the death of Queen Margaret returned to Durham;
where he died, A. D. 1115. and lies buried in the chapter-house. His book bears the title, (6)
De Exordio & Progressu Ecclesie Dunelmensis; that is, from K. Oswald's time to the year 1097.
This was transcribed by (7) Sim. Dunelm. mentioned in the former part of this work; who
also continued it to the year (8) 1129. from whence it has been drawn downwards by Jeoffrey de
Coldingham, R. de Greftanes, &c. There are still some latent manuscript histories of this
church; which, if discovered, would undoubtedly supply a great many defects in those that are
already published. Prior Laurence, who died in the year 1154. wrote a treatise in meeter, (9)
De Civitate & Episcopatu Dunelmensi. There are several MS. tracts of that author's compo-
sure, in the libraries at Lambeth, Durham, and elsewhere; and yet we cannot hitherto learn
where this is to be had. Tho. Rudburn, in the very heart of his (10) Historia Major, has a
large history of the bishops of this see, from the first foundation at Lindisfarn, to the year 1083.
which though mostly taken out of Turgot and Simeon, has some remarkable passages never
yet printed. John Wessington, who died Prior of Durham, A. D. 1446. wrote a book, (11)
De Juribus & Possessionibus Ecclesie Dunelmensis; wherein, amongst other choice matters, it
is proved that the priors of that church were always invested with the dignity and privileges of
abbots. Sir H. Spelman (12) quotes some synodical, or rather consistorial, constitutions made
by Bishop Lewis in the year 1319. which certainly must be very learned ones, if they answer
the account (13) Godwine gives of that prelate. The Cotton Library is hardly better stocked
with the records of any cathedral church in England, than that of Durham; whereof the chief
is a large (14) catalogue of their benefactors, from King Edwin down to the reign of King
Henry VIII. The beginning of this book is in an old Saxon character, as ancient as the time
of K. Æthelstane; in whose possession it is very probable (from his name in the title page,
supposed to be written with his own (15) hand) it some time was. There is also a (16) mis-
cellany collection of a great many curious particulars relating to St. Cuthbert, and his successors
in that see; the (17) contests of the prior and convent with their own bishops and the arch-
bishops of York, about the visitatorial power; an entire (18) history of that church, from its
foundation at Lindisfarn, through all its changes of fortune and place, as low as the death of
Bishop Hugh, A. D. 1194. with many other (19) remarkable fragments of its history. There
is also in the bishop's library at Durham, a MS. collection of the antiquities of this church,
transcribed by the directions of Bishop Cosin; wherein there is a different account of some particu-
lars from what we have in the Rites and Monuments published by (20) Mr. Davies. Nor is this
last-mentioned piece, such an ignorant and pitiful legend, as a very (1) worthy person has represented
it; since there is no where extant so full and exact an account of the state of this cathedral, at
the suppression of monasteries. The author seems to have been an eye-witness of all that passed
at that time; and his descriptions of such matters as are still remaining, appear to be so nicely
true, that we have great reason to credit him in the rest. Besides these, there are now in the
possession of the dean and chapter, a great many authentick records, original charters, endow-
ments, &c. which will enable one to furnish out a much more compleat history of this church,
than has yet appeared: and I hope the ingenious and learned Dr. John Smith, now Prebendary
of that cathedral, will think the undertaking most proper for himself.

(4) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. 1. p. 56. (5) J. Selden, Præf. ad X. Script. (6) MS. in Bibl. Cott. Faustina, A. 5.
see also Abp. Usher's Letters, p. 315, 321. (7) Inter X. Scrip. (8) Præf. ad Angl. Sac. vol. 1. p. 48. (9) Vid.
Angl. Sac. vol. 1. p. 787. (10) MS. in Bibl. Cott. Lambeth. & Bened. (11) Bibl. Cott. Vitellius, A. 9. (12) Glos-
sar. in voce Præconizatio. (13) De Præsul. p. 121. (14) Domitianus, 7. (15) Hist. & Synopf. Bibl. Cott. p. 38.
(16) Julius, C. 2. 6. (17) Julius, D. 4. (18) Claudius, D. 4. (19) Vitellius, A. 9. 20. C. 9. D. 20. E. 1. 12.
Vespasianus, A. 5, 6. Titus, A. 2. Domitianus, A. 7, 8. Faustina, A. 5, 6. (20) 8vo. Lond. 1672. (1) Wh. Ken-
net, in vit. Somneri, p. 21.

PART

II.

Ely.

Ely. That history of the church of Ely which was partly published by Sir William Dugdale, and wholly by Mr. Wharton, is not the work of Thomas and Richard, whose names it carries; but an abstract, by a nameless author, out of their much larger volumes, which still remain in (2) manuscript. Some parts of the former have been printed, out of other copies, by L. D'Achery; and Dr. Gale; if those learned gentlemen be not mistaken, as I suspect they are, in their conjectures. Dr. Brady (3) quotes a survey of all the manors belonging to this Bishoprick, taken in the year 1248. but does not direct us where to find it. That S. Birchington, or Brickington as he calls him, wrote a catalogue of the bishops of Ely, (4) Mr. Pitts is very positive: but how he fell into that mistake, wherein he is followed by Vossius, has been discovered by a late (5) writer of much better credit. He probably conjectures that stageing over the margin of one of our learned church-historians, he met with this quotation, (6) *Steph. Birch. Catal. Episc. Eliens.* and thence presently concluded, that Stephen must be the author of the catalogue there cited: whereas the historian referred his readers to two several manuscripts, Birchington's History of the Archbishops of Canterbury, and an Anonymous Catalogue of the Bishops of Ely, for the proof of what he had there advanced.

Exeter.

Exeter. There is in Bodley's library an old Latin mass-book in Saxon characters: in the end whereof we have many particulars of the life of Bishop Leofric, who gave the book to his cathedral, as his settling the episcopal see at Exeter, A. D. 1050, &c. It gives us also a catalogue of the reliques that church was possessed of at the time when this book was written. John Grandeson, who died bishop of this see, A. D. 1369. is (7) said to have written Martyrologium Exoniense: for a manuscript whereof we are advised to consult the library at Bennet college. John Hooker, or Vowel, Chamberlain of Exeter, where he died, A. D. 1601. wrote a lean catalogue of the bishops of that see; first published by him in quarto, and afterwards inserted in (8) Ralph Holinshed's chronicle. It begins with Eadulph, whom he unaccountably calls Werstane, and ends at bishop Woolton; who was consecrated in the year 1579. There is no want of materials for the composition of a much fuller history: since the registers of a good many of the bishops, Stapleton, Brantingham, Stafford, &c. are cited by (9) Mr. Wharton; and many more pointed at by Mr. Tanner.

Gloucester.

Gloucester, being a diocese of Henry the Eighth's erection, cannot have any records, relating to the see itself, more authentick than that which acquaints us with the (10) erection of St. Peter's church into a cathedral: but there are many venerable remains of ecclesiastical history, which are to be had in the register-books of those religious houses and parochial churches, which were then brought within their jurisdiction. Out of these Dr. R. Parsons, the present worthy chancellor of that diocese, has collected two MS. volumes; which are also digested into so good a method, that they well deserve the title of a compleat History. The first of these he styles Memoirs of the ancient Abbey and present Cathedral of Gloucester: wherein he gives an account of the foundation of the great abbey of St. Peter's in this city, and the succession of its abbots, down to the dissolution; with the history and succession of the bishops, deans, chancellors, archdeacons and prebendaries, ever since the dismembring of it from the see of Worcester. This work was happily undertaken at the request of the late Mr. Wharton; who designed to have obliged the publick with it, in some future volume of his Anglia Sacra. We are not in despair of seeing the good services that were intended our church by that learned person, fully finished and brought to perfection by some other able hand: so that, it is to be hoped, we shall not long want the benefit of such successful labours. His other volume bears the inscription of A Parochial Visitation of the Diocese of Gloucester; wherein the matters treated on are chiefly ecclesiastical, though some affairs of a civil nature are also intermixed. The observations that occur in this are partly owing to the author's own view and enquiries, made in the

(2) Bibl. Cott. Domitianus, A. 15. Titus, A. 1. Claudius, C. 9. Nero, A. 15. 19. Otho, E. 5. Vespasianus, A. 19. (3) In Præfat. de Hist. Angl. vide etiam Bibl. Cott. Tiberius, B. 2. (4) P. 910. (5) H. Wharton, Præfat. ad Angl. Sacr. vol. 1. p. 20. (6) Antiq. Brit. p. 246, 248. Edit. Hanov. (7) J. Pitts, p. 500. (8) Edit. Lond. 1587. pag. 1300. (9) Hist. de Episc. & Dec. Lond. &c. (10) Bibl. Cott. inter Codd. nondum in loculos reposit. Num. 9.

several

several parishes; and partly to such helps as could be had out of the registry at Worcester, and his own at Gloucester. PART II.

Hereford. That they were anciently several good old register-books belonging to this cathedral, is beyond dispute. Sir H. Spelman (11) quotes one of them; and we have heard of several others, besides that of Bishop (12) Booth. The library and archives here fell under the like misfortunes, during the ravage of our late days of usurpation, with those of other cathedral churches: being made a very improper prey to a fanatical and illiterate army of rebellious blockheads. Amongst these, Silas Taylor was an officer of more than ordinary fancy and respect for books and learning; and, having gotten part of the (13) bishop's palace into his possession, thought it was also convenient to seize as many of the churches evidences and records, as he could possibly get into his clutches. With these, and many of the like kind from the church at Worcester, he trooped off, upon the happy return of our old English government; and near twenty years afterwards, died with some of them in his possession at Harwich. His books and papers, together with the other few moveables he left behind him, fell into the hands of his creditors; from whom, if any care was taken to preserve them, it will now be a very difficult matter to retrieve them. Hereford.

Landaff. Bishop Godwine (14) assures us, that all he says of the archbishops and bishops of this see, down as far as the year 1110. was taken out of an old manuscript-register of that church; which seemed to him to have been penned about that time. This, he tells us, was most particular in the account of the acts and miracles of St. Teliau, the second bishop of that diocese; and therefore I take it to be the very same with that which is now in Sir John Cotton's library, and, for that very reason, bears there the title of (15) Teilo. From hence (16) Sir Henry Spelman had the whole account he gives us of the several synodical decrees of divers bishops in that church: as Mr. Wharton had also those good pieces which he afterwards (17) published, as being overlooked both by Godwine and Spelman. There is yet another book in the same (18) library, that affords a history or chronicle of this church; which seems to have escaped the notice of both these diligent antiquaries. It commences at Brute, and ends A. D. 1370. Landaff.

Lincoln. There is a meagre catalogue of the bishops of this diocese in the Cottonian (19) library; which brings down the succession of them from Birinus to John Longland, who was consecrated A. D. 1521. It is much the list of these prelates should be so compleat; when our (20) historians are at a loss for the very place where a good many of them sat. Some letters, from Pope Martin and his cardinals, about the struggle that happened upon the advancement of Rich. Fleming to this see, may be (1) had; but in the main, we are very deficient in all the parts of its history; and shall hardly recover any great matters more than its own registries will supply us with. What those are I know not; more than that the register of Remigius is happily fallen into the hands of, his worthy successor, the present Bishop of Lincoln. This is perhaps one of the most valuable books, in its kind, that we have any where now left us; being written in the undoubted hand of those times as far as that of Domesday, and affording a rich magazine of the ancient charters and other monuments of this church. Lincoln.

Litchfield. In the perusal of the history of this diocese, one great mistake, which has been unanimously swallowed by all our (2) church historians, is to be observed to our reader: and that is, we are told that, upon the subdivision of the kingdom of Mercia into three dioceses, about the year 740. there was a bishop placed at Leicester. We do indeed meet with one (3) Totta, who is said to have been Episcopus Legecestriæ, about that time: but Legercestria is the old name of Leicester, as Legecestria is of Chester. It was therefore, in truth, at West-Chester that the new diocese was erected, and not at Leicester; which is too near to Litchfield, Litchfield

(11) Glossar. in voce Panagia. (12) Hist. Episc. & Dec. Londin. & Assav. (13) Ath. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 464. (14) De Præful. p. 618. (15) Vid. Præfat. ad Angl. Sacr. par. 2. p. 27. (16) Concil. tom. 1. p. 381. (17) Angl. Sacr. vol. 2. p. 667. (18) Titus, D. 22. (19) Julius, C. 6. (20) Vid. Godwine. de Præful. p. 388. (1) Bibl. Cott. Tiberius, B. 6. (2) Godwine. p. 337. & 365. Angl. Sacr. vol. 1. p. 428, &c. (3) Vid. H. Spelm. Concil. Tom. 1. p. 242.

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II.

where their no other argument against it. With these cautions we are to peruse the two valuable MSS. in (1) Sir John Cotton's library; which have, in a great measure, being printed in the *Anglia Sacra*, and are very probably (2) ascribed to Tho. Chesterton and Will. Witlock, two canons of this church. Of the former of these there are several ancient copies; and it is that venerable book which is quoted by many of our late writers under the name of *Chronicon Litchfeldense*. These are the chief registers of the old records of the church of Litchfield, that are now extant: unless perhaps their cartulary or (3) *Black-Book*, and the (4) description of their close, or college, be still to be met with. The little that was to be saved out of the ruins into which this cathedral fell in our late days of confusion, was picked up by one of the great preservers of our English antiquities, Elias Ashmole, Esq; late garter king at arms; and is now, amongst many other of his precious remains, in his (5) *Museum* at Oxford. This excellent person had a design to have honoured the place of his nativity, with the writing a history and description of its ancient and present state; and had collected a good number of choice materials for that purpose.

London.

London. I do not much lament Bishop (6) Godwine's misfortune, that his best diligence could not recover a right catalogue of the British archbishops of this city. Whatever became of Theanus and Theonus, the Alpha and Omega of those sixteen metropolitans, I should be mightily pleased to hear that its history is entire since Mellitus's time; or even that we had every thing mentioned in that list of records, registers, and other books belonging to this cathedral, which was (7) delivered by Dean Cole to his successor Dr. May in the year 1559. What, or where the *Annales Londinenses* are, Mr. Wharton, who (8) quotes them, does not tell us: nor whether they treated only of the affairs of this diocese, or, what I rather suspect, present us with such a short history and chronicle of the kingdom in general, as almost every one of our monasteries afforded. It is enough that he has left behind him an elaborate (9) history of the bishops and deans of this see, of his own compofure; wherein, following the method to which he had confined himself in his two larger volumes, he brings their story down to the year 1540. To this treatise, as well as that of St. Asaph, which is joined with it, is annexed an appendix of authentick instruments; and he has further let us know, that, of the prelates before the reformation, we have the registers of Gravesend, Sudbury, Courtney, Braybrook, Walden, Clifford, Gilbert, Kemp, Groy, Savage, Wharham, Barnes, Fitz-James, Tonstal, Stokesley and Bonner. The sepulchral monuments of St Paul's church were first drawn out and published by Mr. Camden's grateful scholar, (10) Hugh Holland the Poet: but this was only a mean and dull performance in comparison of that more absolute one of Sir Will. Dugdale, in his (11) history of that cathedral from its first foundation; extracted out of leger books and other manuscripts, and beautified with sundry prospects of the church, and the figures of the tombs. The greatest part of the cartularies and records, referred to in this book, where happily communicated to the author by one (12) Mr. Reading; who thereby encouraged his zealous engaging in the work, at a very proper and seasonable juncture. For soon after he had taken the copies of the inscriptions, a great many of the monuments were defaced, and the church itself turned into a common stable by the rebel army; as it was, within ten years after that, into a heap of rubbish by the dreadful fire of London. A second edition of this history, corrected and enlarged by the author's own hand, is now ready for the press.

Norwich.

Norwich. There are not many histories of this diocese. All that Mr. Wharton (13) could pick up was out of a couple of general histories of England, written by Bartholomew de Cotton, and another (anonymous) monk of that church. He quotes indeed a short chronicle of Norwich in the same library, whence he had the former of these: but the late publisher of the catalogue of those manuscripts, is mistaken, if there be any such book in the (14) place referred to.

(1) Cleopatra, D. 9. Vespasianus, E. 16. (2) *Prefat.* ad *Angl. Sacr.* vol. 1. p. 34, 35, 36. (3) H. Spelman, *Gloss. in voce Putura*. (4) *Monast. Angl. Tom.* 3. p. 216. (5) *Vid Catalog. MSS. Oxon. nuper Edit. Num.* 7484, & 7496. (6) *De Praeful.* p. 226. (7) *Monast. Angl. Tom.* 3. pag. 299. (8) *Angl. Sacr.* vol. 1. p. 638. (9) 8vo. Lond. 1695. (10) 8vo. Lond. 1614. (11) Fol. Lond. 1658. (12) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. p. 697. (13) *Angl. Sacr.* vol. 1. p. 397. (14) *Bibl. Cott. Vitellius*, C. 9.

There

There is indeed in (9) another class, a piece which bears the title of *Festa synodalia Norwicensis Diaceleos*; which begins with St. Fælix the Burgundian, their first bishop. The oldest register-book which I have yet heard of in this see, is that of Bishop (10) Bateman, the magnanimous founder of Trinity Hall in Cambridge. A short account of the bishops and deans of this church, by Tho. Searle, A. D. 1659. is among the MSS. of the present worthy bishop of the diocese. PART II.

Oxford is of so late an erection, that it cannot want an absolute and entire history of all its prelates, since its foundation by Henry the Eighth: and we have (11) already observed, that its parochial antiquities, preceding that time, are happily preserved by an ingenious and learned person, who has spared no pains in collecting, out of a vast number of neighbouring records and evidences, whatever was worth the treasuring up, and transmitting to posterity. Anth. Wood collected the sepulchral and fenestral inscriptions of the several parishes in the county of Oxford; which are now amongst those many papers he left to the university.

Peterburgh, was one of the most rich and flourishing monasteries in this kingdom; and was turned into one of the poorest bishopricks by Henry the Eighth. The most of those many excellent histories that concern this place in its pristine state, have been noted by (12) Mr. Tanner; though some few have escaped his great diligence. He has taken no notice of two old registers, given by my Lord Hatton to the (13) Cottonian library; nor of some ancient (14) grants and donations to that monastery. He has also omitted Hugh White, Abbot of Peterburgh: who in Leland's character is, (15) *Rerum Petroburgi gestarum luculentus plane scriptor*. He indeed was the true author of that old MS. history of this church, which is still in being; and out of which a good part of Mr. Gunton's is compiled. His work was enlarged by Robert Swapham, a later writer, whose name it bears; as (16) Dr. Patrick has informed us at large. To these there is little to be added, since the foundation of the episcopal see, of any great value; saving what has been carefully preserved in (17) Sim. Gunton's history, which will be this churches (18) everlasting monument. The worthy person who gives it this character, is best able to make it good: being now Dean of Peterborough, and having made great improvements, not only to Mr. Gunton's history and appendix, but also to Dr. Patrick's supplement. Some inscriptions are said, indeed, to have been defaced before the survey taken by this author: but those, we (19) are told, were also to be had amongst the manuscripts of Francis Thynne, who collected them in the year 1592. It was happy that Sir William Dugdale and Mr. Gunton drew up their collections at so seasonable and lucky a time as the year 1641. For, within two years after that, in April, 1643, this cathedral was most miserably abused by Cromwell's regiment: who, among other shameful outrages, (20) broke into the chapter-house, ransacked the records, broke the seals, tore the writings, and left the floor covered over with torn papers, parchments and seals.

Rocheſter. The most venerable monument of antiquity that belongs to this church, is the *Textus Roffensis*; which may justly challenge a respect more than ordinary. It was written by Bishop Ernulf, who died in the year 1124. And, besides the affairs of this cathedral, which are accounted for by (1) Mr. Wharton, furnishes us with the laws of four Kentish kings, Ethelbert, Hlothere, Eadred and Withred, omitted by Lambard; together with the Saxon form of oaths of fealty and wager of law; the old form of (2) cursing by bell, book and candle; of (3) ordale, &c. I suppose this book was wisely committed to the care of Sir Roger Twisden, during the confusions of our late civil wars: for in his custody I find it often referred to by Sir William Dugdale, in a (4) work which he composed during those troubles. Hadenham and Dene's histories have been picked, and their choicest flowers are preserved in the *Anglia Sacra*; and the (5) *Chronicon Clauſtri Roffensis* is the same with the *Textus*.

(9) Julius, B. 7. (10) Citat. in Hist. de Epif. & Dec. Londin. (11) Vid. Par. 1. p. 54. (12) Notit. Monast. p. 160. 161. (13) Vespasianus, E. 21, 22. (14) Faustina, B. 3. (15) Comment. in Cygn. Cant. voce Petropolis. (16) Fol. Lond. 1686. (17) Kennet's Life of Somn. p. 20. (18) Athen. Oxon. p. 319. (19) In Præfat. ad Hist. S. Gunton. (20) Dr. Patrick's Supplement to History of Peterburgh, p. 337. (1) Angl. Sacr. vol. 1. p. 329. (2) Vid. H. Spelman Gloss. in voce Excommunicatio. (3) Id. ibid. voce Ordale, & apud E. Brown, in Append. ad Fascic. Rerum Expetend. &c. p. 903. (4) Orig. juridic. passim. (5) Sub hoc Titulo citatur sæpius in Monast. Angl.

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Salisbury. Somewhat of the history of the ancient bishops of Sherburn may be had among L. Noel's (6) collections; and the defects of those, down to the year 1357, may be supplied from the chronicle of the church of Sarum. This chronicle begins at the creation; and has some (7) special remarks touching the affairs of our ancient British church, wherein it seems to be singular. The registers also of several of their bishops, as (8) Mortival, Wivil, Medford, Aiscouch and Beauchamp, are still extant.

Winchester. There can be hardly any more said of this ancient and famous see, than what we have from (9) Tho. Rudburn and other authors, lately published out of Sir John Cotton's inexhaustible treasury: unless, for the more modern times, we had that continuation of the bishops which was made by (10) John Truffel, who brought their history as low as the sufferings of Bishop Curl, and his order, in the beginning of our English anarchy.

Worcester. As this church was one of the most flourishing in the whole island, under the government of our Saxon kings; so it had the fortune to preserve its charters and other instruments relating to those times, much better than its neighbours. In the year 1643, Sir William Dugdale drew a catalogue of no less than ninety-two such original donations, none whereof fell lower than the reign of Henry the First. To these there have been fifteen more, now in the archives of that church, and not mentioned in the Monasticon, added by (11) Dr. Hickes; who also believes that among Mr. Lambard's MSS. now in the archives at Canterbury, there are several Saxon grants belonging to the church of Worcester. After these we are to have recourse to the anonymous compilers of the annals of this cathedral, and the continuation of them by their learned publisher; who, by the way, (12) tells us that (13) Hemming's book has much more in it, than either he or Sir W. Dugdale have given themselves the trouble of transcribing. John Rosse, the renowned hermit of Guy's Cliff, is said to have written a treatise, *de Episcopis Wigorniae*; which I should not much have believed upon the single credit of my first (14) author, had I not seen the book itself quoted by our late industrious naturalist, Doctor (15) Plott. Some part of Mr. Abingdon's collection of the antiquities of Worcestershire, mentioned in the former part of this Historical Library, is also reported to bear the title of, (16) *A History of the Bishops of Worcester*: which I cannot but once more heartily wish had been committed to the inspection and care of the late learned Dr. Hopkins, prebendary of that church; who, we (17) know, was thoroughly versed in the antiquities of his own cathedral, as well as in those of the English church in general. I am well assured there are some failures in it, which he was abundantly able to correct. It would do a deal of right to the worthy author's memory, to have the stile, which in most antiquaries, is usually a little too austere, new polished; and to have some defects supplied, out of such libraries and ancient monuments as did not fall in his way.

York. The first historian of the affairs of this metropolitical see, was Albinus Alcuinus or Alcuinus; whose poem, *De Pontificibus & Sanctis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, was first discovered by Mr. Mabillon, and published by (18) Dr. Gale. He begins his story with such an account of the ancient state of that city, and the first appearances of christianity among the northern Saxons, as Bede furnished him with; and concludes with the death of his patron, Archbishop Eanbald the first. The next, if indeed he deserve the name, was Simeon Dunelmensis; whose epistle to Hugh, Dean of York, about the succession of these archbishops, to the year 1136, is in several of our (19) libraries. After these came T. Stubbs, or Stobæus, as some are pleased to write his name, a Dominican friar, and doctor in divinity, about the year 1373, whose *Chronica Pontificum* are published among our *Decem Scriptores*. He is highly magnified by Gesner, Bale and Vossius; and he deserves some part of the applause: but he had

(6) *Bibl. Cott. Otho, D. 7.* (7) *Vid. Usserii Antiq. Eccles. Brit. p. 73.* (8) *Citat. ab H. Wharton, in Hist. Episc. London.* (9) *Angl. Sac. vol. 1. p. 179, &c.* (10) *Ath. Oxon. vol. 1. p. 380.* (11) *Vid. Catal. Libb. Sept. ad finem Gram. Anglo-Sax. p. 169, 170, 171, & 177.* (12) *Prefat. ad Angl. Sac. vol. 1. p. 37.* (13) *Bibl. Cott. Tiberius, A. 13.* (14) *J. Pitts, p. 683.* (15) *Hist. Nat. Stafford, p. 407. Vid. etiam Usserii Antiq. Eccl. Brit. p. 84.* (16) *Ath. Oxon. vol. 1. p. 88.* (17) *Pref. ad Angl. Sac. vol. 1. p. 52.* (18) *Inter 15. Script. p. 703.* (19) *Bibl. Cott. Otho, D. 7. Coll. Ben. Eborac, &c.*

merited much more, if he had copied or stolen less from Richard of Hexham. Archbishop PART II.
 Usher (20) quotes a MS. history of our York primates, written about the year 1460, which I cannot observe to be the same with any of those in the (1) Cottonian library. However, here we have a large (2) register of all the affairs of St. Peter's in York; from the reign of King Henry the First, to that of Edward the First: to which is annexed a catalogue of the prebendaries of that church, and their several corpses. Here is likewise another remarkable (3) register of the acts of the chapter, during the vacancy of both the archbishoprick and deanery; commencing the 6th of January, A. D. 1369. To which is subjoined a third of the dean and chapter, as guardians of the spiritualities, upon the death of Archbishop Rotheram, A. D. 1500. In other hands we have the registers of (4) Greenfield, Melton, Thoresby, Scroop, (5) Bowet, Rotheram, and some other archbishops; as also the (6) Doomsday and White Book of St. Peter's, with many more records, in the possession of the present archbishop, or his chancellor, and the dean and chapter. Out of all, or most of these, very voluminous collections have been lately taken by (7) Dr. Matthew Hutton, descended from an archbishop of this province, of both his names, and Mr. Torr, a great favourer of these studies; by whose beneficial labours, we hope, the history and antiquities of this church will effectually be preserved: but whoever he be, who attempts the whole history of the diocese, ought to know, that he may have store of choice materials amongst Mr. Dodsworth's manuscripts at Oxford. Sir William Dugdale has left some MS. collections of his, which seem to have been prepared for the press, under the title of *A brief Historical Account of the Cathedrals of York, Durham and Carlisle*: as also of the principal collegiate Churches in the Province of York; collected from authentick Records and other Authorities, 1683. There is no such appearance of records in this treatise, as the reader may probably expect. He may hope to see it shortly published, by way of Appendix to a second edition of *St. Paul's Church*; and will then form his own judgment of the author's performance.

C H A P. VI.

Writers of the Lives of some particular Bishops, and other eminent Churchmen.

THERE is no part of history more instructive than that which falls under the care of biographers; if the subject be rightly chosen, and the author a skilful artist. The great concerns of both church and state pass through the hands of a few; who only are acquainted with the true spring and cause of all those changes that inferior people admire and feel, but cannot apprehend. The secret memoirs of these men of business give a quite different prospect of things, than what we see in mercuries and gazettes; and they that have the perusal of them (if otherwise qualified for the undertaking) must also afford an account widely different from that of a monkish chronicle, where nothing of moment (more than a great frost or pestilence) occurs for some years together. They that sit at the helm, and are entrusted with the mysteries of government, have all their private affairs so interwoven with the public, that they are not to be considered asunder: so that he that can justly give the features of one of these, must be likewise able to present us with the exact lineaments of that whole community whereof he was a member.

(20) *Antiq. Eccles.* p. 25. (1) Titus, A. 19. Cleopatra, C. 4. Vitellius, A. 2. (2) Claudius, A. 3.
 (3) *Galb. E.* 9. (4) *Inter cod. MSS. D. Com. Clarendon,* (5) *Apud H. Wharton, Hist. Episc. Lond.*
 (6) *Monast. Ang. Tom. 2. p. 57. & Tom. 3. p. 164.* (7) *Vide Præfat. ad Angl. Sacr. vol. 1. p. 52.*

PART

II.

Whoever attempts a work of this high nature, must come prepared with suitable parts and judgment; such as will enable him to discover many considerable and grand truths from, sometimes, very poor and slender hints. To this purpose it will be necessary that he have a good general notion of the several matters, men and times, that will come under his consideration; as well as that he be perfectly acquainted with the abilities, inclination and interests of that particular person whose picture he chiefly intends to draw. His affections must also be as clear and spotless as his reason. No bias of love or duty, of malice or revenge, must govern or direct his thoughts or pen; nor must he be a zealot, or so much as a party in any of the modish factions of the age he treats on. He must have nothing in common with the man he describes; so as neither to reap any advantage by his fame, nor to suffer any damage by his disrepute. It is true, the remains of deceased heroes (ecclesiastical and civil, as well as military) fall usually into the hands of their dearest friends and kindred; who are too often so unhappily tender of their reputation, that they will not entrust them with strangers of the best experience and integrity. What we have of such a man's story must come from these; who most commonly send it abroad so tinctured with prejudice (the glories of their friend or patron being so fulsomely daubed, and his frailties so slovenly dashed and blotted) that it makes only a very awkward piece, how good-like and personable soever this gentleman himself may have been. Whereas, the best service and the fairest respect that we can pay to the memories of those that have been public blessings to the religion or government of their native country, is the taking care to have their actions recorded by just and disinterested writers; who have sagacity enough to discern what is fit for posterity to know, and honesty enough to transmit and represent it duly.

These are the proper qualifications of those that take upon them the writing the lives of other people: and the reader will be easily directed by them, how to judge of such performances. Thus, when he has learned the relation there is betwixt the historian, and the patriot or confessor, he will be able to make abatements proportionably: he will see how to distinguish truth from the additional (garnishing) devoirs of a subaltern, a nephew or a cousin: he will readily discover the allowances that are to be given to flesh and blood, and in what particulars they have the upper hand of honour and justice. In like manner, where he finds a great man's life undertaken by his professed enemy, he will be sure to read it with a curb upon his faith: he will critically weigh and examine his author's conclusions and inferences; and, if he finds those good and logical, he will yet suspend his belief, till matters of fact are attested by some other indifferent authority. And lastly, Where miracles and revelations are in vogue and carry a price, he will attentively consider, whether the penman will not be a gainer by having his story credited; and whether he is not in hazard of wanting some part of his daily bread, if it miscarries. In such a case, a complaisant respect to the fashions of a country may prevail upon a man to be silent and say nothing; but reason will direct him what to think.

By these rules we are to judge of the lives of those saints which have been taken notice of in some of the foregoing chapters, as well as of those religious persons that are here to follow; I mean, those good bishops and other pious ecclesiastics (of a lower form of sanctity, and second-rate merit) who, though they have not the honour to come in the kalendar, are acknowledged to have done the church very eminent services in their several generations. The lives of these are not very numerous: at least they are but a few that have come to my knowledge. In the ancient British and Saxon churches all that were worth the having their names registered by an ecclesiastical historian, are saints of some degree or other, and are all to be had in the Catholic Almanack: where Joseph of Arimathea, venerable (1) Bede, Bishop (2) Erkenwald, &c. (who are sometimes saints, and sometimes only confessors or reverend old churchmen) have the days of their several obits assigned them. Having therefore nothing more to write of the lives of the holy men of these ages, I shall take my leave of them; with the observation of a

(1) Vid. J. Pitts, p. 142. & H. Spelm. Gloss. p. 245. voce Fossa, &c. (2) Monast. Angl. Tom. 3.

witty (3) author on some following times, which I think may be as applicable to these: "One P A R T
II. may wonder, says he, that the world should see most visions, when it was most blind; and that that age, most barren in learning, should be most fruitful in revelations." After the conquest we have several ecclesiastical champions, that have had a very profound respect paid them by their contemporary writers; and yet could never arrive at a legal canonization. These (as many of them, that is, as have had their lives penned by such particular historiographers as I have heard of) were mostly either archbishops or bishops: to which a third class of inferior clergymen shall be added; to be enlarged by those that have better opportunities than I have had, of making just and full enquiries.

The Archbishops of Canterbury have always presided in the British Church, *tanquam Papæ alterius orbis*; and therefore in their lives, well written, we may justly expect the most considerable part of our ecclesiastical history. During the contests betwixt the crown of England and the court of Rome, it was commonly the mishap of these primates to side with the latter; which brought them sometimes into disgraceful circumstances with their sovereigns; but made their memories precious in the esteem of those bigotted monks, to whose lot it fell to write their eulogies. Hence we have already met with Anselm, Edmund and Thomas, among the saints; and must here mention such of their successors as have had particular pens engaged in their service, though never so much as honoured with (even the deminutive saintship) a beatification. Simon Sudbury, who was beheaded by the rebels in Wat. Tyler's insurrection, is the first that I can ever meet with of this kind: and we have only a fragment of his life, written by one (4) William Cartham. It tells us, that it was prophesied such an untimely death should befall him, because, when Bishop of London, he met some pilgrims on their way to Canterbury, designing to pay their devotion to St. Thomas's shrine, and advised them to let the journey alone; assuring them, *Quod illa indulgentia plenaria, quæ apud Cantuarios fore sperabatur, nullius commodi fuerat vel valoris*. Such doctrine as this in his life-time, and the sealing his loyalty to his prince with his blood at his death, ought indeed to be remembered with honour. That of Henry Chicheley (the pious founder of All-Soul's College in Oxford) is written by Arth. Duck; and was lately published, with some others of the like kind, by (5) Dr. Bates. John Morton's was written and published by (6) Dr. Budden, principal of New-Inn-Hall; who had, in this primate, as noble a subject as any historian could well treat on. He had approved himself a most faithful servant to Henry the Sixth, a true subject to Edward the Fourth, and an admirable counsellor to Henry the Seventh; who gained the English sceptre chiefly by his management, and had therefore good reason to bestow a crozier upon him. Since the reformation, so much of Archbishop Parker's life as related to his consecration, has been enquired into by several worthy patriots of our church, provoked to it by the impudent and senseless fable of the Nag's-Head Tavern. The first that engaged in this controversy, was (7) Fran. Wilson; who, from the register-books of the diocese of Canterbury, discovered the villainies, and stopped the mouths of those Romanists that had first started this slander. The dispute was again renewed a little before the restoration of King Charles the Second; and then our church's cause was as happily asserted by Bishop (8) Bramhall, afterwards Primate of Ireland. In the late reign, the University of Cambridge thought it a proper season to publish an account of that whole procedure, from the original record in the library of Bennet College; which they ordered to be printed with two excellent (9) sermons upon the same subject, preached by Mr. Edwards, a member of that university. Archbishop Whitgift's many sharp conflicts with the non-conformists, together with the other occurrences of his life, are recorded by Sir George Paul, a writer much commended by Bishop (10) Godwine.

(3) Th. Fuller's Holy War, chap. 8. pag. 11. (4) Angl. Sacr. vol. 1. p. 49. (5) 4to. Lond. 1681. (6) 8vo. Lond. 1627. (7) Of the Consecration of Bishops in the Church of England, Fol. Lond. 1613. & Latine, Fol. Ibid. 1625. 1646. (8) Consecration and Succession of Protestant Bishops, 8vo. Lond. 1664. (9) 4to. Cantabr. 1688. (10) De Præsul. p. 223.

PART
II.Archbishops of
York.

The metropolitical church of York has had several prelates, whose high birth and extraction (besides their other personal endowments) has advanced them to considerable posts of honour and trust in the state; and these will always invite the best historians of the age to attempt their characters. Geoffry Plantagenet, natural son to Henry the Second, had great variety of fortune; being promoted by his brother King Richard the First, and driven out of the kingdom by another of his brethren, King John. His story is given us at large by (15) Giraldus Cambrensis, who says, he did not think fit to put its author's name to it, there being (belike) some of his warm truths in it, which the times would not bear. In the (16) catalogue of his own labours he tells us, that it was a book *quod nec in cunabulis aut celsitudine generis, nec in divitiis aut fortunæ blanditiis spes ponenda, exemplum præbens*. Richard Scroop, brother to the Earl of Wiltshire, was put to death for his gratitude and loyalty to his lawful sovereign and kind master, Richard the Second, by Henry the Fourth; against whom he conspired with the Earl of Northumberland and others. His declaration against the said Henry, giving his reasons why he cannot submit to his government, has been lately (17) published; as is likewise Clement Maydestone's History of his martyrdom. Cardinal Wolsey's purple will give him a rank with the greatest of our prelates, how mean soever the circumstance of his birth and parentage may have been; and the figure that he made in the state, as well as the church, during his rule and government, rather than ministry, in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, very justly challenged the pains of a special historian: such was Cavendish, his menial servant, who was also in good esteem with that king. He has left us an impartial account of his master's life; which has had several (18) editions. Dr. Burnet (19) quotes a MS. copy different from what we have in print: and so does the Lord (20) Herbert; but whether this be not the same with the former, I know not. We have another History of his Life and Death, in elegant verse, by Tho. Storer, who was a student of Christ Church, and died, a famous poet, in the year 1604.

Bishops.

They that know how many of our bishops before the reformation (not to mention other inferior dignitaries of the church) bore the grand (1) offices of chancellors, treasurers, judges, &c. will readily believe, that most of those left such memoirs as might easily have been framed into very exquisite histories of their lives. And yet our monks, to whom the trust of writing all our histories was usually committed, were so much strangers to affairs of this nature, that we rarely find any thing among them that looks this way. Their business was to pick up, or invent, as many amazing stories as they could of the exemplary courage of some choice prelates, in asserting the papal usurpations; of their extraordinary sanctity; of their benefactions to some church or monastery; of their miracles, &c. And with such narratives as these, we shall find the lives of most of the following prelates are stuffed and glutted. That of Gundolf, Bishop of Rochester, by a (2) monk of that church (his intimate acquaintance) is the earliest of these; and the rebuilding of the cathedral, the enlargement of the monastery, and the foundation of the hospital at Chatham, were acts of piety that very well deserved such a respect. The like was done for Robert de Betun, Bishop of Hereford, by his chaplain, and successor in the priory of Lanthony, William de Wycumb; who had a very noble subject for the two (3) books he has left us, if we may believe William of Malmesbury. He pretends to have known this Robert very well, and assures us that he was the most familiarly entertained at the court of Rome, of any of our bishops of that age. We have only a fragment of Gyraldus Cambrensis's (4) Life of Hugh Nonant of Norwich; and such as is hardly worth the mentioning. He is somewhat more copious in his History of the (5) Six Chief Bishops of his own Age; to which we may add the three books he wrote, (6) *De rebus a se gestis*, since he was, at least Bishop elect of St. David's. Robert Grossetest of Lincoln was a prelate of great worth, a mighty stickler against the prevailing crime of simony, and the modish appeals to Rome; and we have a full

(15) MS. in Bibl. Cott. Ben. (16) Angl. Sacr. vol. 2. p. 445. (17) Ibid. p. 362, 369. (18) 4to. Lond. 1590, &c. (19) Hist. of Reform. par. 1. p. 8. (20) Hist. of Hen. 8. p. 78. (1) Vid. Chron. Seriem Cancellar. &c. Edit. a D. Guil. Dugdale. (2) Angl. Sacr. vol. 2. p. 273. (3) Ibid. p. 299, &c. (4) Ibid. p. 351. (5) Ibid. p. 420, &c. (6) Ibid. p. 457, & Præfat. p. 22.

history of his life by (7) Richard, a Monk of Barden, or Burton in Hertfordshire, and another anonymous writer. We have also a letter from the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's for his canonization: but it appears from many of his own writings, that his request was not like to be granted; notwithstanding the fair caresses that he had from the pope, who feared him more than he loved him, in his life-time. William of Wickham, the great founder of two famous colleges in Oxford and Winchester, could not avoid the having his benefits carefully registered by some of those that daily tasted of the sweets of them: and indeed there have been several of those who have thus paid their grateful acknowledgements to his memory. The first of them, I think, was Tho. Chaundler, some time Warden of New-College; who wrote the (8) founder's life, by way of dialogue, in a florid and good stile. This is contracted (by the author himself, as is supposed) into a (9) couple of pages; together with which is published a piece of his larger colloquy, wherein he touches upon the life of his patron, Tho. Beckington, Bishop of Bath and Wells. He commends this latter prelate's skill in the civil law; but says nothing of what won the heart of King Henry the Sixth, his writing against the Salic law of France. The next writer of Wickham's life was (10) Dr. Martyn, Chancellor of Winchester under Bishop Gardiner; who had the greatest part of his materials out of Chaundler's book. After him Dr. Johnson, sometime Fellow of New-College, as well as the two former, and afterwards Master of Winchester School, gave a short view of their founder in Latin verse; which being a small thing of itself, has been several times (11) printed with other tracts. Bishop Godwine is (12) censured for having a little unfairly borrowed the account he gives us of this prelate's life, one of the best in his book, from Mr. Joffeline; without taking any notice of his benefactor. Henry Spencer, Bishop of Norwich, a more proper officer for a camp than a cathedral, had his active life written by (13) John Capgrave; who takes occasion to state the case, how far a prelate may engage in military affairs. There's no doubt but there may be some junctures wherein it is not only allowable, but a duty in every man that is able, to bear arms; and this bishop's suppressing the rebellious insurrection in his own diocese was so far from being a crime, that it was highly commendable and becomingly brave. But his achievements in Flanders, and other foreign parts, against the express command of his sovereign, were such extraordinary efforts of lay-gallantry, as are not easily to be defended: nor do I see that honest John ever thought of apologizing for them. William of Wainfleet, Bishop of Winchester, and Lord Chancellor of England, was bred in Wickham's Colleges; and did his founder the honour to write very fairly after his copy. His Magdalene may vie with the other's two St. Maries, being, modestly, one of the richest seminaries of learning in the whole world: and his magnificent charity has been celebrated by the eloquent pen of Dr. Budden, the writer of Archbishop Morton's Life, who was a while reader of philosophy in that college. His book bears the title of (14) *Guilielmi Pateni, cui Waynfleti Agnomen fuit, Wintoniensis Ecclesiae Praefulis, & Coll. Beatae Mariae Magd. apud Oxon. Fundatoris, Vita Obitusq;* a treatise much applauded by Godwine, who, nevertheless, seems not to have perused it: for he calls the author William Budden, though his name was certainly John. Richard Hall, doctor in divinity, who died at (15) St. Omer's, in the year 1604, wrote the Life of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; who could hardly be called a cardinal, since his head was off before the red hat passed through Calais. This treatise was gravely quoted and referred to by Tho. Fuller, before, as I suppose, he had seen it: since he seems to apologize for his oversight by telling us, that it was a (16) "book which, when in manuscript, he prized more for its rarity, than since it is printed, he trusts, for its verity." A more modern (17) author mentions the life of the same bishop written by George Lilly; which, I guess, is no more than one of the short characters in his *Elogia virorum Illustrum*. John Jewel's, of Salisbury, was composed by one that was a great admirer of his performances against Harding and other papists. Lawrence

(7) *Angl. Sac.* vol. 2. p. 325. (8) MS. in Coll. Novo, Oxon. (9) *Angl. Sac.* vol. 2. p. 355. (10) 4to Lond. 1597, & Oxon. 1690. (11) *Vid. Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. p. 251. (12) *Præf. ad Angl. Sac.* vol. 1. p. 19. (13) *Angl. Sac.* vol. 2. p. 359. (14) 4to. Oxon. 1682. & Lond. 1681. *inter Collect. D. Bates.* (15) J. Pitts, p. 803. (16) *Hist. of Camb.* p. 94, 99. (17) H. Wharton. *Angl. Sac.* vol. 1. p. 382.

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Humphry; out of whose (18) copious tracts in Latin, another small English account of his life was afterwards drawn by a (19) person of quality, as the author was pleased to stile himself. These are all the writers, that I know of, which have attempted the history of any of our particular prelates, before the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign; which is as low as my enquiries are to come. I do not question but that, upon a diligent search into our English libraries, a good number may be added to them; though I cannot hope they will ever prove either so many, or so exact, as those that have been written of the bishops since the uniting of the kingdoms.

Inferior
clergy.

There are few inferior clergymen that have had the honour done them to be remembered in any special discourses on their several lives; though many of them had the chief places of trust and honour in the state conferred upon them. Within the compass of six or seven reigns, after the restitution of the Saxon line, we have one abbot, two deans, six archdeacons, and a dignitary of St. Paul's, chancellors and keepers of the great seal; not to mention others in somewhat lower stations. I know not whether these men, having engaged themselves in the management of secular affairs, were thought to desert their clerical functions, or for what other reason they seem to have been out of the road of the monkish historians: or, at least, they never looked upon them as persons that equally deserved their respect, with such as had entirely devoted themselves to the church's service. Not one of them, as I have hitherto learned, have had their particular histories; nor should we have known that some of them had ever lived, but from the publick records of the state. In short, I have only a couple of lives to begin the account with in this class (for that of Henry Archdeacon of Huntingdon, by (20) Capgrave, is not worth the reader's notice, or mine;) and they both fall within the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and the single diocese of Durham. The former of these is that of Dean Whittingham, one of the sorry translators of David's Psalms; whose life the Oxford (1) antiquary tells us he had in manuscript. The other is that of our northern apostle, Bernard Gilpin, Rector of Houghton; who had his (2) life written, in elegant Latin, by his grateful scholar, Dr. George Carleton, Bishop of Chichester. There is one passage in this history which has been ill applied by some of its readers. The refusal of the bishoprick of Carlisle has been interpreted as an instance and argument of the good man's mean opinion of the order of episcopacy: whereas, not to mention the extraordinary humility wherewith he is noted to have been endowed, they that know the value of that bishoprick, and the rectory of Houghton, will easily apprehend there might be other motives to incline one to modesty upon such an offer.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Histories, Chronicles, Cartularies, &c. of our ENGLISH Monasteries.

THE great usefulness of the leger books and other monastic records, is so apparent to any man that has had the least acquaintance with them, that I need not much insist on so known a subject. The most eminent of our historians are visibly indebted to them for the chief (3) materials; and it is from hence that they are enabled to clear their descents and

(18) 4to. Lond. 1573. (19) 8vo. Lond. 1685. (20) Bibl. Cott. Tiberius, A. 8. (1) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. 2. p. 34. (2) 4to. Lond. 1628. inter Collect. D. Bates. (3) See the Pref. to Tanner's Notitia, p. 22, 23.

pedigrees of many noble families; the tenures of estates; the ancient customs of counties, cities and great towns; the foundation and endowments of churches, &c. For how sparing or defective soever the old monks might be in recording the public affairs of the state, we are sure they were extremely diligent in noting down those of their own monasteries: whence it is, that the histories of those cathedrals which were anciently in their possession, are the most entire of any in the kingdom. This sufficiently appears from the late collections of the publisher of *Anglia Sacra*, who soon furnished out one (4) volume of this sort of writers, but was forced to patch up the second out of a more incoherent medley of Shreds. He would certainly have driven very heavily in the succeeding ones that he had promised: since, it is plain, his best fund was already exhausted. Nor are these registers only more particular and full in matters relating to their own history, than that of the public; but they are also much more authentic and credible in these. They have always been allowed as good evidence in our courts of judicature; and do often effectually determine such causes as have been thought to labour under inextricable difficulties. Their authority, indeed, is not so venerable in those passages that concern the grandeur, privileges and immunities of their respective houses; where the private zeal or interest of the penman may be suspected to have transported him a little beyond the exact limits of truth. The monks are rarely so straight laced, as to boggle at an officious lie; and therefore, where the subject will admit of such a pious piece of knavery, they are to be read with caution and judgment. In reporting the several grants of their founders and benefactors, with the number and boundaries of the acres they gave, we may readily and safely trust them; because an interpolation in such a case would be hazardous, and what might probably destroy an old title instead of creating a new one. But when a story comes to be told that may advance the repute of the whole fraternity, or discover the extraordinary sanctity of a single brother, we are to look for its being set off to the best advantage; and the historian uses us kindly if he romances only a little. "I am apt to believe, says father (5) Simon, that these letters of Christ and King Agbar, were really found in the archives of the city of Edeffa: but we ought not too easily to give credit to the first originals of churches. Every one strives to advance their antiquity as much as is possible; and they make no scruple, on such occasions, to counterfeit acts, when they have none that are true."

Mr. Wheloc (6) quotes an old Saxon schedule of the endowments of our ancient monasteries Saxon, before the conquest, which he says, is in the same volume with King Ælfred's paraphrastic version of Bede's history in the Cottonian library; and yet the learned publisher of the catalogue of those manuscripts, takes no notice of any such tract, in the place (7) where, if at all, it ought to have been mentioned. We are also told of an historical account of the Benedictines in England, from King Edgar's time to the conquest; which is as high as that order could be traced in this kingdom. For, whatever may be argued to the contrary, it is very plain, that our first Saxon monks knew nothing of St. Bennet's rule; but lived under the discipline brought from Ireland, which was very much different from what was afterwards introduced by St. Dunstan. If Augustine himself was of this order, and planted it at Canterbury, which is much questioned by very learned men, it is demonstrable the rules were soon forgotten or laid aside, even in the southern parts of the island; and in the north, Columbanus and the men of Hy were the founders of all our monastic schemes.

After the Norman invasion, we had several members of particular monasteries that applied themselves to write the histories of their own houses; but few that had any such concern for the honour of their orders in general. The first I can hear of, was Henry (8) Crump, a Cestertian monk, about the year 1380, and Dr. of Divinity in the University of Oxford; who wrote an account of the foundation of all the monasteries of England, from the time of St. Birin, the first Bishop of Dorchester, down to that of Bishop Grosset: but it is to be feared this is now

(4) Vol. 1. *De Archiepiscopis Ecclesiarum quas Monachi possederunt.* (5) *Critic. Hist. of N. Test.* par. 1. p. 20.
(6) *In Notis ad Bedæ Hist. Eccles.* p. 260. (7) *Bibl. Cott. Otho, B. 11.* (8) *Vide Hist. Antiq. Oxon. lib. 1. ad ann.*
1382, & 1392. & lib. 2. p. 61.

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lost; since it could not be found by (10) one whom hardly any thing of that kind could escape. After him John Boston, a Monk of St. Edmondsbury, who will be remembered hereafter on another occasion, collected the histories of the foundation of his own and some other religious orders; which, I suppose, was done in those three books which bore the title of, (11) *Speculum Cœnobitarum*. The next writer on this subject, was William Buttoner, who is also named Buttonius, (12) and William of Worcester, who is said to have written, *De Civitatibus, Monasteriis, Abbatiis; deq; Longitudine & Latitudine eorum*: which treatise we are assured is in the library of Bennet College. I am very confident that the Topographical Description of England, which has been already mentioned in the first part, is the whole of this gentleman's labours; and that this treatise has been sub-divided into a deal of lesser tracts, such as his Itinerary of Bristol, History of Osney, &c. by the same powers that sliced the man himself into three several authors. Sir Henry Savile did certainly make a draught of a future history of the English monasteries; but is supposed to have laid aside those thoughts, upon John Speed's intermixing something of that nature in his General History. The annual revenues of the abbies, &c. in Speed, were had from Sir Robert Cotton; whose (13) copy has a double valuation of computed and clear profits; whereof the former is only given by Speed, and the latter by Dugdale. The reason why the former of these writers is so frequently mistaken, in assigning the right counties to the several monasteries, was because he followed the list brought in by Cromwell's commissioners; who were chiefly solicitous in learning the value and income, without being too nice in the topographical part of their account. This is what we have from a very (14) learned pen. To which let me add what another (15) worthy person, who has been very happy in his searches into these matters, has further told us. That catalogue, he observes, was drawn up by William Burton, out of Leland's papers, and the original book of valuations; which book differs, indeed, from that ancient copy which Sir William Dugdale transcribed from the Cottonian library. Nor are these to be reconciled by deducting of reprises; as appears from the history of those in Dugdale's Warwickshire, where all those common burthens, of pensions, corrodies, alms, &c. are summed up; so that he inclines to the opinion, that there were several rates taken of our monasteries, upon various surveys and at different times; especially since he meets with some valuations in Leland's notes, that will not agree with either of these. Richard Broughton, who has been once remembered before, wrote a small book of indigested tales; which he entitled, *Monasticon* (16) *Britannicum*; or, A Historical Narration of the first Founding, and flourishing State of the Ancient Monasteries, Religious Rules and Orders of Great Britain, in the Times of the Britains and Primitive Church of the Saxons, &c. This was printed a dozen years after the death of the author, by some of his friends: so that it is probable, we have it much more imperfect than he intended; and in such an unfinished condition, as the mistaken kindness of executors, too frequently sends things abroad.

Monasti-
con An-
glican.

The same year was published the first volume of the famous *Monasticon Anglicanum*; to which a (1) second and third were afterwards added. The two former of these were, as the title pages will inform us, owing to the joint labours of Sir William Dugdale and Mr. Dodsworth; who had also the assistance of a great many other eminent antiquaries and well-wishers to our English history. These were indeed chiefly the work of R. Dodsworth, whose father was register at York; and Dugdale had only so much share in it, *Ut authoris alterius titulum optime meritis sit*, as Sir John Marsham (2) expresses it; that is, as the Oxford antiquary (3) explains it to us, he took care in the methodizing and publishing of them; in correcting the sheets at the press, and in composing very useful indexes. Accordingly, though Dodsworth was dead before the printing of the first volume, yet he has the glory given him, in the title, of the principal author of both tomes. The former of these gives us the records of the Bene-

(10) See Mr. Tanner's Pref. to his Notitia, p. 8, 9. (11) J. Pitts, p. 393. (12) Id. pag. 649, 851, 861. (13) Bibl. Cott. Cleopatra, E. 4. (14) Hist. & Synopf. Bibl. Cott. p. 39, 40. (15) T. Tanner, in Præfat. ad Notit. Monast. pag. 5, 6, 20, 21. (16) 8v. Lond. 1655. (1) Fol. Lond. 1661, 1673. (2) In *προνολ.* ad vol. 1. (3) Ath. Oxon. vol. 2.

dictine monasteries, and their off-spring, the Cluniasenses, Cisterians and Carthusians. And the latter affords those of the canons regular of St. Augustine, Hospitalers, Templars, Gilbertines, Præmonstratenses, and the Maturines or Trinitarians. We have in them the remains of all those orders, digested into a good method; without any thing intermixed, either by the collector or publisher. The Latin pieces are printed off exactly as they found them; and those in Saxon, as also Leland's English notes, were translated by Will. Somner. The collector ought to be reckoned amongst those worthy benefactors to the publick, that have made it their business to preserve our ancient historians; such as Twisden, Fell, Gale, &c. Great and many are the advantages which all the several branches of our history, not only in ecclesiastical, but civil and martial occurrences, will derive from this work: and hardly a private family, of any consideration in the kingdom, but will here meet with something of its genealogy and pedigree. He is most scrupulously exact in transcribing the antient records: so that, the bald Latin, barbarous expressions, and other deformities of the monkish stile, are to be reckoned beauties in him. By the catalogue of the monasteries, in the end of the first volume, it appears how far the industry of this writer has exceeded that of the people employed by Henry VIII. to bring in a list of all the religious houses in this nation; many being added, as more might have been, in almost every county, to the schedule by them transmitted into the Exchequer. And yet the old register-books, that are cited in the *Monasticon*, have a deal more in them than there is made use of. Sir William Dugdale, on second thoughts, transcribed many things into the *Addimenta* of the latter tome; which both he and Mr. Dodsworth had overlooked, or did not at first think material enough. The third volume was published under the sole name of Sir William: though Mr. Wood does not question, he (4) says, but in this also he was very much indebted to Dodsworth's collections. He seems the rather to suspect such a thing, because many records were communicated by himself, which are not duly acknowledged as they ought to have been; and he verily believes the like good assistance was given him by Sir Tho. Herbert, though his benediction is also disregarded. These three tomes were lately (5) epitomized or abridged by some modest gentleman or other, that did not think fit to put his name to his work: which might have been of good use, if a little more care had been taken of the numerals, which direct to the pages in the *Monasticon* itself, and being frequently mistaken, do not only render the book useless, but very dangerous. Besides, we are so far from wanting any abridgment of these tomes, that we rather complain of their too great conciseness; and could wish there were some more added, out of such leger-books and records, as never came to the knowledge of either of the worthy authors of these three.

Towards the furtherance of such an acceptable service as this, we have had an excellent manual, given us by Mr. Tanner; whose *Notitia Monastica* does not only afford us a short history of the foundation and chief revolutions of all our religious houses, but presents us also with a catalogue of such writers, noting the places where we may find them, as will abundantly furnish us with such further particulars as we shall have occasion for. The fore-mentioned compilers of the *Monasticon Anglicanum* took care to make the like references; and to let the world know from whose hands they had the perusal of the records of this or the other monastery. But, as many new discoveries have been made since their time, so several of the books they met with have changed their owners; and therefore their defects are not only here supplied, but the present proprietors of what they mention, much better ascertained. Some volumes indeed, and several single charters, and other instruments, are still appropriated to their old masters; where it is not known how, or to whom they have been lately transferred. And this may possibly prove an obliging piece of service to the executors, administrators or legatees, of the persons so mentioned; who will be hereby directed and encouraged to make enquiry after their unknown chattels, and to claim them wherever they shall find them. This industrious author has superseded some pains I had long since taken to the like purpose; and whereof I should have given the reader an account in this chapter. The informations he

(4) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 2. p. 700. (5) *Fol. Lond.* 1693. See Mr. Tanner's Pref. p. 7, 8. (6) *8vo. Oxon.* 1695. has

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ABINGDON. Julius, A. 9. Claudius, C. 9.
 St. ALBANS. Otho, D. 3. Nero, D. 1. 7. Julius, D. 3. Claudius, D. 1.
 BARDNEY. Vespasian, E. 20.
 BINHAM. Claudius, D. 13.
 CANTERBURY, Christ's. Galba, E. 4.
 ——— St. Augustine's. Tiberius, A. 9. Otho, B. 15.
 DAVENTRY. Claudius, D. 12.
 DELACRES. Nero, C. 3.
 DERBY. Titus, C. 9.
 DUNSTABLE. Tiberius, A. 10.
 St. EDMUNDSBURY. Tiberius, B. 9. Claudius, A. 12.
 ELY. Tiberius, A. 6. Vespasianus, A. 6.
 GLASTONBURY. Vespas. D. 22.
 HULM. Nero, D. 2.
 HUNTINGDON. Faustina, C. 1.
 KIRKSTEDE. Tiberius, C. 8. Vespas. E. 18.
 LEICESTER. Vitellius, F. 17.
 LENTON. Otho, B. 14.
 MALMESBURY. Faustina, B. 8.
 PARCO-STANLEY. Julius, C. 11. Vespas. E. 26.
 PIPEWELL. Caligula, A. 13, 14.
 RAMSEY. Vespasian, E. 2.
 READING. Vespasian, E. 5. 25. Domit. A. 3.
 ROCHESTER. Domitian, A. 9. Vespasian, A. 22. Faustina, C. 5.
 SELBY. Vitellius, E. 16.
 SMITHFIELD. Vespasianus, B. 9.
 SOUTHWARK. Faustina, A. 8.
 STONE. Vespasianus, E. 24.
 WALSINGHAM. Nero, E. 7.
 WESTWOOD in Com. WIGORN. Vespasian, E. 9.

These are the most eminent of those writers that instruct us in the general history of our monasteries; though, as a very (1) learned person has observed, we still want a more copious Notitia than any of them have hitherto seemed to have thought on: such a one as should give us a just account of the foundation of those houses: the men of learning that flourished in them: their rules, interests, contests, &c.

Bene-
dictines:

There are others that have taken great pains in writing histories of some particular orders of monks, to which themselves have had some special relation; and these, moving in a circle, had leisure to make more nice enquiries, and more ample discoveries. Amongst them the Benedictines may justly claim the precedence; as being so much the darlings of St. Dunstan, and St. Oswald, that perhaps it is true, what one (2) of them asserts, that, from King Edgar's reign to the conquest, there was not a monastery in England, but what was modelled according to this rule. Will. Gillingham (3) of Canterbury, about the year 1390, is said to have written *De Illustribus Ordinibus sui Scriptoribus*; and, if we could meet with this treatise, we should

(1) D. Smith, in *Hist. & Synop. Bibl. Cott.* p. 38. (2) Reynier *Apostolat. Bened.* p. 11. (3) J. Pitts, p. 552.

not much lament the loss of his other *De Rebus Cantuariensibus*. Edward Mathew, sometime scholar to John Pitts, published a little book under the (18) title of *Congregationis Anglicanæ Ordinis Sti. Benedicti Trophæa*; wherein he takes frequent occasion to quote his master's manuscript treatise of the apostolical men of England, now kept as a precious rarity in the archives of the church of Laverdune. He is commended for his modesty in the account he gives of their writers, honestly quitting his inclinations to serve a (19) party, where he observes truth to be on the other side. The obits and characters of the English Benedictines, of greatest note since the reformation, were penned by Tho. White, alias Woodhop, a monk of Doway; where he died of the plague in 1654. A manuscript copy of this was in (20) Mr. Wood's possession; and, I suppose, is now, among those books that he bequeathed to the university, in the Museum at Oxford.

But the chief of our historians of this order, was Clement Reyner; whose elaborate book is entitled, (1) *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia, five decerptatio Historica de Antiquitate Ordinis Congregationisq; Monachorum Nigrorum in Anglia*. His business is to prove that the order was brought hither by Augustine, Archbishop of Canterbury; and he is thought by some of our (2) best antiquaries to have affectually proved his point, and to have fairly answered all the objections against it. He is said to have had great helps from the collections made by John Jones, or Leander de Sancto Martino, as he named himself, Prior of St. Gregory's, and publick professor of divinity at Doway; who sojourning sometime in England with his heretofore chamber-fellow, Archbishop Laud, had frequent access to the (3) Cotton Library: where he transcribed whatever he could find that related to the history and antiquities of his own order. Others say, that the most of the collections out of this library, which were used by our author Reyner, were made by (4) Augustine Baker, another monk of Doway, who left several volumes in Folio, of select matters, very serviceable towards the illustrating of this and other parts of our English history. However it was, Sir Thomas Bodley's library was thought the most proper magazine to furnish our artillery against the man that had already seized on that of Sir Robert Cotton; and to this purpose father (5) John Barnes, a brother Benedictine, but of different sentiments with Reyner, betakes himself to Oxford, and there composes a sharp refutation of the *Apostolatus*. This was very ill resented by those of the fraternity, and other members of the Roman church: and they had some reason to be angry at one of their own body's using the book more scurvily than any of the protestant writers had done. There are several learned foreigners, in France and Flanders, that have lately made very voluminous collections of the *Acta Benedictinorum* in general; wherein are some tracts written by Englishmen, and such as wholly treat on our own historical matters. These have been occasionally mentioned in other parts of this work: and my design will not allow me to consider them any further.

The Cistercians may be reckoned one of our own orders: for, though they came not into this kingdom until almost a hundred years after their first formation, they were founded by Robert Harding, an Englishman. Hugh Kirkstede, or rather Kirkstall, was a monk of this order, about the year 1220. and collected the memoirs of all the English that had been of it; which he dedicated to John Abbot of Fountains. This is attested by (6) Leland; who acquaints us further, that, in the library at Rippon, he saw his book, entitled, *Historia rerum a Monachis Cisterciensibus gestarum*. (7) Bale tells us that he was greatly assisted in this work by Serlo, Abbot of Fountains, about the year 1160. And, because there appears to be a good distance betwixt the reputed times of these two writers, he assures us that Hugh lived very near a hundred years. I am apt to believe, that Serlo was the sole (8) author of another treatise, ascribed to this monk, *De Origine Fontani Cœnobii*; and that this is the true bottom of Bale's fine contrivance.

(18) 8vo. Rem. 1619. (19) Vid. Ufferii Hist. Eccles. Brit. p. 216. (20) Ath. Oxon. vol. 1. p. 415. (1) Fcl. Duac. 1626. (2) W. Somner, Antiq. Canterb. p. 153. (3) Hist. & Synopf. Bibl. Cott. p. 38. (4) Ath. Oxon. vol. 1. p. 515. & vol. 2. p. 388. (5) Ibid. vol. 1. p. 473. (6) V. J. Pitts, p. 297. (7) Cent. 3. cap. 81. (8) Vid. Monast. Angl. Tom. 1. p. 854. b.

PART
II.Canons of
St. Au-
gustine.Mendi-
cants.Carme-
lites.

The canons regular of St. Augustine pretend to be founded by that famous father, and bishop of Hippo, whose name they bear: but they are of no great antiquity here, all our historians agreeing in this, though they disagree about the precise time, that they came into England since the conquest. The first of their historiographers was Geoffrey Hardib, Canon of Leiceſter, and Privy-Counsellor to King Edward the Third, in the year 1360. who was an eminent preacher, a great divine, and, amongst many other things, wrote (9) *De rebus gestis Ordinis sui*. The next, and the last that I know of, was John Capgrave, who was sometime provincial of the order; and he allotted one of his many volumes, the subject (10) *De illustribus Viris Ordinis S. Augustini*.

The Dominicans, Franciscans, and other mendicant friars, having had no lands, had no occasion for leger-books. But I know not why we should not have better remains of their history, penned by themselves; since it was no part of their vow, that they should so far renounce the world, as not to have their good works had in remembrance. The story of the settlement of the order of St. Francis in England, being confirmed by Henry the Third in the year 1224. is written by Tho. Eccleston; whose book *De adventu Minorum in Angliam*, is in (11) several of our libraries. Mr. Pitts (12) says he wrote also another book, *De Ordinis impugnatione per Dominicanos*: which, I am afraid, is only a part of the former; for they had battle given soon after their first landing. Their history afterwards is pretty well accounted for, by (13) Fran. a Sancta Clara; and we have a formal (14) register of that colony of them that was seated in London, with some fragments of those of other places. The records of the university of Oxford, with those in the neighbourhood, have afforded us a diverting view of their frequent bickerings with the Dominicans in our publick schools; which, for an age or two, make up a good share of the annals of that place.

The Carmelites have likewise had some few of their fraternity who have taken the pains to enquire into the history of that order: of whom William of Coventry, about the year 1360. wrote (15) *de Adventu Carmelitarum in Angliam*. Bale quotes some of his words; and writes as if he had seen his book. About a hundred years after this, Will. Green, a Cambridge man, collected out of the most of the libraries in England the noted exploits of the great men of this order; which he afterwards published under the title of (16) *Hagiologium Carmelitarum*. And lastly, Robert Bale, a Carmelite friar at Norwich, and afterwards Prior of Burnham, where he died, A. D. 1503. wrote (17) *Annales Breves Ordinis sui*. It is much that this gentleman's namesake, the famous Mr. John Bale, never penned any thing of this kind: for he was also a Carmelite of Norwich, and assures us, in the account he gives of his own dear self, in the tail of his writers, that the libraries of that order were the chief treasury out of which he had his riches. Perhaps he (18) did write some such thing: but did not afterwards think fit to own the respects he had once had for those Antichristian Locusts, as he there most gratefully calls them.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Histories of our Universities and Writers.

WHAT Sir John Marſham (19) says of the old monks of this isle, may be well applied to the zealous antiquaries of our two universities, *Illos in illustrandis suorum natalibus antiquitati plus quam veritati incubuisse*. In the days of Henry the Eighth, during the storm

(9) J. Pitts, p. 492. (10) Ib. p. 672. (11) MS. in Bibl. Dec. & Capit. Ebor. & alibi. (12) Pag. 442. (13) *Inter Opera ejus*, Tom. 1. Duac. 1665. (14) *Vid. Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. 1. p. 68, 71, &c.* (15) J. Pitts, p. 493. *Vossius de Hist. Lat. lib. 3. cap. 1.* (16) *Id. p. 662.* (17) *Id. p. 686.* (18) Mr. Tanner says he has seen his collections for such a purpose. (19) *περὶ πονηρῶν. Monast. Angl. in fine.*

against abbies and colleges, the controversy was seemly enough. For, whilst nothing but ruin was within their view, such a concern was as natural as it is for decaying families to value themselves on their pedigrees: but, in their flourishing condition under Queen Elizabeth, it might have been hoped, that the members of both would have found themselves better employment. This the contending parties in that reign seem to have been somewhat sensible of; and therefore the most violent and fierce of them declined the owning of their several brats, the affixing their names to pleadings and apologies. The truth is, the greatest part of what was offered on either side was so airy and vapid, that it was fit only for young sophisters, or men that had left the school for thirty (20) years, to argue at such a rate: whereas the grave and residing doctors were justly ashamed of such practices, and for some time, modestly played their puppets from behind the curtain. What was done for either of these noble seminaries by King Sigebert or King Ælfred, may possibly endure the canvassing; but when the contesting antiquaries begin to be so hardy as to launch further into the vast and dark ocean of the times of Iren or Rydychen and Caer-grant, I think the wisest course is to divide the laurel, and to call in King (1) Bladud to be founder of our first university at Stanford. Thus the pitching of our tents in the third place ends the controversy; and we may quietly, and at leisure, draw off our colonies to Oxford or Cambridge, as we have occasion.

Some writers we have that have behaved themselves with tolerable indifferency in treating of these matters, and have honestly enquired into the true history of the gradual advancement of learning in this kingdom; recounting whatever remained of the ancient state and condition of it in either of our universities: but the most of those that pretend to write of both without prejudice, are too manifestly biassed in their affections, and seldom fail of giving the precedence to the place of their own respective education. John Ross, the Warwick antiquary, has been already observed to mix a deal of this kind of history in that which he wrote of the kings of England: and it is certain he also designed a particular treatise of the antiquities of our universities. This very treatise, though he acknowledges it was an imperfect copy that came to his hands, is frequently quoted by John Leland; and yet Mr. Wood (2) believes it is now lost, as confidently as his predecessor, Brian Twine, thought it never had a being. I presume his other tract, *Contra Historiolam Cantabrigiensensem*, was only a fragment of this fragment; and therefore, if the one be irrecoverably gone, there is little encouragement to look after the other. Amongst master Leland's own Works we have also one that bears the title, (3) *De Academiis Britannicis*; which was once in such forwardness, as that himself spoke of it as of a piece that would suddenly appear abroad: (4) *Quin Grantæ gloriam accuratius in Opusculo, quod de Academiis Britannicis sum propediem editurus, collaudabo*. I cannot see how this expression could give any foundation to (5) one of our Queen Elizabeth's antiquaries to assert, that if this book were published in that entire condition in which its author left it, it would infallibly stop the mouths of those that contend for the antiquity of Cambridge: but I think it was a sufficient reply to such a supposition, that, (6) "If the sky should fall we should as infallibly catch larks." John Pitts prefaced his account of our writers with a small history of our universities; which he desired might be taken notice of in the title of that work, inscribed by himself, (7) *De Academiis & illustribus Scriptoribus Angliæ*. There is nothing in him, on the former head, but what he has epitomized out of some of those that wrote on the same subject a little before his time, from whom he borrows all the new light he pretends to give, *De Academiis tam Antiquis Britonum, quam recentioribus Anglorum*. About the same time, as I guess, lived Robert Hare, (8) who was an esquire of good worship and wealth, and a great lover and preserver of antiquities. He carefully collected the precious monuments of both universities; caused them fairly to be transcribed, and freely bestowed a duplicate, or double copy, on each of them. This industrious gentleman was sometime a member of Gonvil and Caius college in Cambridge; and therefore,

(20) Vid. J. Caii, de Antiq. Cantab. lib. 1. in princip. (1) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. 1. p. 3. (2) Id. ibid. lib. 2. pag. 77. (3) J. Pitts, pag. 743, 744. (4) Comment. in Cyg. Cant. voce Granta. Vid. & ibid. voc. Ifidis vadum. (5) T. Key, Assert. Antiq. Oxon. p. m. 5. (6) Joh. Caii, De Antiq. Cantab. lib. 1. (7) Pitts, p. 817 (8) Fuller's Hist. of Cambr. p. 15.

though

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though he pretends to give a fair history of the privileges of Oxford, yet he (9) inclines too much, upon occasion, the other way. In Howe's edition of (10) Stow's Chronicle we have an Appendix or Corollary of the Foundations and Descriptions of the three most famous Universities of England, viz. Cambridge, Oxford and London. The story of the two first of these, as we are told, was compiled by John Stow, and continued by his publisher: and it is not much that we owe to the pains of either of them, since the whole is only a lean tract of half a dozen pages. There is in the (11) archives of Bodley's library, a poetical piece, entitled *Britannia Scholastica*; which was written by one Robert Burhil, about the beginning of King James the First's reign, and treats of the prime antiquities of our two universities.

Oxford.

The zealous stickling for seniority in the last age, did this service to both our famous nurseries of good learning, that many of their most ancient records where hereupon enquired out and carefully preserved; which may be as beneficial to our English history, as some officious forgeries, on the same occasion, are injurious to it. We have no less than (12) one and twenty several volumes relating to the antiquities of the university of Oxford; as charters, orders, statutes, decrees, letters, &c. the last whereof bears this title: *About the Burgeses for the University*; and what may be answered in case their Right of sitting in Parliament should be impugned. These are all in manuscript; and are the (13) fountain whence some of our best printed accounts have been derived. Amongst the latter kind, the *Historiola Oxoniensis* is looked upon as the most authentic; and, as such, has had (14) several impressions. It is only a short fragment of a single page in Octavo; wherein we are told, that the Britains began an university at Grekelade, which the Saxons removed to Oxford. This is the sum of that little narrative; which, though it is found in some of their manuscript statute-books, as old as the reigns of Edward the Third and Henry the Fourth, yet, is not much insisted on by Mr. Wood, who was sensible, that it was penned too carelessly to be of any great use in the grand controversy. John Ross seems, soon after this, to have written particularly of the antiquities of Oxford; besides the treatise he left upon the two universities in common: for such a book of his Leland refers to, though he gives the author of it the tart character of (15) *Vir majoris longe diligentiae quam judicii*. It is perhaps the same which we elsewhere meet with under the title of (16) *Contra Historiolam Cantabrigiensem*. About the same time, or it may be a little sooner, William Wircester, Worcester or Butoner, wrote his *Polyandrum Oxoniensium*, &c. wherein he gave a list of all the eminent persons that had been educated in this university; which might possibly be had amongst (17) Brian Twine's collections: the first champion that appeared in the cause against Cambridge, was Tho. Key, master of University College; who having for some time been employed in the registry's office, was the best acquainted with the publick instruments and records. His (18) *Affertio Antiquitatis Oxoniensis Academiae* was written in defence of this university, in opposition to what had been advanced, two years before, by the publick orator of Cambridge; who, in an harangue to Queen Elizabeth, had affirmed his own mother to be the eldest sister of the two. That princess coming afterward to Oxford, the foresaid treatise was hastily drawn up, and presented to her in manuscript: and a copy of it falling afterwards into the hands of Dr. Caius, it was published with its answer; which will be further mentioned anon. This usage provoked the author to take more leisure in composing a reply, which he communicated to several of his friends, under the title of, *Examen Judicii Cantabrigiensis cujusdam, qui se Londinensem dicit, nuper de Origine utriusque Academiae lati*. Mr. Wood (19) says, he once met with a transcript of this book, and found some things in it worth his observation: but he could not direct his reader where it was afterwards to be had; and speaks so coldly of it, that the obscure owner, in whose hands he saw it, does not appear to be worth the enquiring after. He rather offers to our perusal the *Mystical Oxon.* of Oxonford, &c. by Henry Lyte;

(9) Vid. Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. 2. p. 386, 390. & Lib. 1. p. 83. (10) Fol. Lond. 1632. (11) Hist. Oxon. lib. 1. p. 42. (12) Bibl. Cott. Faustina, C. 7. (13) Vid. Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. 1. p. 203. & alibi. (14) In princip. Affert. Antiq. Oxon. Thomas Key, Hist. Oxon. lib. 1. p. 4, &c. (15) Comment. in Cygn Cant. voc. Ildis vadum. (16) J. Pitts, p. 683. (17) See his Apolog. lib. 2. Sect. 144. (18) 8vo. Lond. 1568. & 4to. Ibid. 1574. (19) Ath. Oxon. vol. 1. p. 137.

which,

which, he (20) says, is amongst Twines manuscripts at Oxford, and has several crotchets in it, PART
II. which may be serviceable to the man that shall hereafter engage in these weighty disputes. To these fanciful pieces may be added the (1) *Laudes Academiæ Parisinæ & Oxoniensis*, by the eminently learned Dr. Alberic Gentilis; whose panegyrick on this university is penned with the like accuracy as the other works of that noted author. After him follows Isaac Wake's (2) *Rex Platonius*; wherein the author, who was then publick orator, afterwards a knight and ambassador, elegantly describes the entertainment given by the university to King James the First, and occasionally intermixes the history and antiquities of the whole and all its parts. Brian Twine, fellow of Corpus Christi, and sometime custos archivorum to the university, made a more diligent search into the history and records of this place, than any of the former; and obliged the lovers of these studies with his (3) *Antiquitatis Academiæ Oxoniensis Apologia*, which, in three books, very amply refutes all Dr. Caius's arguments for the seniority of his Cantabrigians. The industrious author intended another edition of this book: and, to that purpose, had largely augmented an interleaved copy; which, it is supposed, was lost during those unhappy confusions, which at first retarded the publishing of it. What is printed has been censured as (4) "an heap rather than a pile;" and the writer himself declared to be "no methodical antiquary." And yet, how strangely different are the judgments of men of contrary affections and interests! This is the character we have of the book from another hand, (5) *In eo libro, præter subactissimum judicium, etiam varia lectionis indicia passim sparguntur*. The same year with this apology, was published (6) *Ilium in Italiam*, written by John Sanbury of St. John's College; wherein are the arms of the several colleges in this university, and verses upon them. It is not much more considerable than what, not long before, was written at Rome by Nic. Fitzherbert, a retainer to Cardinal Allen; and there was printed under the title of, (7) *Oxoniensis in Anglia Academiæ Descriptio*. A (8) slight discourse on the Oxford antiquities, by way of letter to a friend, was penned by Dr. Leonard Hutton; who died Canon of Christ-Church, A. D. 1632. and left also behind him a manuscript treatise in Latin, entitled, *Historia Foundationum Ecclesiæ Christi Oxon. una cum Episcoporum, Decanorum & Canonicorum ejusdem Catalogo*. Of the like complexion with the latter of these, meager in itself, and of a narrow subject, is Dr. Savage's (9) *Ballio-Fergus*; which pretends to give a true history of all the great men that have been members of Baliol College, whereof the author was master. This writer is observed to have had a genius somewhat averse to the business he was here engaged in, being too much a courtier to turn antiquary: so that, having also a very imperfect stock of materials, it was no wonder that a great many errors and defects were discovered in his book; that Duns Scotus, for example, was transplanted hither from Merton, and Bishop Tonsal wholly overlooked. The (10) *Notitia Academiæ Oxoniensis* was the work of the late learned Mr. Fulman; who also began the history of his own college, Corpus Christi, but did not live to finish it for the press. Above all, this famous university is chiefly indebted to the indefatigable pains of honest Antony Wood; whose industry, joined with Camden's learning and judgment, would have made a compleat English antiquary. His (11) *Historia & Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis* gives abundantly more than the whole tribe of the fore-mentioned authors could afford us; and in two large books, runs through every particular of her story. In the former of these we have her annals, from the eldest date of her records, down to the year 1648. wherein our ancient British government, religion, liberties, laws and learning, were all sacrificed together. The confusions that ensued, and continued for above eleven long years after King Charles's Martyrdom, made a scene too tragical; and therefore our historian wisely dropped the curtain, before ignorance had intirely usurped the schools, blasphemy the pulpit, and Oliver the throne. The later book presents us with an account of the foundations, endowments, &c. of the publick lectures, library, colleges, and halls; with a list of their benefactors, governors and eminent writers. To which is added,

(20) *Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. p. 293. (1) 8vo. Hanov. 1605. (2) 4to. Oxon. 1607. & 8vo. *Ibid.* sæpius. (3) 4to. Oxon. 1608. (4) T. Fuller *Hist. of Camb.* p. 14. (5) *Hist. & Antiq. Oxon.* lib. 2. p. 241. (6) 8vo. Oxon. 1608. (7) 8vo. Rome, 162. (8) *Vid. Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. p. 498. (9) 4to. Oxon. 1668. (10) 4to. Oxon. 1665. & Lond. 1675. (11) Fol. Oxon. 1674.

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a catalogue of the chancellors, vice-chancellors, proctors, stewards and representatives in parliament. This work was first penned in English; and translated into Latin by several persons appointed by the curators of the press: so that the style is not very uniform, and sometimes the original sense a little mistaken and perverted. Some instances of these failures are given by a late (12) learned prelate of our church; who is a little too severe in his reflections upon the chief publisher of these antiquities. The author himself complained of several (13) additions and alterations, made without his privity and consent; and seemed to hope that his own English copy, the language whereof, I dare say, was not over charming, would some time or other (14) hereafter be published.

Cam-
bridge.

The Black Book at Cambridge makes as considerable a figure there, as any of our old statute-books can do at Oxford; and it has also its Historiola, which is equal both for matter and authority with ours. The whole volume is a collection of ancient charters and privileges; amongst which this short history was, in the last age, inserted by (15) William Buckenham, master of Caius College, and Vice-Chancellor of that university. In this, we have the story of king Gurguntius's bestowing the eastern part of Great Britain upon Cantaber, a Spaniard; who, forsooth, had some time studied at Athens, and, after Caer-Grant was built by his son Grantanus, invited thence his old friends Anaximander and Anaxagoras, to teach philosophy in this city. *Centum sunt ibi*, says (16) John Leland, *præterea ejusdem farinae fabulæ. Profecto nihil unquam legi vanius, sed neque stultius aut stupidius. Missas igitur facio has antiquitatis delicias.* Out of the same book (17) Robert Hare borrowed his catalogue of the chancellors, or rectors, if the other word should prove too young for the purpose, of this university; which are most exactly continued from St. Amphibalus, who was rector, A. D. 289. down to the conquest. It is (18) reported, that a certain *Historia Cantabrigiæ* was written by Nicolas Cantelupe, a Welsh gentleman; who died prior of a monastery of Carmelites at Northampton, A. D. 1441. Archbishop Usher takes this to be the same with what we have already observed to be in the Black Book; and therefore he (19) frequently quotes Cantelupe's *Historiola* for the benefactions of King Lucius and King Arthur, to the university of Cambridge, Pelagius's studying there, &c. Our later antiquaries agree with this learned primate; and allow this author, and that very work, to be the first that appeared in defence of the British part of her story. And they further tell us, that here (20) began the quarrel betwixt the two sisters, and that John Ross professedly engaged on the behalf of Oxford. Indeed Tho. Fuller (1) speaks of a treatise concerning the ancient privileges of this university, which seems to carry a little more age, being written by one Thomas Markant, Fellow of Peter-House, and Junior-Proctor, A. D. 1417. This book, he says, was bestowed on the university by the author himself; and, at his request, carefully kept, for some time, in a locked chest. It was afterwards "lost or stolen; but recovered and restored by R. Hare. It was again lost; and recovered by Matt. Wren, Bishop of Ely. A third time it is lost: and this relapse," says he, "I suspect to be mortal. The life of King Sigebert was amongst (2) John Leland's many designs; and broad hints he gave, that in it he would discover the true original of the University of Cambridge: but the bulkiest promises of such noted writers, commonly prove the most abortive; despair of answering the world's raised expectations, very much contributing to their miscarriage. The most learned Cantabrigian antiquary that has yet appeared, was John Caius, doctor of physick, and physician in ordinary to Queen Mary; who (3) was born at Norwich, and was the generous founder of Caius College out of Gonvill-Hall. His two books (4) *De Antiquitate Cantabrigiænsis Academiæ* were written in defence of the Cambridge Orator, against Tho. Key. The former edition of them was under the feigned name of *Londinensis*: but in the second, the author himself thought it no disparagement to own his work. His first attempt is to establish the lately advanced doctrine of his

(12) Ep. Barlow's Rem. p. 181, 183, 184. (13) Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 605. (14) Ibid. p. 28. (15) Vid. Joh. Caii Antiq. Cantab. lib. 1. p. n. 37. (16) Comment. ad Cygn. Cant. voce Granta. (17) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. 2. p. 390. (18) J. Pitts, p. 635. (19) Antiq. Eccles. Brit. p. 69, 112, 268. (20) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. 1. p. 36. (1) Hist. of Cambr. p. 65, 66. (2) Comment. in Cygn. Cant. voce Granta. (3) J. Pitts, p. 756. & Fuller's Worthies, p. 275, 276, in Norwich. (4) 8vo. Lond. 1568. & 4to. Ibid. 1574.

mother's great age and seniority; which he endeavours to do from the exemplified charters of King Arthur and King Cadwallader, together with those of the Popes, Honorius and Sergius. This done, his next business is to overthrow the pretended antiquity of Oxford; which, in his second book, he dispatches as effectually as he had done his former argument. He seems to have intended a much larger history of this university, than is here given us: for, speaking (5) of the frequent depopulations and miseries of the town, during the wars betwixt the Saxons and the Danes, he concludes, *De quibus in libris nostris de Historia Cantabrigiensis Academiae explicatus egimus*. I am very confident that a good part of the collections which he made for this purpose, are still in (6) Sir John Cotton's library; where we are told of a volume of *Collectanea ex antiquis Rotulis & variis Auctoribus de Academia Cantabrigiensis, ejus Antiquitate & Privilegiis, cum multis Literis Originalibus ejusdem Academiae ad Regem Henricum VIII. Thomam Cromwellum, &c.* The same year with the first edition of Dr. Caius's book, was published (7) Regina Literata, five, *De Adventu Elizabethae Reginae Angliae ad Academiam Cantabrigiensem*; a treatise of the same nature with that of Rex Platonius, afterwards at Oxford. In the same queen's reign, wherein the civil wars betwixt our two universities were the most violent, was printed a (8) Catalogue of the Rectors and Chancellors of Cambridge, from Mauritius, in the time of Constantine the Great, to the year 1585. written by Matt. Stokys, Beadle and Registry of that university. Since his time, the only person, as far as I know, that has published any history of this place, for I do not think Sir Simonds D'Ewes's (9) Speech deserves such a name, is Tho. Fuller; who was pleased to annex his (10) History of the University of Cambridge to that of the Churches of Great-Britain; and most people think they ought not to be separated. He begins, modestly, at the conquest; and ends at the year 1643. for the like reasons that prevailed with our Oxford antiquary to break off five years after. The foundation of the university by King Sigebert, he had discussed before, in the body of his (11) Church History: and the potent arguments he there produces have been nicely examined and considered by (12) Mr. Wood. Parker's (13) *Skeleton Cantabrigiense* does not promise any great matters in its title: and Mr. Hatcher's (14) Catalogue of the Fellows of King's College, though it may have some things of note in it, yet, is of too confind a subject to deserve any more than the bare naming in this place.

It had been a happy thing, if all those that, with so much industry and application, have enquired into the first originals of our two universities, had bestowed as much of their learned pains in following down the histories of such eminent writers as have flourished in either of them: for, as hereby they might severally have done as much honour to their respective mother, so, this had been the most effectual course to have endeared themselves to posterity, and to have made their labours for ever valuable. We are extremely indebted to those pious princes and generous heroes, that, either in the east or western parts of the kingdom, have afforded us such noble advantages of education, in all sorts of learning, as no other nation can pretend to; and perhaps we cannot be more injurious to their memories, than by clogging their true story with fables, fancies and forgeries. Instead therefore of raking in their ashes, and rifling their sepulchres, to prove them men of gigantick stature, instead of refining upon their history till we have turned it into romance, we should pay them more grateful and real honours; if, being content with the remains of them as we know are genuine, we employed more of our time in letting the world see what use has been made of their benefits; how much the several branches of the forbidden Tree of Knowledge have thriven under the influences of their charity; what mighty numbers of great doctors and masters, in all faculties have been fed at their expence, and flourished by their bounty. It is true, our universities were not always the sole fountains of good literature in this island; many of our eminent writers having had their education in monasteries: but, since St. John of Beverley has been made a member of that at Oxford, and venerable Bede,

(5) Edit. 1586. (6) Bibl. Cott. Faustina, C. 3. (7) 8vo. Lond. 1568. (8) Impress. Cantabr. per Thom. Thomafum. (9) 4to. Lond. 1641. Vid. & Hist. Oxon. lib. 1. p. 30. (10) Fol. Lond. 1655. (11) Cent. 7. lib. 2. ad An. 631. (12) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. 1. p. 35, 36, &c. (13) Citat. a Tho. Fuller, in Hist. Cantab. p. 31, &c. (14) Ibid. p. 139. And in his Worthies frequently.

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a student at Cambridge, I wish they had ranked all our ancient men of knowledge on one hand or the other, provided they had given us full accounts of their persons and labours. I think we may, without vanity affirm, that hardly any kingdom in the world has out-done England, either in the number or goodness of her authors; and that, even in the darkest ages, our lamps shone always as bright as any in our neighbourhood. When school-divinity was in fashion, we had our *doctores subtiles, irrefragabiles, &c.* and, as learning grew to a better ripeness and stature, we had plenty of good books in other as useful sciences.

J. Boston.

The first that attempted the history of our writers was John Boston, a Monk of St. Edmundsbury, A. D. 1410. who, having (17) viewed most of the libraries in England, drew a catalogue of all the British authors, and gave short censures upon them. He could hardly have flourished so early as Pitts here speaks of, if his progress was, as a later (18) writer informs us, in the reign of King Henry the Seventh: but we shall not quarrel with him for such small mistakes as this. He ought indeed to have been a little better versed in the story of his great grandfather; for the three following Johns, Leland, Bale and Pitts, handed from one another what was first borrowed from him. Archbishop Usher (19) had the most curious MS. copy of his book: and our Oxford antiquary (20) cites another smaller catalogue of the same author's composition. Whether Alanus de Linna (prior of a Carmelite monastery at Lynn in Norfolk, A. D. 1420) did (1) enlarge this catalogue or the other, I dare not determine: possibly he only made an index to them; as he did to (2) forty other volumes in the library at Norwich.

J. Leland.

The next that thought this matter worth his consideration was John Leland; who was indeed an extraordinary person, having (besides his being a great master in poetry) attained to a good share of knowledge in the Greek, Latin, Welch, Saxon, Italian, French and Spanish languages. In the year 1534, King Henry the Eighth gave him a commission to search all the libraries of England, and to make what collections he thought good: in which employment he spent six whole years. He afterwards turned protestant, and was seized with a frenzy; losing (says my (3) author, very uncharitably) his understanding with his faith. In this condition he died at London, A. D. 1552, leaving a vast number of historical treatises behind him. Amongst these, the most valuable (at least that which we are now chiefly concerned to enquire after) is said to have been entitled *De Illustribus Britanniae Scriptoribus*; containing the lives and characters of most of the eminent writers of this kingdom. This work is now in the publick (4) library at Oxford; where it makes the fourth volume of his *Collectanea*, being 354 pages in folio, given by William Burton to that university. Whence it has been lately (5) published by the industrious Mr. Hall, Fellow of Queen's College in Oxford.

J. Bale.

John Bale was a Suffolk-man, sometime scholar in Jesus College in Cambridge; and afterwards a Carmelite friar in Norwich. He was, as he (8) says, converted from popery by the procurement of Thomas Lord Wentworth; though, in truth, his wife Dorothy seems to have had a great hand in that happy work. In the year 1552, he was made (9) Bishop of Offory in Ireland: but returning from exile in Queen Elizabeth's reign, he did not think it advisable to go any more into that kingdom; contenting himself with a Prebend of Canterbury, where he died, A. D. 1563. His *Summarium Illustrium Majoris Britanniae Scriptorum* was first presented to King (10) Edward the Sixth; and contained only five centuries of writers. To these he afterwards added (11) three more; and made several corrections and additions throughout the whole book. The ground plot of this work, as has been observed, was borrowed from Leland; and the chief of his own superstructure is malicious and bitter invectives against the papists. The character which a late learned person gives of him and his writings is too just: (12) *Veritas Balæoparum curæ erat, dummodo Romanæ ecclesiæ inimicorum numerum augere posset.* And again, *clausis plerumque oculis scriptorum Anglicorum ætates definivit.* Some have thought his

(17) J. Pitts, p. 593. (18) T. Gale, in Præfat. ad 15. Script. p. 1. (19) Th. Fuller's Worthies, p. 166. in Lancast. Vide etiam ipsum Usher. de Script. Vernac. p. 124. (20) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. vol. 1. p. 58. (1) Vid. J. Pitts, p. 603. (2) Bale, Edit. Wefel. fol. 185. (3) J. Pitts, p. 743. (4) Vid. Ath. Oxon. vol. 1. p. 69. (5) 8vo. Oxon. 1709. (8) Cent. 8cap. 100. (9) Fuller's Worthies, p. 60, 61. in Suffolk. (10) 4to. Ips. & Wefel. 1549. (11) Fol. Basil. 1559. (12) H. Wharton, in Præfat. ad Angl. Sac. vol. 1. p. 31. & 47.

making (13) books of some little Saxon epistles excusable, and what would admit of an PART II.
 apoogy: but, if we mark him well, he is continually multiplying the writings of all his authors at a very unsufferable and unjustifiable rate.

In opposition to Bale's hard treatment of the Romanists, came forth J. Pitts's (14) *Relat. J. Pitts.* *Histor. de rebus Anglicis*, tom. 1. &c. which is the same book with that usually quoted by the name of Pitseus de Scriptoribus. This author studied in New College in Oxford; and was at last Dean of Liverdune in Lorrain, where he died, A.D. 1616. Though he quotes Leland with great familiarity and assurance, it is very probable he never (15) saw any such thing as his *Collectanea de Scriptoribus*; but that his only true author, for all that he pretends to bring out of that store-house, was John Bale himself. His Latin is clean enough; and his giving an account of some eminent popish writers, that lived beyond sea in the beginning of the reformation, is an acceptable piece of service. Mr. Wood has taken the pains to correct a great many of his mistakes; and might have noted some hundreds more. He must needs have been too much in haste to write accurately, who, even in the catalogue he gives of his own uncle (16) Nic. Sanders's writings, is guilty of so gross an error as to reckon the treatise entitled, (17) *Fidelis Servi Subdito infideli Responsio*, among that infamous writer's works, when on the contrary, the book was written against him, and he is the *Subditus infidelis* mentioned in the title page.

Our writers of these two last ages have been pretty well accounted for by the late industrious A. Wood.
 Anthony Wood; whose (18) *Athenæ Oxonienses* give us a large collection of reports, good and bad, of the most minute circumstances of almost all the authors that have flourished in either of our universities since the year 1500. The writer of these two volumes, or his friend who penned the prefaces for him, thought it convenient to excuse the extraordinary respect he paid to the members of the Roman communion; telling us that he had found those the most communicative, as, on the contrary, the fanatics were generally the most reserved and morose. Some fancied there were other secret reasons for these mutual civilities betwixt the gentlemen of that persuasion and our author; who, by his long conversation amongst them, was thought to be a little too deeply tinged with their principles. It will be a difficult task to prove him a papist from any thing that he has here advanced; since in some places he falls as foul on those people, as his praises of them are extravagant in others. The truth is, his books are little more than a medley of notes and such informations as were sent in from his several correspondents; without being digested into any other method than the throwing them under that particular author's name to whom they chiefly related. It is no blemish on his memory to observe, that he had his share of that peevishness and austerity, both in his stile and manners, which is commonly incident to antiquaries; and thus much we ought gratefully to acknowledge, that he has furnished us with a larger stock of useful materials, than perhaps any one man of this age has collected. If he was too fullen among courtiers, he paid sufficiently for all the liberty he took; and it is illegal to object a crime for which a suitable penance has been already enjoined and performed.

It were highly to be wished that we had a general account of all our writers, done with the T. Tan-
 like accuracy and exactness as those of Oxford, for the last 200 years, are in these two volumes; ner.
 but in a somewhat better and more polite air: and I think I may boldly promise the reader, that this will be abundantly performed by Mr. Tanner, who has diligently compared Leland's original manuscript with the scandalously false copies that have been given of it by Bale and Pitts. He has corrected innumerable errors in all the three; and has made those many and large additions to all that they could tell us, that we shall have reason to look upon the work as entirely new, and his own.

(13) H. Spelm. Concil. tom. 1. p. 210. (14) 4to. Paris, 1619. (15) Athen. Oxon. vol. 1. p. 345, 346, &c. & Hen. Wharton, Præfat. ad Angl. Sac. vol. 1. p. 15. (16) Pag. 775. (17) 4to. Lond. 1573. (18) Fol. Lond. 1691, & 1692.

C H A P. IX.

Of our Ecclesiastical Courts and their Registers.

THE general name which was anciently given, even by our (1) law-givers themselves, to the ecclesiastical courts, was *Curia Christianitatis*; which seems to be but a little lamely explained by the great (2) expounder of our English law: for, as the constitutions that regulated their proceedings were sacred and divine, so the matters therein debated were spiritual; and it was believed that, without such judicatories, the very substance of religion would perish and come to nothing. On this consideration, it has been the pious care of our rulers to guard and defend them against the encroachments of their temporal courts; whereof we have two eminent instances in the statutes of (3) *Articuli Cleri* and *Circumspecte Agatis*. Sir Edward Coke, in his (4) *Commentary* upon the former of these, has given us the answers of King James the First's judges to five and twenty objections, which were laid before that king and his council, by Archbishop Bancroft, against the frequency of prohibitions. This was in the third year of that reign; and not long after, Sir Thomas Ridley wrote his (5) *View of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Law*. This excellent author, having defined both these laws, and given a short account of the volumes wherein they are contained, proceeds to shew what authority they have, of right, in this kingdom; how the authority has been of late years encroached upon; and by what means it may be restored, and even improved, without any injustice to the professors of our common law. After this book had wandered a while under great variety of fortunes, and different censures, it had a second edition given it by the learned J. Gregory, then Chaplain of Christ's Church in Oxford: who, in the notes he published upon some passages, gave here a very early testimony of his great knowledge in the antiquities and history of the christian church in general, as well as in those of England, from the first establishment of the gospel in this island. R. Mocket (Chaplain to the Archbishop Abbot, and Warden of All-Souls) was Sir Thomas's contemporary; and wrote also a general view of the state of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the English church, which he entitled *Tractatus de Politia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*. It was (6) first published with his Latin translation of our liturgy, articles, &c. and immediately condemned to the flames and burnt. What was the occasion of such a rough treatment, is variously reported. Some (7) say that the fault was in this treatise; the author having therein shewn himself a better chaplain than subject, magnifying the ecclesiastical power, and depressing the temporal. Others, (8) better acquainted with the transactions of those times, affirm the cause to have been of another nature: and that the whole volume perished upon account of the author's leaning too much towards the discipline of Geneva; and, on that score, omitting the first clause of the twentieth article. However it was, the treatise *De Politia* has since had the favour of a new (9) edition; and is well esteemed as a learned and useful system. With it there is now joined (and very fitly) R. Zouch's *Descriptio Juris & Judicii Ecclesiastici secundum Canones & Constitutiones Anglicanas*: wherein the modern practice of both our superior and subordinate courts is most succinctly and methodically illustrated; not only by the ancient canonists, but likewise by the common and statute laws of this kingdom. Attorney General Noy left a large (10) volume of collections out of the records of the Tower, touching the privileges and jurisdiction of our ecclesiastical courts; which we have reason to believe would be answerable to that character which Archbishop (11)

(1) Vid. Statut. *Circumspecte Agatis*, 13 Ed. 1. (2) D. Ed. Coke, *Instit.* Par. 2. pag. 488. (3) A°. 9. Ed. 2. (4) *Instit.* Par. 2. p. 599. (5) 4to. Oxon. 1634. (6) Fol. Lond. 1616. (7) See Fuller's *Ch. Hist.* ad an. 1616. (8) P. Heylin, *Cypri. Angl. lib.* 1. p. 70. (9) 8vo. Lond. 1683. (10) Ath. Oxon. vol. 1. p. 506. (11) See his printed *Diary*, p. 19.

Laud has left of him, that he was "The greatest friend to the English church, that she ever had of his condition, since she needed any such." Till these collections can be retrieved, we must be content to learn the nature of our church's polity from such helps as have been already mentioned; together with Rich. Cousins's book entitled, (21) *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Politeia in Tabulas digesta*. How justice is administered in these courts in relation to advowsons, incumbency, tithes, &c. may be known from Sir Simon (22) Degge's *Parson's Counsellor*, J. Doderidge's (23) *Compleat Parson*, W. Hughes's (24) *Parson's Law*, W. Shepard's (25) *Parson's Guide*, G. Meriton's (26) *Parson's Monitor*, &c. (27) J. Godolphin's *Repertorium Canonicum*. Dr. Watson's (28) *Clergyman's Law*; and (to sum up all in one) Dr. (29) Gibson's famous *Codex Juris*, &c. Which, as many of the useful labours of that learned person had formerly deserved to be, was unanimously judged worthy of the late solemn thanks of the lower-house of convocation. And for the right determination of causes relating to espousals and matrimonial contracts, the ecclesiastical judge can hardly have a safer rule, than is prescribed by Hen. Swinburn, in his treatise (1) on that subject; wherein the most intricate questions are soundly and religiously stated. In the Cottonian library there are also several MSS. which look this way, and are reckoned by (2) Sir William Dugdale amongst his law books of uncertain times and authors; which nevertheless ought to be put in the catalogue of our church's apologies. They are these: 1. (3) *De Potestate Regia in Ecclesiasticis*. 2. (4) A volume of Tracts concerning the Jurisdiction of the Clergy; Jurisdiction of Prelates; Prohibitions; Exposition of Statutes concerning Ecclesiastical Causes, whether the Interpretation belong to the Judges or Civilians; and Actions for Tythes. 3. (5) *Immunitas Clericorum a Jurisdictione Temporalis*. 4. (6) *Consuetudo Angliæ, ex qua Occisor Clerici esset sola Excommunicatione feriendus*.

The highest ecclesiastical court in England is that of the convocation; which has always been called by the king's writ, or (as Bede (7) expresses it in the case of Augustine the monk) *Adjutorio Regis*. It has been allowed to have a power of judging in causes purely spiritual (8) *juxta legem divinam & canones sanctæ ecclesiæ*: but was frequently inhibited, even in the very writs of (9) summons, from decreeing any thing to the prejudice of the king or his realms. Such was the ancient respect paid to these august assemblies, that the prevailing with them to attest their (10) *finales concordie* or *conventiones* (fines levied, as we now call them) was thought to be as good and valid, as solemn and authentick, as if the business had been transacted in the king's own presence, or before his great council of parliament. So that, had we the journals of convocations compleat, we should thereby receive very considerable light in matters of civil history, as well as in those that more especially relate to the affairs and state of the church. The transactions of that under Henry the Eighth, in the year 1536, were seen and perused by the (11) Lord Herbert; who tells us, that the king himself drew up the articles of religion that were passed in it, moderating the arguments of the members upon each question, and adding animadversions upon them with his own hand. The like he did upon those of 1543, called, *A necessary Doctrine for all Sorts of People*; as appears by the book itself, which is still extant in Cotton's library; where are also several others of the like kind. What is the present nature, power and constitution of these courts, has been very much disputed of late; and the controversy has been managed with somewhat of an unbecoming bitterness and zeal. The first starter of the Moot-point was the author of a (12) *Letter to a Convocation Man*, &c. A treatise which pretends to prove, 1. That this assembly has a right to meet, whenever the parliament does so. 2. That, being thus met, it has also an inherent and unalterable right to the exercise of its power; so as to confer, at least, and treat, without any formal licence from the king. This letter having made a considerable noise and pother in the kingdom, commended

(21) Fol. Oxon. 1684. (22) 8vo. Pret. 4s. (23) 8vo. Pret. 1s. 6d. (24) 8vo. Pret. 2s. (25) 12mo. Pr. 1s. (26) 8vo. Pret. 2s. (27) 4to. Pret. 10s. (28) Pr. 18s. (29) Pr. 3l. (1) 4to. Pret. 4s. (2) Orig. Jurid. cap. 24. (3) Cleopatra, E. 6. (4) Ibid. F. 1. (5) Ibid. F. 2. (6) Claudius, E. 8. (7) Hist. Eccles. lib. 2. cap. 2. (8) Instit. Par. 4. cap. 74. (9) Vid. D. Gul. Dugd. Summon. in Ed. 1. Ed. 2. &c. (10) H. Spelm. Glossar. in voce Finis. (11) Hist. of Hen. 8. pag. 4, 5. (12) 4to. Lond. 1696

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and railed at by men of different thoughts and interests, was at last considered by Dr. Wake, now Bishop of Lincoln; who entitled his answer, (13) *The Authority of Christian Princes over their ecclesiastical Synods considered, &c.* This learned writer shews first, what obedience all foreign councils, both national and provincial, have always paid to their respective emperors, kings, and other princes; and then proceeds to prove that the like authority has been, in all ages, exercised by the monarchs of this realm: inasmuch that our convocations could never meet without the king's writ of summons, nor ever act without his permission. In reply to this was published (14) *Municipium Ecclesiasticum*, by a warm author in ambush; who is pleased to tell the world that "The church of England suffered more by the doctor's book, than by all other lay or law oppositions whatsoever." This, being only the first part in three of what was projected on this occasion, goes no farther than a general narrative of the nature of these divine powers wherewith the churches of Christ are invested: whereas the main of the quarrel, about matters of fact in ecclesiastical history, is still reserved for the subject of a second adventure; and, when that is happily finished, we may hope for a third, which will demonstrate the pressing necessities we are now under of having a convocation to sit and act. In the mean time, the doctor, in his (15) *Appeal to all the true Members of the Church of England*, has kindly pointed to him most of those writers which may create him any disturbance in the framing and finishing of his second part: which can never be effectually compleated, till he either proves that those great men are misquoted or misrepresented; or else that they are under a notorious error in their common doctrine of the king's supremacy, and that all our doctors since the reformation have conspired together against the sacred authority of the ecclesiastical state. From the (16) letter afterwards published in the name of Mr. S. Hill, Rector of Kilmington, it appeared that the remaining parts of the unfinished answer went but slowly on; and that the author's chief talent (as his unknown friend observed of him) lay in "making daring attempts upon formidable adversaries." Before he advanced any farther in these attempts, he had time to consider the plain distinction betwixt those convocations that are called by the king's writ to the bishops as members of parliament, and those that are summoned only by his writ to the two archbishops: and, having found that these latter are indeed the true English convocations, properly so called, he seemed tacitly to allow their just definition (wherewith Dr. Wake was not able to please him) to be, (17) "occasional assemblies of the bishops and inferior clergy for such purposes as the king shall direct when they meet."

The definition is indeed now declared to be unskilfully drawn: and, in justification of this sentence, Dr. Francis Atterbury, the present Bishop of Rochester, composed his (18) *Rights, Powers and Privileges, of an English Convocation*. In this treatise the learned author affirms, 1. That, in conformity to the like ancient practice in the universal church, the clergy of England have a legal right to their being convened in convocation, concurrently with every new parliament; whereof they are (though not an intrinsic member) an extrinsic part, always attending upon it. 2. They have a right, when thus met, to treat resolve and act, in all instances, and to all degrees, under that of enacting a canon; without qualifying themselves, for so doing, by a royal licence: notwithstanding the statute of 25 Henry VIII. where the word *attempt* has no relation to debates concerning the framing of new canons, but signifies, only the putting of an old one upon trial, and thereby endeavouring to prove the force of it. 3. The conclusion drawn from these premises, that they had all the reason in the world to hope that so good and gracious a prince as King William, so great a pillar of the protestant religion, would have restored to them the regular enjoyment of their parliamentary assemblies; that so (19) "they might have been in heart, and always at hand, to stand up (with those on whom they are bound to attend) in behalf of liberty, when it shall be attacked, and to resist a growing tyranny, either in church or state, as it may happen." For that the present pro-

(13) 8vo. Lond. 1697. (14) 8vo. Lond. 1697. (15) 8vo. Lond. 1698. (16) *Rites of the Christian Church* further defended, &c. 8vo. Lond. 1698. (17) See B. Stillingfleet's *Rights of Paroch. Clergy*. p. 364, 365. (18) 8vo. Lond. 1700, 1701. (19) See p. 105, 113 & 294.

testant clergy are not like their popish ancestors, "whose religion was all submission and slavery." No, they "have been more than once instrumental in shaking off yokes of every kind, from the necks of Englishmen; and no men **RESISTED** the encroachments of the late King James the Second's reign more than they." That these principles, and the superstructure built thereon, were once highly approved by a majority of the lower house of convocation, appeared from the many solemn respects paid to this book and its author; though, not long after, the old doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance came again into fashion with the very same zealots. Upon the appearance of a second edition of this famous treatise, with its author's name in the title-page, its two first chapters were briskly examined by (20) Dr. Kennet: who discovered a great many of his mistakes in not distinguishing state councils from true synods; in supposing the Gravamina Cleri to be presented in the latter; in his wrong notion of the mixt assemblies in the Saxon times, and of the real design of the clause of *Præmunientes*, &c. The Appendix to this reply shews that the defender of the rights had privately (on second thoughts, or the proper admonition of friends) corrected some very considerable errors in his former edition; which nevertheless were not so much as mentioned in the Addenda, pretending to furnish his first readers with every thing of that kind. The true merits of this cause were, shortly after this, given in miniature, by Dr. Gibson, in his (1) *Synodus Anglicana*: wherein we have the undisguised constitution and regular proceedings of an English convocation, taken from its ancient acts and registers; evident proofs that the new claim of right is introductory of a co-ordination of the presbyters with their bishops; and, in a word, the whole procedure in these sacred councils in summoning, opening, admission or disallowance of proxies, choice of a prolocutor, separation of the lower clergy from the prelates, ordering of committees, transacting of business, proroguing and dissolving of the entire body. What observations are made by the publisher, on every of these heads, are amply confirmed in the Appendix: wherein there are five compleat journals; three of the upper, and two of the lower house of convocation. About the same time with Dr. Kennet's forementioned book, Dr. Hody published his (2) *History of English Councils and Convocations*; which presents a sort of chronological view of our parliaments, and the gradual increase of our *Corpus Juris* in matters ecclesiastical and civil. The account begins as high as the fifth century; and ends with the reign of Henry the Seventh. Our author pretends not to give any decisive judgment in any one point of the controversy then on foot: Nor did either side ever complain of his being partial. He breaks off in the middle of his work; but promises a continuation, if not "prevented by the more able performance of the reverend and very worthy Dr. Wake." The doctor (now Bishop of Lincoln) did happily prevent him by his unanswerable (3) *State of the Church and Clergy of England in their Councils, Synods, Convocations, Conventions, and other publick Assemblies, historically deduced from the Conversion of the Saxons to the present Times*. In this finished work we have very full discourses on the nature of the parliamentary conventions and provincial convocations of our clergy; shewing that these differ (not only in the manner of their coming together, but likewise) in their rights, powers and privileges, after they are assembled: that our convocations are limited in their acts, &c. by the regal authority: that presbyters never had any such right of consent, neither in general nor national councils, as has been lately claimed in this kingdom: and lastly, that the English convocations were never heretofore thought to be necessary attendants on our parliaments, is manifestly proved throughout the whole of our history, and the reigns of our several kings. The subject-matter of this controversy is here wholly exhausted; all the stores of our MS. histories and chronicles, as well as registers of the fees of both provinces, being brought into this common treasury. In conclusion, we have a large Appendix; wherein are copies of the choicest authentic instruments, of all kinds, vouchers of the whole. It might have been reasonably hoped that the unfortunate dispute would here have ended; and so it certainly had, if truth could have prevailed against interest: but the first broachers of the controversy had not yet compassed their ends, and were

(20) *Ecclesiastical Synods, &c.* 8vo. 1701. Par. I. (1) 8vo. 1702. (2) 8vo. Lond. 1701. (3) Fol. *Ibid.* 1703. therefore

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therefore resolved to raise new objections as fast as the old ones were answered; all conviction or demonstration to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding. Hence came a multiplication of debates within doors, and of printed discourses without; whereof I shall not trouble the reader with any other account, than a bare recital of the little narratives and other pamphlets which daily flew abroad. The books and tracts already mentioned shall likewise have their titles repeated, under their respective dates; as having afforded sometimes a pretence for publishing several of the following composures. They may all be ranked in these four classes:

I. *Of the Convocation's Right of Meeting and Power of Acting.*

- A Letter to a Convocation-man, concerning the Rights, Powers and Privileges of that Body*, 1697.
A Letter to a Member of Parliament, occasioned by the Letter to a Convocation-man. 1697.
The Authority of christian Princes over their ecclesiastical Synods asserted, &c. By Dr. Wake, 8vo. 1697.
Municipium Ecclesiasticum, in Answer to the *Authority*, &c. By Mr. Hill, 8vo. 1697.
An Appeal to all the true Members of the Church of England, in behalf of the King's ecclesiastical Supremacy. Against the Municipium. By Dr. Wake, 8vo. 1698.
The Rights of the Christian Church further defended. In Answer to the *Appeal*, 8vo. 1698.
A Brief Enquiry into the Ground, Authority and Rights of ecclesiastical Synods. Occasioned by the Municipium. 8vo. 1699.
Some Thoughts on a Convocation, and the Notion of Divine Right. 1699.
The Rights, Liberties and Authorities of the Christian Church asserted. By Mr. Hill. 8vo. 1701.
A Vindication of the Authority of Christian Princes over ecclesiastical Synods. In Answer to Mr. Hill. By Dr. Turner. 1701.
The Rights, Powers and Privileges of an English Convocation stated and vindicated. With Additions, and Appendix. By Dr. Atterbury. 8vo. 1700.
Reflections upon the Rights, &c. By the Bishop of Sarum. 1700.
Ecclesiastical Synods and parliamentary Convocations of the Church of England historically stated and vindicated. By Dr. Kennet. Par. 1. 8vo. 1701.
An occasional Letter on the Subject of English Convocations. By Dr. Kennet. 8vo. 1701.
Mr. Atterbury's Arguments for the Rights, &c. of an English Convocation considered. By Dr. West.
Some Remarks on the Temper of the late Writers about Convocations. 1701.
The State of the Church and Clergy of England in their Councils, &c. Occasioned by Dr. A——'s Book. By Dr. Wake. Fol. 1703.
A History of the English Councils and Convocations, and of the Clergy's fitting in Parliament. By Dr. Hody. 8vo. 1701.

II. *Of the Præmunientes Clause in the Bishops Parliament-Writ.*

- A Letter to a Clergyman in the Country concerning the Choice of Members, and the Execution of the Parliament-Writ, for the ensuing Convocation.* Nov. 17. 1701.
A second Letter to a Clergyman. On the same Subject. 1701.
The Case of the Præmunientes considered. In Answer to the two Letters last mentioned. 1701.
The late Pretence of a constant Practice to enter the Parliament, as well as Provincial, Writ, in the Front of the Acts of every Synod, considered. 1701.
The same Pretence farther considered. 1701.
A third Letter to a Clergyman in the Country, &c. In Defence of the two former. 1701.
An Answer to a third Letter to a Clergyman, &c. 1701.

A Letter to a Clergyman in the City, concerning the Instructions given to the Proctors for the Diocese of WORCESTER. 1701. PART II.

Mr. Halifax's Account of those Instructions, in Answer to the said Letter. 1701.

A Vindication of the Bishop of Bath and Wells against Mr. Hill. 1701.

III. *Of the differences between the two Houses, concerning the Rights of the Archbishop, and the Methods of proceeding in Convocation.*

A Letter to a Friend in the Country, concerning the Proceedings of this present Convocation. 1701.

The Power of the Lower House of Convocation to adjourn itself, &c. In Answer to that Letter. 1701.

A Vindication of the Proceedings of some Members of the Lower House, with Relation to the Archbishop's Prorogation of it. May 8. 1701.

A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Lower House of Convocation, relating to the Prorogations and Adjournments, &c. 1701.

The Right of the Archbishop to continue or prorogue the whole Convocation asserted. In Answer to the *Power of the Lower House, &c.* and the *Narrative.* 1701.

A Summary of the Arguments for the Archbishop's Right to continue the whole Convocation. 1701.

The Narrative of the Lower House vindicated from the Right of the Archbishop, &c. 1702.

Vindication of the Narrative, &c. continued. 1702.

An Expedient proposed, and a Method of Adjournment pointed at, consistent with the Aims of both Houses. 1701.

The pretended *Expedient, &c.* shewing the Title to be contrary to the Book. 1702.

Reflections on a late Paper entitled, *An Expedient, &c.* 1702.

A reconciling Letter, upon the late Differences about convocational Rights and Proceedings. 1702.

A Letter from the Borders of Scotland, concerning somewhat of an Agreement betwixt a Scotch General Assembly and an English Provincial Convocation. A. 1702.

The Parallel continued. B. 1702

Forma sive Descriptio Convocationis Celebrandæ, prout ab Antiquo Observari consuevit. With Annotations.

The Case of the SCHEDULE Stated. 1702.

The Schedule Reviewed. Against the *Vindication of the Narrative* and the *Case of the Schedule.* 1702.

SYNODUS ANGLICANA, 8vo. 1702.

A short State of some present Questions in Convocation; by way of a Commentary on the Schedule of Continuation. 1703.

A Summary Defence of the Lower House of Convocation. In Answer to the Short State. 1703.

The Marks of a defenceless Cause in the Proceedings and Writings of the Lower House of Convocation. Particularly, in the *Vindication* of thier Narrative, and the Writer of the *Summary Defence.* 1703.

The New Danger of Presbytery. In Answer to the *Vindication of the Narrative, &c.* 1703.

The Parliamentary Original and Rights of the Lower House of Convocation. 1702.

The Pretended Independence of the Lower House upon the Upper, &c. In Answer to the *Parliamentary Original.* 1703.

IV. *Historical Tracts, concerning the Acts of Convocation.*

A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Lower House of Convocation in 1700. and 1701.

History of the Convocation which met Feb. 6. 1700. By Dr. Kennet. 1701.

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- A Vindication of the Proceedings of some Members of the Lower House, *May* 8. 1701.
A Faithful Account of some Transactions in the present Convocation. Numb. I. II. III. 1701.
 The present State of Convocation: Giving a full Relation of Proceedings from *Jan.* 28. to *Feb.* 19. 1701-2.
 A true Copy of the Archbishop's Speech. *Feb.* 19. 1701-2.
 An Account of the Proceedings between the two Houses of Convocation which met *Octob.* 20. 1702. Particularly, of the several Proposals made for putting an End to the present Differences. 1702.
 A Letter from a Presbyterian Minister in *Scotland*, upon Occasion of some Proceedings of the *English* Convocation, in the Year 1701.
A Representation made by the Lower House of Convocation to the Archbishop and Bishops. Dec. 1704. *With a Preface.*
The Humble Representation and Complaint of the Lower House of Convocation against the Bishop of Sarum, Dec. 13. 1704.
 The Complainer reprov'd. In Answer to a Partial and Unreasonable Preface to the *Representation*, &c. 1705.
 The Complainer farther reprov'd, in the Observations made by the Upper House upon a Paper presented to them by the Lower, Dec. 1. 1704, and his Grace's Speech, *Mar.* 15. with several Papers from the Lower House, to which they refer. 1705.
A Collection of Papers, concerning what has been transacted in the Convocation summoned in 1702. and dissolved in 1705.——1705.
A Continuation of the faithful Account of what passed in Convocation, April 3. 1705. Numb. IV.
 Proceedings in the present Convocation relating to the Dangers of the Church, and the Protestation against the Irregularities of some of the Lower Clergy. 1706.
 An Account of Proceedings in the Convocation begun *Oct.* 25, 1705.
Some Proceedings in Convocation, A. D. 1705. *faithfully represented.* 1708.
 Partiality detected. In Answer to *some Proceedings*, &c. 1708.
 A Vindication of the Letter published in *Partiality Detected.* With a Narrative of the Proceedings of the Convocation in *Dublin.* 1710.
 His Grace the Archbishop's Circular Letter to the Bishops of his Province; in which the Queen's is included. *Apr.* 1707.
 An Account of the Proceedings in Convocation in a Cause of Contumacy commenced *April* 10, 1707.
An Account of the Defence and Protestation made by the Lower House of Convocation, *Apr.* 30. 1607. *in behalf of the Queen's Supremacy: With Reflections on the Account of the Proceedings,* &c. 1707.
The Proceedings of the Lower House of Convocation upon the Business recommended by her Majesty from the Year 1710. to the Year 1713.
 An Answer to the last mentioned Pamphlet: Wherein the great Unfairness of that Account is laid open, not only from the Books of the *Upper*, but even from those of the *Lower House.* 1714.

Here this scandalous controversy rests for the present: And here may it rest for ever! The exemplary piety and good temper of the worthy Dean of Canterbury, Prelocutor of the lower house now fitting, will (it is to be hoped) have a proper influence on his brethren, in bringing them all into the way of peace; a blessing which ought to be as heartily wished by every true member of our established church, as it is deprecated by her enemies. In a cheerful expectation of this happy change, I shall dismiss this ungrateful subject, with this advertisement; that such treatises (in the foregoing list) as have their titles in an *Italic letter*, are written in support of the new claims of the Lower House, as the rest are in defence of the ancient rights of the Archbishop.

The court of delegates is erected by virtue of a (1) statute which says, that for lack of justice in any of the courts of the archbishops, upon appeal to the king's court of chancery, commissions shall be directed under the great seal to such persons as the king shall name; whose decree shall be good, effectual and definitive. It has also been (2) approved (though the act of parliament takes no notice of any such matter) that appeals do not only lie to this court from the archbishops, but also from the admiralty; and, though the statute says that decrees in this court shall be definitive, yet the (3) judges have maintained, that the king may still (as the pope used to do heretofore) grant a new commission *ad Revidendum*. The established doctrine of the king's supremacy, whereon the authority of this court is founded, was at large asserted by Will. Prynne; who has furnished us with three voluminous tomes of an exact chronological vindication, and historical demonstration of our British, Roman, Saxon, Norman and English kings being supreme in and over all spiritual or religious affairs, causes, persons, &c. The (4) first of these begins at the first planting of christianity in this island, and reaches to the end of Richard the First's reign: whence the (5) second which was first published, continues the story and precedents down to the death of Henry the Third. Most of the copies of these two tomes perished in the dreadful fire of London; and no man has hitherto thought it worth his expence and while to give us a new edition from any of the few that escaped. His (6) third has enough (in all conscience) to satisfy any reasonable reader; and supercede his enquiry into the state of the case, in either former or following ages. He begins with a long list of the records of King John and Henry the Third, which he calls an appendix to the second tome; and then proceeds (for above a thousand pages) with the like precedents in the reign of Edward the First. His design is to shew how the pope and court of Rome, the English clergy and Scotch nobility usurped upon the rights of these three kings; and how, on the contrary, they defended themselves against all such perfidious encroachments. After the author's death, his executors (into whose hands most of the impression fell) put a new title to the book and called it (7) The History of King John, &c. in hopes that appearing in the shape and disguise of an intire work, it would go off the more readily. Here we have sufficient barriers against the Pope's invasion: but, the supremacy having been also invaded by the people, it was necessary that this dispute should be likewise set in a just light; and royalty asserted against the English as well as foreign usurpers. This was done by R. Sheringham, fellow of Caius College; who, being in exile with his sovereign, and finding a pretended English parliament carested by the States of Holland as the supreme government of this nation, resolved to do what he could to undeceive those that were strangers to our constitution. His (8) book shews his intimate acquaintance with the laws of England; and learnedly overthrows the arguments of those restless and antimonarchical scriblers, that (at that time) distracted the age with their impertinent and mad discourses about co-ordination of the three estates, superiority of the king's court over his person, &c.

The court of high-commission was (9) erected out of a (10) necessity of the times; since the bishops and most of the clergy were to be deprived, and yet the old methods of justice would not do the work. The commissioners had power to execute all manner of spiritual jurisdiction under the queen; and to reform all heresies, schisms, contempts, &c. But (as was declared by the (11) judges, and amply proved by (12) Nic. Fuller) had not any authority to fine and imprison at such a rate as was afterwards practised. Before Chancellor Egerton's time, none of their commissions were enrolled, nor are now to be found; so that it is not certainly known what powers were granted them. But it appears that they took cognizance not only of adultery, fornication, and some other grosser faults, but also of petit and trifling cases of assaults, defamation, working on holy-days, &c.

(1) 25. Hen. 8. cap. 19. (2) instit. Par. 4. cap. 74. (3) Term. Trin. 39. Eliz. in B. R. (4) Fol. Lond. 1666. (5) Fol. Lond. 1665. (6) Fol. Lond. 1668. (7) See his Title-Page, printed 1670. (8) The King's Supremacy asserted, 4to. Lond. 1651. 1682. (9) St. 1 Eliz. cap. 1. (10) Instit. Par. 4. cap. 74. (11) Term. Pasch. 9. Ja. 1. (12) Argument, &c. 4to. Pret. 6d.

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Arch-
bishops.

Each of the two archbishops has a prerogative-court; wherein all wills are to be proved, and administrations granted, where the party deceased had *bona notabilia* in some other diocese than that wherein he died. The probate of every bishop's will, or administration of his goods, is also to be had at these prerogative offices. That for the province of Canterbury is kept in Dean's Court near St. Paul's Church in London; where any will may be copied (which is here proveable) since Wat. Tyler's rebellion. The Court of Arches (or *de arcubus*) has its name from Bow-Church, wherein the dean of the arches keeps it; that parish with twelve more in London, being under the peculiar jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury. (15) The judge has ordinary jurisdiction over these parishes, in spiritual causes of the first instance; and, by appeal, his power may be extended throughout this whole province. The court of audience is kept by the archbishop himself in his own palace, and meddles not with any thing of contentious jurisdiction, but matters of form only and voluntary; such as confirmations of the elections of bishops, consecrations, guardianship of the spiritualities of his suffragans *sede vacante*, institutions, collections, &c. and the records that relate to these are commonly in the custody of the archbishop himself, or his secretary, and rarely transmitted into any register's office.

Consis-
tries.

The courts of the suffragan bishops of both provinces are not only held before the chancellors of the several dioceses, but also, in some large ones, before the bishop's commissary; whose (16) jurisdiction extends to such places as are so remote from the cathedral, that the chancellor cannot call them thither without great travel and vexation. It was about the eighteenth year of William the Conqueror's reign, that, by advice of his archbishops, bishops, abbots and princes of the kingdom, it was provided, that these and the county courts should be separated. The records of that parliament are now lost: but the very words of so much of them as related to this particular have been preserved in a charter granted by that king to Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln; which tells us that therein it was provided, (17) *Ut nullus episcopus vel archidiaconus de legibus episcopalibus amplius in hundred placita teneat, nec causam, quæ ad regimen animarum pertinet, ad iudicium secularium hominum adducat; sed quicumque secundum episcopales leges de quacunque causa vel culpa interpellatus fuerit, ad locum, quem ad hoc episcopus ei elegerit & nominaverit, veniat, ibique de causa vel culpa sua respondeat.* The bishops were not in those days furnished with any such subordinate judges in these, as vicars-general, chancellors, commissaries, &c. Which were never heard of, at least, in this kingdom, till about the (18) middle of Henry the Second's reign, when their constant attendance at court put them upon a necessity of committing the administration of justice in their dioceses to other people. The methods of proceeding here used, with a view of the matters transacted and recorded, are to be learned from Hen. Cary's (19) *Law of England, or true Guide for all Persons in ecclesiastical Courts*; Fr. Clark's (20) *Praxis*; and H. Conset's (1) *Practice of the Spiritual Courts*.

Arch-
deacons.

It is lately asserted by a great man, (2) that, in the Saxon times, the archdeacons had no jurisdiction; their whole business being to attend the bishop at ordinations and other public services in the cathedral. In the province (3) of Canterbury, he says, their courts were first erected by Lanfranc: who, by the way, is represented by (4) Sir William Temple as a person of an approved wisdom, and master of all those other excellent qualifications, that are desirable in a good prelate and trusty counsellor. The like was done by his contemporary, Archbishop Thomas, in the province of York: and the two reasons alledged for this reformation, are 1. The laying aside the Chorepiscopi in the western parts, as assuming too much to themselves. 2. The public services which the bishops were more strictly tied to, as the king's barons, in the Norman times. There is several times mention made of these courts, as well known and allowed of, in the famous Constitutions of Clarendon: but I shall only desire the reader to take notice of the tenth, *De appellationibus, sicubi emerferint, ab archidiacono debent ad episcopum, &c.* Which is still the practice. It was not the design of these con-

(15) Vid. D. Chamberl. Not. Angl. Edit. 16. p. 276, 277. (16) Vid. Instit. Par. 4. cap. 74. (17) Vid. Reliq. Spelm. p. 131. (18) See B. Stillingfl. of Eccles. Cases, p. 147. (19) 12mo. Pret. 10d. (20) 4to. Pret. 5s. (1) 8vo. Pret. 6s. (2) B. Stillingfl. Eccles. Cases, p. 146. (3) Hoc è fragm. MS. Bibl. Cott. Edit. in Angl. Sac. tom. 1. p. 150. (4) Introd. to Engl. Hist. p. 234, &c.

stitutions,

stitutions, as is well known, to enlarge the jurisdiction and authority of ecclesiastical judges, PART II. but rather to correct and restrain their usurpations upon the temporal power; and therefore it may justly be believed, that the archdeacons had formerly presided in those subordinate courts, which are here hinted at, and approved: so that a learned person (3) seems to be mistaken in his calculation, when he dates the original of that judicial power, which the archdeacons now have in our church, from their invasion and intrusion upon rural deans, sometime after the year 1236. Nor can I see how either Legate Otho's Injunction, or the Gloss upon it, gives any countenance to his opinion in making this a new office. The commentator especially appears to me to be of a quite different judgment: for, having put the (4) question, Whether the monks might prescribe against the archdeacon's visitation of their appropriated livings? He answers, *Videtur quod non: cum ejus superioritas, sicut episcopi, sit juris communis*. I shall easily agree, that, about this time, the supine negligence of the archdeacons themselves, and the gross corruptions of their officials, and other officers, (who minded little more than what the Gloss calls *lucrum pecuniarium*) might squander and lose most of the records of these courts: or otherwise, I know not but we might have their acts as intire, and of as old a date, as any of those in the consistories of our bishops. In their registers we should have inquisitions *de jure patronatus*, presentments, schedules of the ornaments, and terriers of the glebe lands, &c. The best account of their procurations is given by (5) Jo. Stephens, who, having been engaged in many contests about them in the archdeaconry of Gloucester, took the pains to make a full enquiry into the legal state of such payments here in England. In handling of which debate, he answers these three questions: 1. What a procuration is, and in what manner it was anciently paid? 2. Whether it be due *ratione visitationis*? 3. Whether only so due, and no otherwise? Having largely and learnedly determined these points, he subjoins the famous case (6) of proxies, between the king and Sir Ambrose Forth; and, in the conclusion, adds two more of his own discourses about synodals and pentecostals.

Not to trouble ourselves with the harsh distinction of intrinsecal and extrinsecal jurisdiction Wills. in testamentary causes; it is enough for our present purpose, that it be allowed us, that the former, or the probate of wills, seems to be as ancient in the bishops court, as the forementioned separation of that from the county by the conqueror. It is plain, the practice ran so in (7) Glanvil's time, under Henry the Second; and he speaks of it as a settled and uncontroverted point. That reign was the most remarkable for sharp contests and feuds betwixt the civil and ecclesiastical lawyers; and yet we do not hear that this right was ever denied to the churchmen. Sir Henry Spelman has left a (8) learned discourse on this subject, wherein he shews, that the Goths and Normans had the usage of proving their wills in presence of their clergy only, and a notary apostolick, long before the conquest: the way, he says, in Normandy, was to do it before the curate or vicar of the parish where the testator lived; which is a method still prescribed to in some peculiar parishes in this kingdom. It is therefore possible that we may meet with the originals of some wills, and copies of others, in our ecclesiastical courts, as ancient as our first Norman kings: though a most diligent (9) searcher after such records, as well as others of all nations and languages, assures us, that he could never see an express probate older than about the time of Henry the Third. Administrations granted of intestates goods, by the same powers, are probably as ancient; and therefore we may confidently search for inventories of such as old as any of the aforesaid wills. So much, I think, may reasonably be inferred from that clause in King John's charter, *Si aliquis liber homo intestatus decesserit, catalla sua, &c. per visum Ecclesiæ distribuantur*: for, since this was a confirmation of those liberties which the barons of England claimed as their known rights in the days of his ancestors, it looks very probable that the church had likewise challenged and enjoyed those powers that are here granted her. I know this is an inference that is not allowed of by Mr. Selden, in his

(3) W. Kennet, Paroch. Antiq. p. 643. (4) Gloss. ad Constit. de Archid. ver. Visitant. (5) Historical Discourse of Procurations, 4to. Lond. 1661. (6) Term. Trin. 2 Jac. 1. in Scacc. (7) Lib. 7. cap. 6, 7, & 8. (8) Vid. Reliq. Spelm. p. 127, &c. Vid. etiam G. Linwood, tit. de Test. cap. Stat. verb. Eccles. Libert. (9) Selden's Jurisd. of Test. cap. 6. See also Prynne's Rec. of Ed. I. p. 139, 140.

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(10) Original Jurisdiction of Testaments: but that great man was under some invincible prejudices against our ecclesiastical state, which would not suffer him to be himself, when he treated of affairs of that nature. How our law stands, in relation to these, may be seen in (11) Henry Swinburn's elaborate treatise on Wills and Testaments; J. Godolphin's (12) Orphan's Legacy; (13) G. Meriton's Touchstone; and Tho. Wentworth's (14) Office and Duty of Executors. This last was an eminent lawyer, and Recorder of London, in the beginning of King James the First's reign, and has given excellent directions to testators, for the better choice of executors, and contrivance of their wills.

Tithes.

Mr. Selden's (15) History of Tithes, was what, most of all his works, blasted his credit, and exposed him to penance, as well as censure: for the high commission presently obliged him to a publick acknowledgment of his offence, in those scandalous (16) reproaches he cast upon the clergy, as generally blockish and idle. This treatise was immediately fallen upon by several learned and vigorous opponents. R. Tildesley, who wrote (17) Animadversions upon it, taking to task the law part; as S. Nettles did the rabbinical, who was Archdeacon and Prebendary of Rochester, where he had the convenience of those records which were of mighty use to him in the compiling of that work. R. Mountague's book bears the title of (18) Diatribæ upon the First Part of the late History of Tithes, and is only a supplement of three chapters to what Dr. Tildesley had before published; having little or nothing from the records of this kingdom; and seems to have been printed chiefly for its bringing abroad with it its vaunting prefatory address, stuffed, according to the mode of those times, with a deal of philological learning. Selden's history was reprinted in the year 1680. Though the title page dissembled the matter, and pretended that the copies now distributed were only a new-discovered store of the former edition. This gave occasion to a fresh (19) Vindication of the Divine Right of Tythes, by Dr. Comber, the late learned Dean of Durham, who ingenuously confesses, that, in what relates to our English records, he had no other helps than what he borrowed from Tildesley, the Monasticon, and Selden's own quotations. Another answer was framed by Will. Sclater, whose (20) Arguments about Tithes are not thought to be so valid and considerable, as what has been advanced by the four learned persons above mentioned. Mr. Selden had undoubtedly a deal of resentment in him, against the established churchmen, when he wrote his book: but it can hardly be supposed that it was intended to gratify the Presbyterian party; who never boggled at the receiving tithes in full, as the most comfortable support of their ministry. One of the chief bell-weathers of that faction, Dr. Cornelius Burges, has carried the point higher than the warmest of our episcopal writers; affirming, in his (21) New Discovery of Personal Tithes, that the tenth part of the clear gains of servants and day-labourers, is due to the parson, both in conscience, and by the laws of this kingdom. It is true, this treatise was published before its mischievous author had openly deserted our church's communion, and whilst he was chaplain to King Charles the First: but we do not hear that, even after his traiterous desertion of his mother and (the father of his country) his own royal master, he ever recanted that doctrine, though he zealously preached up the alienation of the lands of bishops, deans, and chapters, himself coming in for a share in the spoil, contrary to his avowed opinion in former days. The mischief that has accrued to the church of England by appropriations, and the scandal of our reformation in continuing the sacrilege by our many impropriated tithes at this day, is well treated on by an (1) ingenious and learned person, who designs a more distinct (2) Historical Account of these matters; wherein, possibly, may be brought to light the long concealed MS. (3) Whip for Sacrilege, which was written by John Reading, Prebendary of Canterbury, against Anthony Persons's Great Case of Tithes. Until this be done, we may reasonably content ourselves with what is already given by Sir Henry

(10) In two Parts, Fol. Lond. 1683. (11) 4to. pret. 10s. (12) 4to. pret. 6s. (13) 8vo. pret. 1s. 6d. (14) 8vo. pret. 2s. (15) 4to. Lond. 1618. (16) In Præfat. (17) 4to. Lond. 1619. (18) 4to. Lond. 1621. (19) 4to. Lond. 1681. (20) 4to. Lond. 1623. (21) 8vo. Lond. 1625. (1) W. Kennet. Paroch. Antiq. page 433, &c. (2) Ibid. 445. (3) Vid. Ath. Oxon. lib. 2. page 289.

Spelman,

Spelman, in his three excellent treatises on the same subject, (4) *De non temerandis Ecclesiis*, his larger (5) work of *Tithes*, and his (6) *History and Fate of Sacrilege*. The best account of the present state of our tithes, both as to the foundation of our laws, whereon they stand, and the rules that are to be observed in looking after them, is lately given by the most learned Bishop (7) Stillingfleet, who never fails of exhausting whatever subject he pretends to treat on.

PART II.

The vice-chancellors courts, in both our universities, are of great antiquity, and should afford us some valuable records. In the case of (8) Wilcocks against Bradel, by the charters of the university of Oxford then produced, it appeared that they had been long impowered to enquire of all trespasses, injuries, pleas and quarrels, and of all other crimes and matters, except pleas of Frank-tenement, where a scholar, or their servants, or ministers, *sunt una partium; & cognitionem & correctionem inde habend. secundum eorum statuta vel consuetudines, vel secundum legem regni nostri Angliæ, ad voluntatem cancellarii: ita quod justiciarii de banco regis, sive de communi banco, vel justiciarii de assisis non se intromittant.* It likewise appeared, that these charters were confirmed by (9) act of parliament, wherein they were particularly and *verbatim* recited. But we are not to estimate the utmost age of this court, from what was alledged at that trial: for, in Halley's case, (10) the same year, a charter was produced, bearing date in the third of Richard the Second; and we also (11) know the like was granted by his grandfather, Edward the Third, in the year 1331. So that thus (12) high, at least, we might hope for information from the registers of this court, if they had been continued compleatly down to our times.

Universities.

Registers in churches (of weddings, christenings and burials) were first appointed to be kept in the year (13) 1538, just upon the dissolution of monasteries; and, since that time, have proved some of our best helps towards the preserving of history. Their use might be of a yet farther extent, if care were taken to register also many other remarkable occurrences relating to the public concerns of the several parishes; as recoveries of benefactions, properties in seats or isles, rights of advowson, &c. But it will be our everlasting reproach, if, instead of thus improving the good designs of our ancestors, for the continuance of their names and memories, we shall omit even that part of our duty which is now enjoined by an (14) ecclesiastical, as well as civil authority, and records matters in our church-books after such a manner, as will only serve to render them monuments of our negligence. For a collection of ancient usages in presentations by lay-patrons, the reader may consult (15) W. Prynne's book, entitled *Jus Patronatus*: or, as he is pleased to expound those two words, a brief, legal, and rational plea for advowsons and patrons ancient, lawful, just, and equitable rights and titles to present incumbents to parish churches or vicarages upon vacancies, &c.

Registers in Churches.

(4) 8vo. Lond. 1613. (5) 4to. Ibid. 1646. (6) 8vo. Lond. 1698. (7) *Eccles. Cases*, page 254, 255, &c. (8) *Croke's Rep. Term. Tim.* 3 Car. I. (9) *Stat.* 13 Eliz. (10) *Croke, Term. Mich.* 3 Car. I. (11) *Vid. Hist. & Antiq. Oxon.* par. 1. page 164. (12) Nay, as high as 3 Ed. I. as appears from Prynne's *Records* of that King, page 162, 163. (13) J. Speed, in *Hen. VIII.* n. 100. (14) *Vid. Constit. Eccles. A. D.* 1603. Can. 70. (15) 4to. Lond. 1649.

THE END OF THE SECOND PART.

THE

T H E
E N G L I S H
HISTORICAL LIBRARY.
P A R T III.

C H A P. I.

*Of Proclamations, Orders of the Privy-Council, and other Papers of State,
within the Verge of the King's Court and Palace-Royal.*

Proclama-
tions.

THE society of antiquaries, projected by Sir Robert Cotton, Mr. Camden, and others, took particular care to make this one of the rules and (1) statutes of their community, that all the proclamations of our kings and queens should be exactly, because of the scarcity of their copies, enquired after, and preserved in their library. And it was certainly a right thought in them; since it is but a lame account that our historians commonly give us of such matters. They may possibly take notice of something commanded or prohibited, in this or that year, by royal authority; but they seldom give us the reasons whereon such publick edicts were built: and yet these, which are always expressed in the formal instrument itself, are best worth knowing, and have usually couched in them the chief part of the story of those times. It was once provided by (2) act of parliament, that all "Proclamations made by the king's highness, with the advice of the honourable [privy] council, should be obeyed and kept, as though they were made by act of parliament:" but this, being afterwards judged to be of terrible consequence, was presently repealed by another subsequent (3) law.

Charters.

Charters and letters-patent, making grants of privileges, offices and pensions, are, indeed at this day, enrolled in chancery, and may justly be reckoned among the records of that court: but, because they have generally their rise at the king's court of residence, being so many special acts of his own royal bounty, and are therefore particularly registered here as well as elsewhere; I cannot think it amiss, to consider them in this chapter. Before the reign (4) of Richard the Second, they were all, by advice of the privy-council, expressed by *Hijis Testibus*, with a recital of the names of such as were present. In the first years of that king the style was changed; and the conclusion of them ran in this form, *In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes: teste meipso*. To distinguish those that are truly ancient and genuine from such as are false and counterfeit, it will be requisite that one be perfectly well skilled in the several changes that have been made by our kings in their seals and titles. None of them sealed with any (5) seal of arms before Richard the First; the seals of his predecessors bearing

(1) Vid. Dr. Th. Smith, in Vit. D. R. Cotton, p. 8. (2) St. 31 Hen. 8. cap. 8. (3) 1 Ed. 6. cap. 12. (4) Instit. par. 2. p. 78. (5) Id. par. 1. cap. 1, 7, a, b.

only the portraiture of the King, sitting in a chair on one side and on horseback on the other. This Richard sealed with a seal of two lions; because the conqueror, for England, bore two lions: but King John, in the right of Aquitaine, the duke whereof bore one lion, was the first that sealed with three; and all our succeeding kings have followed his example. Edward the Third, in the thirteenth year of his reign, quartered the arms of France with his three lions; and this copy has been also carefully written after by all his successors. The same king, as founder of the most noble order of knights of the garter, had his arms sometimes encircled with their motto of *Honi Soit*, &c. that of *Dieu et Mon Droit* having formerly been assumed by Richard the First, (1) intimating that the kings of England hold their empire from God alone: but neither of those ever appeared on the broad seal, before the days of Henry the Eighth. There is yet a greater variety in the titles of our kings, than in their seals. William the Conqueror (2) commonly stiled himself *Willielmus Rex*, and sometimes *Willielmus Rex Anglorum*. The like did William Rufus, who sometimes wrote also *Willielmus Dei Gratia Rex Anglorum*. Henry the First used both likewise; and so did King Stephen. Henry the Second omitted *Dei Gratia*, and wrote himself *Henricus Rex Angliæ, Dux Normanniæ & Aquitaniæ, & Comes Andegaviæ*. Richard the First used the same stile with his father. He was also King of Cyprus and Jerusalem; but never mentioned either of those titles. King John added *Dominus Hiberniæ*. Mr. Selden, I know, affirms, (3) that Henry the Second himself used this title, in pursuance of Pope Adrian the Fourth's bull for the invasion of that kingdom, *Et illius Terræ Populus Te recipiat, & sicut DOMINUM veneretur*: but his own quotation, out of the annals of Ireland, seems to confute this opinion, telling us, that *Johannes Filius Regis Dominus Hiberniæ, de Dono Patris venit, &c.* Henry the Third, in the forty-fourth year of his reign, left off *Dux Normanniæ, & Comes Andegaviæ*, and wrote himself only *Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ & Dux Aquitaniæ*. This continued till the thirteenth of Edward the Third, who then began to stile himself *Edwardus Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ & Franciæ, & Dominus Hiberniæ*. Richard the Second gave France the precedence, his great seal bearing *Rex Franciæ & Angliæ*: and so did (4) Henry the Fourth, Henry the Fifth, in his eighth year, and thenceforward during his whole reign, wrote, *Rex Angliæ, Hares & Regens Franciæ, & Dominus Hiberniæ*. His successors resumed Edward the Third's title: to which Henry the Eighth, in the thirteenth year of his reign, added *Fidei Defensor*. This was conferred upon him, in his twelfth year, by Pope Leo the Tenth, for the good services he had done the papacy in writing against Luther. The original of that book, written with the king's own hand, is still preserved in the Vatican library, being thus inscribed, *Anglorum Rex Henricus Leoni X. mittit hoc opus & Fidei testem & Amicitia*. It was thought serviceable to the Roman cause, in a late reign, to have it translated into English. Notwithstanding this generally received opinion (5) some have affirmed, that several of our kings used the title of Defender of the Faith long before King Henry's time, which they pretend to prove from sundry ancient charters granted the University of Oxford. The same king, in his twenty sixth-year, had another title of, *Supremum Caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* confirmed to him by (6) act of parliament; and the law takes notice, that before that time he had been so "recognized by the clergy of this realm in their convocations." This stile was used by Edward the Sixth all his reign; and by the Lady Jane Grey, in the proclamation that was made of her right to the crown, upon that king's decease. Queen Mary also called herself Supreme Head in the like proclamation of her right, and on other publick occasions in the beginning of her reign: and having omitted it in her summons of the parliament, it was (7) much disputed whether those writs were legal. However, within a short time after her coming to the crown, she wholly omitted that part of the royal stile; which, after her marriage, ran thus, Philip and Mary by the Grace of God, King and Queen of England and France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, Princes of Spain and Sicily, Arch-dukes of Austria, Dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant, Counts of Flassburgh, Flanders, and Tyrol. In their fourth and fifth year they left

(1) See E. Chamberlane's Angl. Not. Edit. 16. p. 69. (2) Instit. par. 1. cap. 1. (3) Tit. of Hon. p. 37, 38, &c. (4) See their seals in Speed. (5) Chamb. Not. Ed. 16. p. 6, 7. (6) St. 26 Hen. 8. cap. 1. (7) Seld. Tit. of Hon. p. 59.

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out Naples, but added both Sicilies. The oath of supremacy was (8) strictly enjoined upon Queen Elizabeth's first advancement to the thrones, and yet she was always shy of assuming the title of *Supremum Caput*, contenting herself with that of *E. Dei Gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, Fidei Defensor, &c.* The direction (9) of all these letters patent, down to the end of Edward the Third's reign, was in these words: *Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Comitibus, Baronibus, &c.* But Richard the Second began a more general and compendious direction, *Omnibus, ad quos præsentis Literæ pervenerint*, which is used to this day: saving that in charters of creation of dignities it still runs, *Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Ducibus, Marchionibus, &c.* and *hij Testibus* in the end. The first of our kings, that wrote in the plural number, (10) was King John, his predecessors writing in the singular. They used *Ego* in their grants; and this king, with those that followed him, *Nos*. For ancient and modern precedents of characters, the reader may consult (11) W. Shepherd's treatise of corporations, fraternities, and guilds; wherein also the necessity, antiquity, various kinds, orders and government of bodies-politick, are accounted for.

Paper-
Office.

I shall not pretend to affirm, with a (12) certain late writer, that the authority of the king's privy-council was anciently so great, that whatever was resolved on there, and sealed afterwards with the king's seal, passed immediately into a law. For this opinion he quotes Sir H. Spelman: but I cannot meet with such a doctrine in any of his writings. He mentions, indeed, a (13) conjecture of Sir W. Raleigh, that the present constitution of our parliaments was not known before the seventh year of Henry the First; at which time he finds the king, with the sole advice of his privy-council, raising a considerable sum for the marriage-portion of his eldest daughter. It is well known this will not prove his point; nor needed he have gone so far back, as appears by King John's Charter, and great store of other evidence, for an instance of this kind. It must be allowed, that from the council-board have always issued out occasional proclamations; which are binding to the subject, if not contrary either to statute or common law. These, with all dispatches and instructions for foreign ministers, letters of intelligence, and other publick papers that are either communicated here, or to the two secretaries of state, are afterwards transmitted to the Paper-Office, wherein they are all disposed, by way of library, in a place of good security and convenience; within the king's royal palace at White-hall. Here are likewise the credentials of ambassadors, the letters of foreign princes and states, leagues, treaties, memorials, &c. Of what great use to our historian a free access to this royal treasury ought to be esteemed, appears from the best and (14) compleatest history this age has produced; *Cujus operis* (says my (15) author) *fundamenta & statumina fere omnia ex hoc armario depromebantur*. Besides these assistances, the inquisitive historian will here find great variety of papers relating to the decrees and transactions of several of our ancient as well as modern palace courts. The Paper-Office has suffered much by its removal in haste from its first repository near the Old Banqueting-house; and in the rebellious times, by the free access which the grandees of the then usurping powers, Bradshaw, Thurlo, Milton, &c. had to it. The like disorders were in it, after Sir J. W. resigned his office of secretary of state: for, the custody of these papers being continued to him by patent, he resolved to preserve this small relation to the palace; but without giving any suitable encouragement to a deputy. Mr. Tucker, since her majesty's accession, has brought it into tolerable order. There are not many papers here relating to the times within my limits: and those few are placed in presses of the outer room under the names of those countries whose affairs they concern; as England, Ireland, Germany, France, Italy, &c. The two large presses in the inner room contain the bequests of Sir Jos. Williamson and Sir Leoline Jenkins; most of which are of a later date: and, in the little closets and turrets, hardly any thing will be found that goes higher than the martyrdom of King Charles the First.

Star-
Chamber.

It were certainly a very vain thing to look for any records of the court of Star-Chamber higher than the third year of Henry the seventh, if that (16) statute, which declares the powers of its

(8) St. 1 Eliz. cap. 1. (9) Instit. par. 2. p. 1. (10) Id. ibid. p. 2. (11) 8vo. pr. 1s. (12) Chamberl. Angl. Not. Ed. 16. par. 2. cap. 1. (13) Gloss. in voce Parliamentum. (14) Hist. Reform. Eccles. Angl. a G. Burnet. (15) Dr. Gale, in Præfat. ad xx Script. Vol. I. p. 7. (16) 3 Hen. 7. cap. 1.

judges,

judges, were indeed, as some have thought, the first original and foundation of their jurisdiction: PART
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but, in (17) Chamber's case, it was the unanimous opinion of the whole court of King's-Bench, That it was "not erected by that statute, but was a court many years before, and one of the most high and honourable courts of justice." Returns of writs to the king in Camera, which is commonly expounded (18) Star-Chamber, are as old as the 28th of Edward the Third: and it appears, from a case in one of the Lord Dier's MSS. that both the chief justices sat in that court, and that they fined delinquents very deep in the reign of Henry the Sixth. It took cognizance of riots, extortions, oppressions, and other grievous offences; but meddled not with crimes liable to the pains of death. It is said to have but few sessions; and that for these reasons. 1. Because those enormities, that were chiefly therein cognizable, were rare. 2. *Ne dignitas bujus curiæ vilesceret.* 3. That the council might not neglect the publick affairs of state in their too frequent attendance on private causes. Their proceedings were by informations, bills, answers, replications, interrogatories, &c. all which were filed up; and the sentences and decrees were engrossed in a fair book, with the names of such lords and others that were present, and gave their voices.

The judges in the court of Chivalry, (19) where the lord high constable and earl marshal; Court of
Chivalry.
the latter whereof was also obliged to see execution done. Its jurisdiction and manner of proceeding in it, is at large accounted for in an old French manuscript, intitled, *Modus faciendi Duellum coram Rege*; and may be also pretty well learned from the (20) statutes themselves. The matters, from beyond the seas, triable in this court were determinable, as the patent (1) expresses it, *Summarie & de plano, sine strepitu & figura judicii.* It was of an ancient date; for so says the commission, *Quæ in curia constabularii ab antiquo, videlicet tempore Domini Willielmi Conquestoris quondam Angliæ, progenitoris nostri, &c.* But it has now been very long discontinued; there having been no constant and standing high constable since the (2) beheading of Edward Duke of Buckingham. Its records are chiefly to be had amongst the heralds; who were obliged to be attendants on this court. Some of those that relate to the proceedings in the Marshalsea are still in the Paper-Office: but the reader will see from the account given of the nature and jurisdiction of this court, by Sir Edward Coke in his (3) Reports, that there is little in them to our historian's purpose.

What is especially considerable in this rich treasury, is the vast collection we here meet with Embassies
of memorials, instructions, plenipotentiary powers, &c. granted and given, in several reigns, and on divers weighty occasions, to our ambassadors and envoys, or papers of the like kind presented by the ministers of foreign princes and states residing here in England. How great light in history may be had from these, is sufficiently evident from Sir D. Digges's (4) Complete Ambassador; wherein we have a pleasing variety of letters penned by the most eminent statesmen of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and the best account that is any where publick, of what passed on the subject of that prince's matching with foreigners. This book was collected for private use: but, being now published, every man has liberty to look into the cabinets of the great Cecil, Smith Walsingham, &c. The like entertainment may be had from the history of (5) Sir Tho. Randolph's Embassy to the Emperor of Russia, in the year 1568. wherein the reader will find the whole story of the first privileges that were ever procured for our English merchants in that country. We have also a Diary of (6) Henry Unton's in France; giving an account of his commission, instructions, letters, &c. from July 13, 1591. to June 12, 1592. He was sent on a second embassy to the said court, and is reported to have penned the transactions of that likewise: but where that journal is to be had, or whether it be not now lost, we know not. In the Receipt-Office in the Exchequer, there is a short collection of all leagues and treatise of peace, intercourses and marriages with foreign nations, compiled by the industrious (7) antiquary Ar. Agard: but this falls infinitely short of that immense store which Sir John Cotton's library

(17) Croke's Rep. Term. Mich. 5. Car. 1. (18) Instit. Lib. 4 à p. 60 ad 66. (19) Ibid. cap. 17. (20) 13. Ric. 2. cap. 2. & 1 Hen. 4. cap. 14. (1) Rot. pat. 7. Ed. 4. apud J. Seld. Not. in Fortesc. cap. 32. (2) Anno 12. Hen. 8. (3) Lib. 4. fol. 46, 47. Lib. 6. fol. 20, 21. & Lib. 10. fol. 68, 69, &c. Le Case del Marshalsea. (4) Fol. Lond. 1655. (5) In Hackluyt's Voyages, vol. 1. (6) MS. in Bibl. Bod. (7) Vid. Ath. Oxon. l. 1. p. 246.

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will afford us of these matters. We have there no less than (6) forty-three volumes of treaties betwixt the English, Scots, and France, in a fair and regular method; besides (7) many more of the like kind in a more loose and dispersed condition. Nor are the memoirs of our own ambassadors only of great use in our English history; but so are likewise those of our neighbouring nations: those especially wherewith this kingdom has usually maintained the greatest correspondence in treaties of peace and commerce, as France and Holland. I have seen a transcript of above (8) four hundred volumes of French treaties: so that I have sometimes wondered at an assertion of one of the most eminent historians of this age, and one that has had great opportunities of looking into the archives abroad as well as at home, that (9) "It has not been the practice of that court to lay up the negotiations of their ambassadors." And this remark seems the more strange to me, because the same author, in that very (10) treatise, had told us of a whole volume of authentic proofs, for his History of the Reformation, greater than he had already published, in the King of France's library; "Which, says he, were the letters of the French ambassadors that were in K. Henry the Eighth's court." The kings of France have often sat as arbitrators of differences in this kingdom, and have, upon a full hearing, given their definitive sentences in the causes brought before them. So much, in short, our chroniclers sometimes tells us: but what were the pleadings on both sides, and on what reasons the judgments were given, they very rarely inform us. Thus, for example, we are told that Lewis the Seventh (11) umpired the matter betwixt our Henry the Second, and Archbishop Becket, then in exile; and (12) that St. Lewis decided the grand controversy between Henry the Third, and his barons, in favour of the king. Now if we desire to know what memorials or arguments were produced in either of these great cases; and what were the motives that induced the royal arbitrators to frame their awards in the form and fashions that we read of, we must fetch our informations from France; since our own historians will afford us no manner of satisfaction in these points. The like must be said of Denmark, Sweden, &c. whenever we find our own affairs mixed and interwoven with those of other countries. This want begins now to be happily supplied by the *Fœdera, Conventiones, Literæ, & cujuscunq; generis acta Publica, inter Reges Angliæ, & alios quosvis Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices, Principes, vel Communitates, ab incunte Sæculo duodecimo, viz. ab Anno 1101. ad nostro usque Tempora, habita aut tractata; ex Autographis, infra secretiores Archivorum Regionum Thesaurarios, per multa Sæcula reconditis, fideliter exscripta.* Fol. Lond. tom. 1. 1704. Tom. 2. 1705, &c. usque ad tom. 15. 1713. This great work we have from T. Rymer, historiographer royal, commanded and supported by her majesty, and it may justly be reckoned one of the many glories of her reign. We have here not only finished treaties, but letters of great princes, and their chief ministers of state; instructions to ambassadors, and other ministers residing in foreign courts; papal bulls of all kinds, conge d'eslires, and writs of restitution of temporalities, royal mandates to the clergy for commemorative masses, fasts and thanksgivings, &c. Sculptures of ancient hands and seals, and multitudes of other curious pieces of antiquity.

Green-
Cloth.

There is another repository of court records, which is commonly known by the name of the Green-Cloth; so called from the (1) covering of the board, whereat the great officers sit and give audience. In this office, which by some of our writers is called *Domus Compotus Hospitii Regis*, are not only preserved the accounts of the king's household expences, but you have also here such prudent orders, as, from time to time, have been made by the lord steward, chamberlain, comptroller, &c. for the more decent and regular behaviour of the inferior servants. They have (2) a power of trying and determining all treasons and conspiracies within the verge of the court, against the king's royal person, or any of the members of his privy-council; as also all (3) murders, manslaughter and bloodshed, within the limits and bounds of the king's palace, or within two hundred yards of the door, or gate of any house where his

(6) Caligula, B. C. D. E. (7) Julius, E. B. 2, 3. F. 6. Tiberius, B. 6. 12. Nero, B. 1, 2, &c. D. 6. Galba. B. C. D. E. Vitellius, B. C. 11, 16, 17. Vespas. C. F. Titus, A. 3. B. (8) In Bibl. Guelpherbyt. (9) G. Burn. Refl. on Var. Par. 1. p. 86. (10) Ibid. p. 50. (11) M. Paris, ad An. 1169. (12) Continuator dict. M. P. ad An. 1263. (1) Vid. Instit. Lib. 4. cap. 19. (2) St. 3. Hen. 7. cap. 14. (3) St. 33. Hen. 8. cap. 12.

majesty shall personally reside. Here likewise, and not in chancery, were commonly enrolled PART
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all letters and writings concerning such matters of state as were not fit to be made vulgar.

In the conclusion of this chapter, I think, we ought to take some notice of those that have ventured to treat upon the rights of our monarchs, and the extent or plenitude of their regal power: and these indeed have been very many. Phil. Hunton, a nonconformist minister, published the most learned (4) treatise on monarchy, of any of the writers of his party; in the former part whereof he enquires into the nature of monarchy in general; and in the latter considers the frame and constitution of that in this kingdom. This author peremptorily asserts that the sovereignty of England is in the three estates of king, lords and commons; which proposition was condemned as heterodox by the university (5) of Oxford, in their convocation, and the book itself publickly burned. In answer to this, Sir Robert Filmer published his (6) Anarchy of a limited and mixed Monarchy. It is likely that Hunton had met with some more early antagonist; since, before the appearance of Sir Robert's book, he printed (7) a vindication of this treatise of monarchy. Another of the most virulent opposers of kingly government, and patrons of democracy, was James Harrington, sometime of the bed-chamber to King Charles the First: who, though he was a zealous and affectionate admirer of his royal master's personal endowments, never heartily revered his regal office. When that was supposed to be brought to a final period, he wrote his (8) Common-Wealth of Oceana, wherein he proposes a new Utopian model of government by balloting of senators, &c. In answer to this came forth Matt. (9) Wren's Considerations, &c. reflecting on the first part of Harrington's preliminaries. To these was prefixed a letter to Dr. Wilkins, then Warden of Wadham College, desiring his thoughts of the Controversy; which gave occasion to Harrington to reflect a little severely upon that club of *Virtuosi*, which then usually met at the warden's lodgings, and were the first seedlings of the now famous Royal Society, as if they laid their heads together for the composition of that answer. This he did in his (10) Prerogative of popular Government, in the former part whereof he enlarges the first preliminary of Oceana, and endeavours to vindicate it from all such mistakes or slanders, as have been alledged against it under the notion of objections. To this Wren replied, in his (11) Monarchy asserted; wherein are given the true states of both monarchical and popular government, in defence of the Considerations. Hereupon the democratic immediately published a comical repartee, under the title of (12) Politicaster: and so this mighty controversy ended with a quibble. Against the Oceana appeared also Mr. Baxter; who, to convince the author of that book that he was a politician, did also afterwards oblige the world with his (13) Holy Commonwealth: a piece, which needs have no more said of it, than that it fell under the same condemnation with P. Hunton's before mentioned. He had some other opponents of less note. Honest Fabian Phillips has furnished us with a sufficient stock of answers to whatever shall be scribbled by the writers of that gang, in his (14) Investigatio Jurium Antiquorum, &c. wherein our established government is vindicated from popular and republican principles and mistakes, with a respect to the laws of God, man, nature and nations. It is observable, that most of those doughty combatants, that have hitherto engaged the English monarchy, have borrowed their chief artillery from some select passages in Granvil, Bracton, Fleta, &c. whereas they might have carried their authorities much higher. In those laws which are said to have been of King Edward the Confessor's enacting, and confirmed by William the Conqueror, they have these strictures, (15) *debet rex omnia rite facere in regno & per judicium procerum regni. Debet enim jus & justitia magis regnare in regno, quam voluntas prava. Lex est semper quod jus facit, &c.* This indeed is part of the younger of the two copies of those laws, which Mr. Selden perused: but even that appears to have been penned in or soon after the reign of William Rufus, which is before the time of the authors usually quoted. Let it only be observed, that in this very chapter, which

(4) 4to. Lond. 1680. 1689. (5) July 21, 1683. (6) 4to. Lond. 1646. & 8vo. ibid. 1652. 79. (7) 4to. Lond. 1644. (8) Fol. Lond. 1656. (9) 8vo. Lond. 1657. (10) 4to. Lond. 1658. (11) 8vo. Lond. 1659. (12) 4to. Lond. 1659. (13) 8vo. Lond. 1659. (14) Fol. Lond. 1686. (15) LL. Guil. 1. cap. 17.

PART
III.
Bacon.

seems to have been the original whence this doctrine is copied, it is affirmed that these bounds were set by the pope, and not by the people.

The great respect which has of late been paid to Nath. Bacon's (1) Historical Discourse of the Uniformity of the Government of England, will oblige us to consider that author apart from the rest. There are several witty, political, and moral reflections in his book; which discover a peculiar art in drawing very notable and weighty conclusions from weak and airy premises. His remarks on the clergy, upon all occasions, are so full of bitterness and invective, as might have become Mr. Selden himself, and are an evident argument of the author's having a mind to ape even the very passions of that angry great man. Some favourable expressions towards monarchy drop from him unawares; as when he speaks of the Duke of Normandy's being a scourge to the people for their causeless deserting of the royal stem, &c. But whenever this happens, he is manifestly out of his way. His main design was to blacken all our kings, and to shew that they had nothing lovely in them, but what was derived from the favour and caresses of the people, as will appear from the following abstract of the whole work, which shall be given in his own words. "The British people held the helm of government in their own hands, till the Romans made them a province, and subjected them to kings. The Saxons were also a free people, and a law unto themselves: saving only that these, as well as the Britains, paid a profound respect and reverence to their priests. The Conqueror stooped under the law of a Saxon king, and became a king by leave; wisely foreseeing, that a title gotten by election is more certain than that which is gotten by power. William Rufus was happy in the fear or favour of the people, for he had nothing else to make room for his rising. Henry the First bound himself, by capitulation to be just, that he might be great; and the people to submit to justice, that they might be free. K. Stephen was a vapour mounted up by the clergy; tossed by tempests for a time, and at length falling. Henry the Second's title was by compact made between the lords, King Stephen, and himself; all being then ready to try the right by the sword to that to which none of them had any right at all, at that time, but by the favour of the people. Richard the First's entrance was upon an election made in his father's time. John was chosen hand over head, and so ruled: though the king must be thought sober, the man was mad. Henry the Third was the first precedent of conscience, in point of succession by inheritance; the people closing about this spark, in hopes it might bring forth a flame whereby to warm themselves in stormy weather. Edward the First contended for arbitrary power in England: but our good old enemies, the Scots, by Divine Providence, suddenly crossed his way. Edward the Second was made a monument of God's revenge upon inordinate desires in a king, and of the English people enraged: not long surviving his demise, he died a death meet to be for ever blotted out of the thoughts of all subjects, but to be had in everlasting remembrance of all kings. Edward the Third, after fifty years reign, died in his minority, under the rule of a woman of none of the best fame. Richard the Second retained a tincture of the light inconstancy of his mother, and the luxuriousness of his great grandfather; and running his [Edw. II.] course, came to his end. Henry the Fourth was an unhappy confident man, that durst undertake more than he would, did more than he ought, and was successful in what he did; yet never attained his end, to be sure of his crown and quiet of mind. Henry the Fifth was bold enough to out-face small doubts in point of succession; for he could, for a need, out-face common civility itself. Henry the Sixth entered the throne in his mother's lap: a sad presage of what followed; for many men think that he was in a lap all his days. Edward the Fourth came in by the people, though he endeavoured to support himself by foreign dependencies. Edward the Fifth was the *materia prima* of a king, and lived only long enough to be inrolled among the rest. Richard the Third proceeded from a protector to an usurper, and thence to a tyrant; a scourge to the whole nation, especially the nobility; an instrument of God's revenge upon himself; a man made up of clay and blood; living not loved, and dying unlamented. Henry the Seventh was a cunning man, rather than a wise

(1) First part, from the first times to the reign of Ed. 3. 4to. Lond. 1647. Second Part, to the end of Q. Eliz. Ibid. 4to. 1651. Both reprinted in fol. Lond. 1695.

English king: and though he died rich, yet is he since grown into debt to the penmen of his story, that by their own excellency have rendered him a better king than he was. Henry the Eighth knew neither faithful servant, counsellor, nor wife; but struck at all that stood in his way. Edward the Sixth was every way tender; born and supported by extraordinary means, which could never make his days many, or his reign long. Queen Mary lived an uncomfortable life; shaped a bloody reign, and had but a dim conclusion. Queen Elizabeth was begotten in a heat against Rome; wherein also she was born and trained up by her father and brother's order, and saw enough in her sister's course to confirm her therein." This is the sum and substance of this admired book; which, with its author, I shall leave to the reader's due correction, and proceed.

PART
III.

C H A P. II.

Of Acts, Ordinances, Journals, &c. of the two Houses of Parliament.

A Collection of the laws before Magna Charta was made by Sir H. Spelman; and is now amongst the many choice MSS. in Bodley's Library. It bears the title of (1) *Codex Legum Veterum & Statutorum Regni Angliæ, quæ ab ingressu Gulielmi, usque ad Annum Nonum Henrici Tertii edita sunt; hoc est, ante Primum Statutum omnium Impressorum in Libris Juridicis.* All these have been a good while scattered and dispersed in our printed books. We have a pretendedly exact copy of the conqueror's in their original French language, together with a Latin translation, first published by Mr. Selden (2); and afterwards by (3) Sir Roger Twissden and Sir H. Spelman (4); who only transcribed them from the former. The old chronicle of Litchfield (out of which Seldon had one of his copies) gives this account of the first enacting of these laws. *Anno Gulielmus regni sui quarto apud Londonias consilio baronum suorum fecit summoniri per universos Angliæ comitatus omnes nobiles, sapientes, & sua lege eruditos, ut eorum leges & consuetudines audiret. Et licet idem Rex Willielmus leges Norfolkiæ & Suffolkiæ, Grantbrigie & Deiræ (ubi quandam maxima pars Danorum & Norwegiensium inhabitabant) prius magis approbaverat, & eas per totum regnum observari præceperat, pro eo quod omnes antecessores ejus, & fere omnes barones Normanniæ, Norwegienses extitissent, & quod de Norwegia olim venissent; postea, ad preces communitatis Anglorum, Rex acquievit; qui deprecati sunt quatenus permitteret sibi leges proprias & consuetudines antiquas habere, in quibus vixerant patres eorum, & ipsi in eis nati & nutriti sunt, scilicet leges sancti R. Edwardi, &c.*

In this chronicle, as likewise in the French transcript, which Ingulphus brought to Croyland in the last year of that king's reign, the number of these laws are fifty; and they contain several Norman and Feudal customs, which could not be borrowed from any constitutions purely Saxon. To these there are added one and twenty other decrees, which (in the Red Book of the Exchequer) are given by way of charter, the form observed by the conquerors immediate successors; the thirteenth whereof is in these words: *Hoc quoque præcipimus, ut omnes habeant & teneant leges Edwardi regis in omnibus rebus, aduclis iis quas constituimus ad utilitatem Anglorum.* This was well noted by Gervase of Tilbury, who (in his dialogue (5) *De Scaccario*) gives this very account of them: *Quasdam reprobat, quasdam autem approbans illis transmarinas neustriæ leges, quæ ad regni pacem tuendam efficacissimæ videbantur, adjecit.* Besides these, Mr. Selden has likewise collected some other scattered edicts of his out of our English historians, and published them together in his (6) *Epinomis*; a treatise, wherein he has done the same

(1) Vid. Præfat. ad Reliq. Spelman. (2) In Spicileg. ad Eadmer. (3) Addit. ad Guil. Lambardi. *Archæion.* ab Abr. Wheloco Edit. 1644. p. 159, &c. (4) *Cæcil. Brit.* Vol. II. (5) Vid. I. Seld. *Notas ad Fortesc.* cap. 17. (6) *Fol. Lond.* 1683. cap. 4.

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III.

thing for his six immediate successors, in so many several chapters, and was intended by its learned author for a supplementary introduction to the books of our statute laws. We have no perfect laws of William the Second's establishment; and those broken fragments, which the Epinomis brings out of Malmesbury and Polydore Virgil, are presumed only, but not proved, to be of his enacting. They that expound Polydore's words of (7) *Vestigal unius Anni*, to prove that this king set up the legal claim of first fruits, upon the vacancies of bishopricks and monasteries, are manifestly mistaken; since the historian, in that place, intimates only that the temporalities of such vacant dignities might as well be enjoyed by the king, as the jurisdiction by the archbishop of the province. Some of the interpolations in the latter copy of his father's laws appear to have been composed even after the demise of this king, and others look somewhat like the edicts of this reign; but the main of those additions being taken out of the Saxon laws, as well as the sounder and more ancient part of the text itself, it is uncertain whether of the Williams we ought to ascribe them to, or whether indeed they belong rightly to either of them. Those that bear (8) the name of Henry the First, have been published (out of three several manuscripts) by Sir Roger Twissden, together with those of his father already mentioned: but, as the learned publisher himself (9) observes, they have had some late hand in modelling them into the form they now carry. They expressly quote Pope Gregory's decretal; which was not compiled by Gratian till near twenty years after the death of this king. There were two other MS. copies, in the libraries of Sir R. Cotton and Sir H. Spelman, which seem not to have come to Sir Roger's knowledge; though it is sufficiently (10) plain, they might have been of great use to him. I do not think that ever these would have helped us to a truly correct edition of them, since they are likewise acknowledged to be miserably corrupted; but they would certainly have helped to make the jumble a little less confused than now it appears to be. Meric Casaubon (11) assures us, that Mr. Somner took good pains with the edition of these laws; having written upon it, *Animadversiones uberes & doctas, cum Glossario utilissimo*. I guess the larger of those two glossaries, which we now have in the Appendix to them, might be of his composition; the other ancient and imperfect one being all that Sir Roger himself pretends to have given us; though a (12) learned person will not be persuaded but there must be somewhere a more accurate, and much larger work of his on this subject, which has not yet seen the light. The matters of these laws are chiefly on the crown-side; the regulation of the Common-pleas being the business of some following reigns. That King Stephen forbade the usage of the civil law, is attested by the famous Frier (13) Bacon, who gives this account of the matter, *Rex quidam Angliæ Stephanus allatis legibus Italiæ in Angliam, publico edito prohibuit, ne ab aliquo retinerentur*: And J. Salisburienfis (a little more particularly) tells us, that these were laws, (14) *quas in Britanniam, domus venerabilis patris Theobaldi Britanniarum primatis asciverat*. But neither of these speak any thing of his giving his subjects any others in their stead. Henry the Second contented himself with the confirmation of the laws of Edward the Confessor and William the First, which he is (15) said to have done by the special advice of his chief justice R. Glanvil.

Magna
Charta.

In the front of all our printed statutes we have always the great charter, which (being frequently granted and confirmed by assent and authority of parliament) is by (16) Littleton rightly called *Le Statute de Magna Charta*. Others have stiled it *Charta Libertatum Regni*, *Communis Libertas* and *Le Chartre des Franchises*; and the reason assigned for its being named *Magna*, is, because of the (17) great weightiness and weighty greatness of the matter contained in it. It was first granted in form by King (18) John, and enlargee by (19) Henry the Third; who afterwards, at the instigation of his chief justice, Hubert de Burgo,

(7) Hist. Angl. lib. 10. p. 168. (8) Vid. Tit. of Hon. p. 518. (9) Not. ad p. 179. (10) Vid. Spel. Gloss. in Voce. Flemenfirma, Hantessa, Herthohertreingrevet, Lafordswic & Pudhebec. (11) De quat. Ling. p. 141. (12) W. Kennet. in Vit. Somneri, p. 32. (13) In Compend. Theolog. cit. in Not ad Fortesc. cap. 23. (14) Le Nugis Curial. lib. 8. cap. 22. (15) R. Hoveden Hist. Hen. II. p. 600. (16) Tenures, lib. 2. cap. 4. § 108. (17) Coke's Instit. lib. 2. cap. 3. (18) Anno Regni 17. (19) Anno Reg. 9.

cancelled it, upon pretence that he was under age when he granted it. It has since been confirmed by (20) many acts of parliament, and declared by our judges to be the chief part of the common law of England; and we are told, that the said Hubert, together with the two infamous Spencers, in Edward the Second's time, came to an unhappy end by continuing his rash counsels (1) *En contre la forma de la grand chartre*. It is in this latter (of Hen. III.) that the various feudal customs and services of wardship, marriage, &c. are first drawn into a formal law; which probably gave (2) occasion to R. Higden to assert, that this share of the common law was introduced by that king. The (3) second part of Sir Edward Coke's Institutes gives us Magna Charta, and several other select statutes in the original languages wherein they were first enacted, much more correctly than we have them in any other printed copies. Upon these he continually gives us his own commentaries, very full of excellent learning; wherein he shews how the common law stood before the making of such statutes, whether they are introductory of any new law, or only declaratory of the old; what were the causes and ends of their being enacted, what branches of them are now altered or repealed, &c. Sir Henry Spelman (4) has also an elaborate discourse upon this famous charter, which he is pleased to call, *Augustissimum Libertatum Anglicarum Diploma & sacra Anchora*. Some have imagined, that this, and the like expressions on that head, with some of the same face that follow elsewhere, might occasion the delay of (5) publishing the second part of his glossary, the first being sent to the press at a time (6) when prerogative ran high, and the liberties of the people were not to be mentioned. In the whole history which he gives us of its original, growth, and perfection, he has not observed (what is noted by another (7) learned person) that we have not one true copy of this inestimable piece, notwithstanding all the blood that has been shed in its defence. In the common prints, and even in Sir Edward Cooke's own copy, the witnesses are B. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, F. Londinensi Episcopo, &c. *Anno regni nostri nono*. Whereas it is certain, that Boniface was not Archbishop of Canterbury before the 27th of Henry the Third; nor was there any such man as E. Bishop of London, all the while that he was primate. That most of our copies are corrupted and abused, is what I can easily believe; but, that there should not be so much as one sound one in the whole pack, looks like an assertion too bold and general. Copies were sent to the several (8) archbishops and bishops of the realm, to be preserved in their registries; and there was hardly a monastery in the kingdom without one or more of them. It is hard to affirm, that all these were plundered and spoiled; though it is certain their copiers were extremely careless in giving the proper names of witnesses, &c. In a very old one, that has fallen into my hands, King Henry's charter ends *Hiis testibus, Bonifacio Cant. Archiep. &c. Dat. apud Westmon. IX. Die Februar. anno. regni nostri nono*. And King Edward's confirmation does also conclude very differently from what we have in the print, *Hiis test. Roberto Cantuar. Archiep. &c. Datum per manum nostram apud Westmon. xviii. die Maii, anno regni nostri xxviii*. In several manuscripts, and in Tottel's edition in print, the customs of Kent are annexed, being certain privileges and tenures peculiar to that county. The epilogue of them says, they are such (*que furent devaunt le conquest, een le conquest*) as were in use before and at the conquest; and Mr. Lambard (9) met with one copy of them which says they were *allowes en eire John de Berwike, e ses compagnions, justices en eire en Kent le 21. an le roy Ed. Fitz le Roy Henrie*. The same learned antiquary has given us an explanatory comment on these customs; wherein several instances are given of the difference of antient gavelkind from common-law tenures.

Our acts of parliament give often such fair hints of the humours most prevailing at the time of their being enacted, as that many parts of our history may be recovered from them; especially if compared with the writers, either in divinity or morality, about the same date. Thus, for example, the (10) statute against multiplication of metals, discovers somewhat of the

(20) 25 Ed. 1. and 31. Acts following. (1) Proem. ad. Instit. par. 2. (2) Vid. Reliq. Spelm. p. 30. (3) Fit. Lond. 1662, &c. (4) In Gloss. Voce M. Charta. (5) See his Life by Mr. Gibson, p. 6. (6) A. D. 1626. (7) Dr. Tho. Gale, Præfat ad Angl. Scrip. p. 5. (8) Proem. ad Instit. par. 2. (9) Peramb. of Kent, Edit. 1596. pag. 570. (10) 5 Hen. 4. cap. 4.

PART

II.

ruinous fancy (which had then seized most of our nobility) of trying chymical conclusions for the attainment of the philosopher's stone; and he that reads Chaucer's Tale of the Canon's Yeoman, penned about the same time, will have a farther view of the fashionable vanity of those days. Thus likewise from the statute of (11) Malbridge, some have taken the great epocha of our present English government; (12) affirming that it was then that (to use Livy's expression) the *Imperia Legum* began to prevail in our land, the confusions of absolute and arbitrary tyranny being utterly abolished and laid aside. Amongst our printed statute books, the most antient ones are of chief use and authority; giving a just account of some laws which (being now lost from among the records) had otherwise perished, and very often a more faithful one than the books of latter editions. For instance, the statute (13) of felony for stealing a falcon (in the last editions) has the words lanneret, or any other hawk; and some old copies in manuscript have *Lanyret, auctor ou autor falcon*: Whereas the true reading is, that of the oldest prints, *Lanyret ou auter falcon*; omitting the word auctor (or gos-hawk) which the enactors of that law never thought of, and not using so general a term as any other hawk, which likewise goes beyond their intention. To enlarge the stock of their laws, in times wherein the remains are not numerous, the first compilers of these books have amassed proclamations, writs, &c. all under the general name of laws. Thus the statute, as they call it, of (14) *circumspecte agatis*, is more properly a writ to the judges: the like may be said of that (15) of Carlisle, and that (16) of Fines is more like a rule of court, that (17) of wards and relief no more than a marginal note on some old book of entries, &c. R. Pinson's (18) edition of the *Antiqua Statuta* is acknowledged to come after two or three former impressions; and yet what a wretched confusion runs through the whole work? Several of the constitutions of Henry the Third (as *De Anno Bissextili*, *Affisa Panis*, &c.) are jumbled and misplaced, so as to follow after others of Edward the First's enacting; and several of Edward the Second's (*De Prærogativa Regis*, and *modus faciendi hominum*) are likewise followed by some of that king's fathers and grandfathers. The putting of marginal notes to the statutes at large, was first begun by Will. Rastal, who (19) collected all in force from Magna Charta to the fourth year of Philip and Mary; and his continuer (20) carried them to the forty-third of Queen Elizabeth. Soon after, Ferd. Pulton published his collection (1) of statutes, repealed as well as unrepealed; and (2) afterwards gave the same more serviceably (with good useful marginal notes) down to the sixteenth of King James the First. These have since been continued by Manby, Keeble, &c. Pulton's comparing of the statutes of the first ten kings, (from the ninth year of Henry the Third, to the second of Richard the Third) with the original records in Latin, or French, his examining of the rest, his references, abstracts of private acts, &c. are performances which have highly obliged the publick; but are still capable of farther improvements than our late publishers have thought fit to bestow on them. In comparing these editions with the MS. rolls of parliament, we may observe, 1. Divers acts in print that are not in the roll. 2. Many in the rolls never yet printed. 3. Divers clauses omitted in the print, which occur in the rolls. 4. Many considerable variations, especially in qualifying bitter reflections on the Pope's usurpations. 5. Some statutes pretended to be enacted, and afterwards dis-affirmed, and yet printed. 6. Whole parliaments omitted, wherein were many notable matters transacted. 7. Whole parliaments repealed and made void by subsequents. These differences were long since (3) observed, and a great many instances given upon every particular head; and yet I do not find that care is taken to have them rectified. The common placing of our statute laws is certainly of great and necessary use; especially since they grew up to that vast bulk wherein we now have them. But when these methodical abstracts are published, it is requisite that a more than ordinary care be taken in examining the numeral quotations, and short references; otherwise the mistakes, into which the reader may be led, are unspeakable and endless. The

(11) A. D. 1267. 52 Hen. 3. (12) Vid. D. R. Twissden, Præfat. ad LL. Will. & Hen. 1. pag. 158.
 (13) 37 Ed. 3. cap. 9. (14) 13 Ed. 1. (15) 15 Ed. 2. (16) 18 Ed. 1. (17) 28 Ed. 1. (18) 12mo. Lond. 1527. (19) Fol. Lond. 1559. (20) Fol. Ibid. 1603. (1) Fol. Lond. 1608. (2) Fol. Ibid. 1618.
 (3) Instit. Par. 4. cap. 1. p. 50, &c.

first (19) abridgment of this kind that I have seen, was made by F. Pulton; who drew it up in an alphabetical order, and, intending it only for the service of justices of the peace, took notice only of penal statutes. He was followed and enlarged by Edm. Wingate; whose book has been often very carelessly reprinted. In the last impression (20) the false references are said to be rectified; and the whole so accurately revised, that there is no hazard of a man's being misled and imposed on.

Our printed laws, it appears, will not afford an historian full satisfaction in the particulars they treat on; and therefore truth as well as curiosity will necessarily invite him to consult the original records, whereof these are often very faulty copies. Before the use of printing, and till the reign of Henry the Seventh, our statutes were all engrossed in parchment, and by virtue of the king's writ to that purpose, proclaimed openly in every county: a method which was undoubtedly of excellent advantage to the subject, and what some of our (1) greatest men of the law have thought worthy to be restored. About the time that this advice was offered, it was (2) observed, that we had then had near three hundred sessions of parliament since the conquest, in each whereof divers acts had been passed; and that of these a considerable number had never yet appeared in print. The reader's zeal will perhaps be the better quickened, if we give him one or two of the many instances that might be afforded him in this particular. Know therefore, that there is (3) one dormant statute of this kind, wherein such ecclesiastical livings as paid tenths to the pope, were exempted from paying them to the king; with a proviso, that the acquired possessions afterwards should be chargeable to the king, and not to the pope. There is (4) another act in the rolls against corruption in judges, and other of the king's officers; which was omitted by those that made collections for the publick, because they found on its margin *respectuatur per dominum principem & concilium*. This statute, as appears from (5) Sir Edward Coke's published copy of it, has its *le roy le voet*: and the marginal note is only one of the many frolicks of the prince, afterwards Henry the Fifth, who also put a like *respectuatur* upon another act of the same parliament touching the regulation of attornies. In these rolls we have likewise a great many decisions of difficult points in law; which were frequently, in former times, referred to the determination of this supreme court by the inferior ones of both benches. In these, as in our modern reports we have not only the final resolution and judgment of the court, but also the reasons and causes of the same. An exact abridgment of as many of the parliamentary records as were to be had in the Tower of London, from the reign of Edward the Second, to that of Richard the Third, was made by Sir Robert Cotton, and published by (6) Will. Prynne; who, in his Preface, gives an account, how most of those that were older than the times of Edward the Third, came to be lost. Some few, he says, he did meet with of an older date; which seemed to have been overlooked by that great man, whose work he here sends abroad with some garnishings, as an Index, marginal Notes, &c. of his own. Amongst those that are thus omitted, he reckons the rolls of the 5. 8. 9. and 19th years of Edward the Second; the statute-roll of Henry the Third, Edward the First and Second; a parchment-book of some pleas in parliament during the reigns of the two first Edwards; and lastly, a few bundles of petitions in the parliaments of the sixth year of Edward the First, and the four first years of Edward the Third. He informs us likewise, that in the clause, patent, charter and fine, rolls of King John, Henry the Third, Edward the First and Second, he found some writs of summons: together with several short memorials of acts and ordinances, aids, subsidies, dismes and quindismes, granted in the parliaments of those reigns. The rolls themselves, whence these abstracts were taken, are now quite perished and gone: which he probably supposes to have happened either through the negligence of those that were entrusted with the keeping of the records, or the iniquity of the times, during the long continuance of our civil wars betwixt the king and barons, and, afterwards, between the two houses of York and Lancaster. In these confusions it was natural for the prevailing parties, by themselves or their agents, to suppress or embezzle all such records as

(19) Quar. Lond. by Chr. Barker the Queen's Printer. (20) Octavo, Lond. 1689. (1) Instit. par. 2. pag. 526. (2) Instit. par. 1. lib. 2. cap. 10. (3) 18 Ed. 3. (4) 11 Hen. 4. (5) Instit. par. 3. cap. 101. (6) Fol. Lond. 1657.

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made against their respective titles and interests; and the great liberty, he thinks, that has been since taken by the king's attornies, and other officers, in calling for the remains of such a spoil, without a due care of returning them, when their occasions were answered, has abundantly increased the damage. The best and only supply, he observes, which is now to be had of these defects, is from such fragments as are to be found in our later records and ancient historians; especially in M. Paris, Westminster, Malmesbury, Huntingdon and Hoveden, who frequently register the parliamentary proceedings and transactions within the several limits of their histories. Let me add, if the future changes to which all human affairs are liable, shall hereafter expose these to new losses and embezzlements, there is a fair transcript to be had of them, from the first year of Edward the Third, to the forty third of Queen Elizabeth, in (7) Cotton's library; where there are also (8) two volumes of Indices to the Tower Records, the one whereof commences at the third of King John, ending at the fifty first of Edward the Third, and the other begins at the first of Richard the Second, and continues to the twenty third of Edward the Fourth.

Ordinances.

An Ordinance of parliament is commonly distinguished from an Act; forasmuch as the latter can only be made by the king, and a threefold consent of the estates; whereas the former is ordained with one or two of them: so that, when the clergy is omitted, whatever passes by the king, the lords temporal and commons, is no more than an ordinance. For this opinion (9) Sir Edward Coke cites a great many rolls of parliament and other authorities: and, for farther satisfaction, the reader may have recourse to a treatise, published (10) about twenty years ago, concerning statutes and acts of parliament, and the exposition. It is said to have been written by Sir Christopher Hatton, the famous Lord Chancellor of England, and of the university of Oxford, in Queen Elizabeth's time: but some (11) have doubted whether that great name were not unjustly usurped, for the convenience of the stationer, and to procure a more ready sale of the book.

Journals.

The last sort of parliamentary records are the journals of the lords and commons; wherein every day's vote that passes is carefully registered by the clerks of the several houses. I call these Records, upon very just grounds; since the (12) law itself has declared that of the house of commons to be so. A compleat Journal of the Transactions of both Houses, from the first Year of Henry the Eighth to the seventh of Edward the Sixth, was drawn up by Rob. Bowyer, who was sworn clerk of the parliaments, A. D. 1609, and is now in (13) Cotton's Library. But the surest fountain, whence these authorities are to be derived, is that of the original records themselves in the Tower and the Parliament-office.

Modus tenendi Parliamentum.

The true primitive constitution of our parliaments is by some fancied to be best learned from an old treatise bearing this long title: (14) *Modus quomodo Parliamentum Regis Angliæ & Anglorum suorum tenebatur temporibus Regis Edwardi filii R. Ethelredi; qui modus recitatus fuit per discretiores Regni coram Willielmo Duce Normanniæ, Conquestore & Rege Angliæ, ipso Conquestore hoc præcipiente, & per ipsum approbatus, & suis temporibus & temporibus Successorum suorum Regum Angliæ usitatus.* Some great (15) men I say, have confidently believed this whole story, and roundly affirmed, that the book was presented, in the very manner here mentioned, to the conqueror; who not only approved it, but held a parliament pursuant to its directions. It was afterwards they say, transcribed in a parchment-roll, and sent into Ireland by Henry the Second; and exemplified, by the advice of Sir John Talbot, Lord Lieutenant, and the Privy-Council of that kingdom, in the sixth year of Henry the Fourth. It appears also that it was perused by the compilers of the statute of Magna Charta; who have stated the relief of earldoms, baronies, and knight's-fees, according to the proportions in this very modus. It is pity that all this should be a mistake. And yet (16) Mr. Selden very reasonably argues, that this venerable monument cannot be older than the reign of Edward the Third; and that the whole is "An imposture of some bold fancy." This he proves from the terms of

(7) Vol. 16. Titus, E. F. (8) Ibid. Titus, C. 2, 3. (9) Instit. par. 4. cap. 1. pag. 25. (10) Octavo. Lond. 1677. (11) Vid. Ath. Oxon. lib. 1. pag. 223. (12) St. 6. Hen. 8. cap. 16. (13) Tiberius, D. 1. (14) Bibl. Cot. Nero, cap. 1. (15) Vid. Instit. Par. 4. cap. 1. pag. 2. (16) Tit. of Hon. pag. 610, 611, 612, &c.

Justiciæ de Banco, Capitalis Justiciarius, Comes Seneschallus, Comes Mareſchallus, &c. which bare PART
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 date ſome ages after the coming in of the Normans; nor could he ever meet with any copy of it, and he had ſeen ſeveral, that carried an older face. There never was any ſuch rule obſerved in making of earldoms and baronies, out of ſo many knights fees, as is there pretended: for ſeveral earldoms, in the times it refers to, conſiſted of more than twenty ſuch fees, and ſeveral baronies of leſs than thirteen. The author is alſo miſtaken, in gueſſing at ſuch uſages and customs as indeed never prevailed in either houſe of parliament: as when he repreſents the archbishops and biſhops of the two provinces, as placed on the king's right and left hand; the equalling of barons of the Cinque-ports with barons of the kingdom, &c. How pleadings uſed to be managed in this ſupreme court of the realm, in what manner judgment was given, how petitions were brought in, and in what forms ſtatutes and other parliamentary conſtitutions were anciently drawn, may be ſeen at large in W. (17) Ryley's *Placita Parliamentaria*; in which we have judgments upon ſuch pleadings in the parliament of Edward the Firſt and Edward the Second. To theſe there is added an Appendix of Statutes, Ordinances and other Records, whereby the author would prove the homage heretofore paid by the kings of Scotland to ours, to be, as many other writers, both before and after him, have endeavoured to do, for their whole realm; and not ſolely for the Engliſh counties which they held in fee. Out of W. Prynne's grand Storehouse of Collections, we had what he was pleaſed to call the (18) firſt part of the hiſtory of the ancient councils and parliaments of England, from the year 673, to the beginning of Henry the Third's reign; which was (19) afterwards transformed into A reaſonable, legal, and hiſtorical Vindication of the good old fundamental Liberties, Rights, Laws, and Government of all Engliſh Freemen: and this, with a ſecond part to the ſame tune, was reprinted the year following. A great many more writers have treated on this ſubject, ſome whereof are not worth the naming.

The Preface to Nath. Bacon's *Discourſe on the Engliſh Government*, formerly mentioned, is an answer to a treatiſe endeavouring to prove, that the lords were the only parliament before the thirteenth century: but his concluſion ſhews, that he could not be an impartial writer in the cauſe: "If ſometimes," ſays he, "a parliament of lords only may be againſt the king, and ſo without king or people; as in the caſe between Stephen and Maud the empreſs, and the caſe of King John; poſſibly it may be thought as rational for the commons in after ages to hold a parliament without king, or houſe of lords; and then all the opponent's labour is to little purpoſe." The debate has been lately reaſſumed, and managed on both ſides with leſs virulence and better manners. The chief aſſerters of the antiquity of the commons, are Mr. Petyt in his (20) *Ancient Right of the Commons of England*, and Mr. Atwood in his *Jani Anglorum facies* (1) nova; who are both amply taken to taſk by the induſtrious and learned (2) Dr. Robert Brady, the king's profeſſor of phyſick at Cambridge, and ſometime a repreſentative of that univerſity in parliament. Againſt Mr. Petyt he takes upon him to prove expreſſly, 1. That the Commons of England, repreſented by knights, citizens and burgeſſes in parliament, were not introduced, nor were one of the three eſtates, before the 49th year of Henry the Third; and, 2. That if they were any way repreſented in thoſe great councils, before that time, it was by the *tenentes in capite*. His controverſy with the other gentleman, the New Face-maker, as he calls him, is bottomed upon King John's Charter; which, his adverſary ſays, does abundantly prove, that all cities, burghs, and freeholders, were conſtituent parts of the common council of the kingdom: whereas, ſays he, it only intimates, that all theſe had anciently their free customs, and local uſages, which are here confirmed. In both theſe diſcourſes the doctor ſhews himſelf to be very converſant and well ſkilled in our Engliſh records, which we have all the reaſon in the world to believe are fairly and faithfully cited: and whether the inferences that he draws from them are juſt and reaſonable, his readers muſt judge. He ſeems to have been as ſolicitous as we can well deſire an author to be, to give us all due ſatisfaction in this particular: "Before the uſe of theſe records, I conſidered," ſays he, "again and again, whether I might not be miſtaken in their true meaning; and likewise conſidered all circumſtances, and compared

(17) Fol. Lond. 1661. (18) 4to. Lond. 1649. (19) 4to. ibid. 1564. (20) 8vo. Lond. 1680. (1) Vid. Argument. Anti-Norman. p. 154. (2) In his Introduction to the old Engliſh Hiſtory, fol. Lond. 1684.

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them with other relations of the same time and things, wherever I could find them." What farther care could we possibly expect? one would hope, that a work thus cautiously carried on, might be entirely relied on; and so effectually maintain its point, as never to be overthrown: and yet an attempt was made to expose and run it down, (as an impotent libel against the government by king, lords and commons) in a book entitled, (3) *Jus Anglorum ab antiquo*; in the conclusion whereof there is a sham-speech, pretended to be made upon the doctor's principles; which is, indeed, libellous enough upon our English Government. What seemed considerable in this book, was replied to in an answer to (4) *Argumentum Anti-Normannicum*; a piece written, as the doctor guesses, by the same author in masquerade. There was another answer to Mr. Petyt's book, written by (5) Sir William Dugdale: but, as that has less in it, than what was advanced by Dr. Brady, so it seems to have been left unfinished, upon the notice the author might have of the like undertaking by another hand. I have often wondered that none of these inquisitive gentlemen ever mention a Record, in the Norman Saxon Dialect, which was long since published by (6) Mr. Somner, and appears to me to have something very remarkable on this subject: it bears date the 18th of October, in the forty-second year of Henry the Third, and manifestly distinguishes betwixt those members of parliament that were chosen by the king, and those that were elected, [*þunȝ þæt loanber folk*] by the people: which seems plainly enough to prove, that the latter had their representatives here before the 49th of that king. A reverend brother of mine, (*Rights, Powers, &c. of Convocation*, p. 313) has indeed whispered, as loud as Bow bell, in my ear, that this is frivolous, and not worth the mentioning; which he would needs prove to me out of the Burton Annals. He says, it is plain from thence, that there was a council of four and twenty chosen by the king and the barons; and that such of these, as were deputed by the latter, are the men here specified: so that *Le Commune* in the French record, and *þeloander folk* in the Norman English, both of which, by the way, are originals, signifies lords, and not commons. Very strange, indeed! where it my turn to whisper, I could tell my good friend, that he has turned over two leaves of the annals at once. He quotes p. 412, and 416; but as ill luck would have it, the 414 and 415 never came in his sight: he would there have found another committee of lords and commons; the first twelve whereof are said to be *les duze ke sunt eslu par les barons*, who are of the same degree with their electors. Then follows the full list of twenty-four, *ke sunt mis per le comun*; and half of these appear to be commoners, in the modern sense of the word. Now, I am not unwilling to believe that *le comun*, in this place, means the whole parliamentary community or assembly, both lords and commons, who, at that time, sate together: and both the matter and form of their oath, which I have here under the title of *Ceo jura le Commun de Angleterre a Oxenford*, confirms me in this opinion. But, to return; Sir Henry Spelman's Treatise (7) of Parliaments, is short and full, and what summarily determines all disputes concerning the ancient constitution of these august assemblies. He shews, that the meanest vassals in the kingdom had their representatives, or masters, in the most primitive councils of the nation, who had a sufficient power to act for, and conclude them: so that what these senators, even before the conquest, agreed to, was indispensably and universally obliging. And truly, if (8) *concessa à rege, baronibus & populo* be right Latin for acts of parliament, their original date is very ancient.

Lords.

The house of lords is, on all hands, agreed to be *curia*, as well as *concilium*; the highest court of judicature in England; from whence no appeal lies, save only to a succeeding parliament. Their rights of judicature, &c. are particularly stated and examined in two treatises usually ascribed to Mr. Selden; though the former is suspected to have been written by Sir Symonds D'Ewes: 1. (9) *A brief Discourse concerning the Power of Peers, and Commons of Parliament, in Point of Judicature*; a small pamphlet of two sheets. 2. (10) *Privileges of the Baronage of England, when they sit in Parliament*. There have indeed often happened debates, even in the

(3) Supposed to be written by Mr. Atwood. Vid. *Argument. Anti-Norman*. pag. 69. (4) 8vo. Lond. 1682. (5) MS. in Museo Ashmol. Lit. E. (6) In *Dictionar. Anglo-Sax.* voce Unnan. (7) *Reliq. Spelman.* pag. 57, &c. (8) Vid. LL. Ed. *Confess.* cap. 8. (9) 4to. Lond. 1640. (10) 8vo. Lond. 1642.

house of peers itself, about the rights of the lords spiritual, to vote in capital cases; and the merits of the cause have been argued by several persons of great learning and acquaintance with the antiquities and records of this kingdom. The dispute was carried somewhat higher in the year 1660, when the last conflict happened betwixt episcopacy and presbytery; and then a (11) learned Apology was published by Jer. Stephens Prebendary of Salisbury, the excellent coadjutor (12) of Sir H. Spelman, in his edition of our ancient councils. Afterwards, when this general attack upon the whole order had failed, the argument was confined to the single case before mentioned; and then, in defence of the spiritual lords, we had their (13) Honour Asserted, and the (14) Grand Question concerning the Bishops Right, &c. the latter whereof was written by the learned Dr. Stillingfleet, late Bishop of Worcester, who has given us all that the rolls of parliament and our ancient histories afforded on that subject. These advocates were replied upon by the Lord (15) Hollis, in a first and second Letter to his Friend; and a couple of gentlemen, of the same persuasion, bore up his train in an Appendix. All that looks new in these writers, is, in a few words, overthrown by an anonymous author of the (16) Rights of Bishops to Judge in Capital Cases, &c.

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Some extraordinary passages in the late reign, put our men of law upon an enquiry, not much canvassed in former times, whether the king could dispense with penal statutes? Sir Edward Herbert, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, argued for the dispensing power, in his (17) Short Account of the Authorities whereon Judgment was given in Sir Edward Hales's Case, wherein he endeavoured to prove, that every *malum prohibitum* was dispensable; and that our kings have usually dispensed with the (18) statute, which provides, that no sheriff should continue above one year; their practice being justified by the (19) unanimous opinion of the judges. This Account (20) was examined by W. Atwood a barrister at law, who undertook to shew that the authorities, whereon the chief justice laboured to excuse his judgment, were unfairly cited, and as ill applied. Before either of these appeared in print, Sir Edward Atkins, as himself tells us, had completed his (1) Enquiry into the Nature and Grounds of this pretended Power; though, having not published it until he met with the former of them, he added animadversions upon Sir E. Herbert's book. He proves that a *non-obstante* is a purely popish invention, about the same date with the doctrine of transubstantiation: that the use of it is not warranted by prescription, reason, or law; and that our parliaments never expressly yielded this point, though they have sometimes prudently waved the disputing of it. In the (2) trial of the seven bishops there was a fresh occasion given for the unravelling of this whole matter; and those learned persons who were of council for the prelates, gave us a clear view of whatever our ancient records afforded on that topick.

Dispens-
ing power

The great councils of parliament have been always called by a writ of summons from the king; wherein the ancient (3) words and forms are religiously to be attended to, and kept: and therefore, because those, in that directed to the counties, required them to elect *duos milites gladiis cinctos*, an (4) act of parliament was necessary to allow the election of notable esquires, or gentlemen. Whoever desires a full account of these matters, may have recourse to Will. Prynne's voluminous (5) Brief Register, or Kalendar of the several Kinds and Forms of all Parliamentary Writs: or perhaps he may, with more ease, and greater advantage, fetch his instructions from Sir William Dugdale's (6) perfect Copy of all Summons of the Nobility to the great Councils and Parliaments of this realm, from the 49th of Henry the Third to the present times; wherein he will also find the like mandates to the clergy and commons. Those to the laity sometimes require them to appear *cum equis & armis, ad faciendum ea*, &c. and the writ directed to the archbishops and bishops, commands, either their own attendance singly, or, as most commonly, that they be accompanied with the priors, archdeacons, and proctors of the clergy. The lists of the nobility, summoned in the several reigns, are highly useful; shewing

Writ of
Summons

(11) 8vo. Lond 1660. (12) Vid. Præfat. ad Concil. tom. 1. (13) Fol. pr. 1s. (14) 8vo. pr. 2s 6d. (15) See his Remains, 8vo. pr. 4s. (16) 8vo. pr. 1s. 6d. (17) 4to. pr. 6d. (18) 23 Hen. 6. cap. 8. (19) An. 2 Hen. VII. (20) 4to. pr. 1s. (1) Fol. pr. 1s. 6d. (2) Fol. pr. 3s. 6d. (3) Instit. par. 4. cap. 1. p. 1. (4) St. 23 Hen. VI. cap. 15. (5) 4to. pr. 25s. (6) Fol. Lond. 1685.

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us, that many noble persons have been called to parliament in right of their wives, others in the life-time of their fathers, and by such titles, as in truth, were not yet descended upon themselves, &c. As soon as the houses were met, they petitioned the king, that he would require the archbishops and clergy to pray for the peace and good government of the realm, and for a continuance of the good understanding betwixt his majesty and the estates of his kingdom: and, accordingly, the writ *de orando pro rege & regno* was common in Edward the Third's time.

C H A P. III.

*Of the Records of the King's Courts at WESTMINSTER.*Records
in gene-
ral.

THE general name of all those is from the Latin word, *recordor*: for a record or inrollment is a memorial of the highest nature. Hence they are well defined, (1) memorials in rolls of parchment, of the proceedings and acts of a court of justice, which has power to hold plea, according to the course of the common law, of real, or mixt actions, wherein the debt or damage amounts to at least forty shillings; which courts of record are created by parliament, letters-patent, or prescription. During the term wherein any judicial act is done, these records remain in the breast of the court, and alterable as the judges shall direct: but afterwards they are in the roll, and admit no alteration, averment or proof to the contrary. They carry so absolute a verity in our law, that, upon a plea that there is no such record, it is not to be tried by witness, jury, or otherwise than only by itself. The (2) stealing, or withdrawing of any record, or parcel thereof, writ, return, panel, process, or warrant of attorney in the Chancery, Exchequer, or either bench, is felony. The county-court, hundred-court, court-baron, &c. are not courts of record; and therefore the proceedings therein may be denied, and tried by jury. Yet we shall beg leave to give them the name of records hereafter; since they may be of much more use and authority in history, than at the bar. (3) *Monumenta quæ nos recorda vocamus, sunt veritatis & vetustatis vestigia*. This description of them, in a large, and a more extended sense, will best agree with our present notion and use of the word: though we shall readily allow, that those of the former denomination best deserve the name, and ought to have, what we here give them, the precedence. So jealous have our governors always been, of the exact preservation of these, that we have not only severe (4) laws against either judges or clerks that shall be guilty of any false entry, rasure, &c. but, in point of fact, we are assured that Justice (5) Ingham, in the reign of Edward the First, paid no less than eight hundred marks for a fine; his crime being only this: a poor man was fined at 13 s. 4 d. and the judge, in compassion, caused the roll to be razed, and made 6 s. 8 d. As the Chapel at the Rolls grows full and overstocked, these records are removed, by a special writ to that purpose, to the Tower: where, in two several apartments, they are methodically ranked, according to their various kinds and uses. 1. In Wakefield Tower, we have the inrollments of leagues and treaties with foreign princes; the original laws, as they passed the royal assent; authentic memoirs of our English achievements in France, and other nations; forms of homage from the kings of Scotland; the establishment and laws of Ireland; liberties and privileges granted to cities, corporations and private subjects; tenures and surveys of lands and manors; *inspeximus* of charters and deeds made before, and soon after the Norman conquest; boundaries of all the forests in England, &c. In short we have here, according to the petition of the (6) commons in parliament, the perpetual evidence of every man's right,

(1) Instit. par. 1. lib. 3. cap. 7. Sect. 438. (2) St. 8 Hen. VI. cap. 12. (3) Instit. par. 1. lib. 2. cap. 11. Sect. 175. (4) St. 8 Ric. 2. cap. 4. (5) Instit. par. 1. lib. 3. cap. 19. (6) 46 Ed. III. Num. 43.

“ without

(7) "without which no story of the nation can be written or proved." 2. In Julius Cæsar's PART III.
 Chapel, in the White Tower, there is another mighty collection of records; out of which the indefatigable W. Prynne gathered his four large volumes. These are sorted into several classes, according to the order of each king's reign; beginning with King John, and ending with Richard the Third. Here are also a deal of lesser presses and drawers; with inscriptions on the outside, directing to the different matters in every such several reign. As, *Rot. Parliament. Placitorum Coronæ, Placitorum Parliament. Rot. Claus. Rot. Brevium, Finium, Inquisitionum, Liberationum, Cartarum, Eschaetriæ, Pat. Rot. Ordinationum. Rot. Franciæ, Scotiæ, Vasconia, & Almania, Rot. Roman. Judæorum, Ragman, Brangwin, Contrarientium.* The last was so called from the barons that joined with the Duke of Lancaster against Edward the Second; who, being too great and powerful to be named rebels, had the softer name of (8) *Contrarients* bestowed on them. Any of these may be seen and perused by those that have occasion to consult them; there being one appointed by the keeper to attend for that purpose, eight hours every day in summer, and six in winter. The writs of *Inspeximus*, which repeat to us the ordinances, letters-patent, &c. of former kings, have happily preserved the history of many notable transactions, which had otherwise perished: for example, we should not have known that the bishops and archdeacons were forbidden by William the Conqueror to mix jurisdictions with the earl (senator, or aldermen of the county) in the hundred, or scyregemots, but for such an (9) *Inspeximus*, which we find in the second year of Richard the Second; at which time, it seems, such an authentic prohibition was extant and in being. In the case of Read and Hide (10) a *Vidimus* was produced under the great seal, wherein were these words: *Vidimus quendam Librum in Pergameno, intitulatum Volumen de Copiis Munimentorum, seu diversorum gestorum & actuum Monasterii de Abingdon.* It was resolved by the judges, that this exemplification ought not to be given in evidence; because that which was exemplified, was not of record, nor publick, and in the custody of sworn officers. It was also resolved, that no record, or inrollment of any record, may be exemplified under the great seal: other than those of the Court of Chancery, or duly removed thither by *Certiorari*, &c. and that no exemplification ought to be of a part of any such record, but of the whole. A bench of antiquaries would never have been thus nice and scrupulous. Tho. Powel's (11) *Repertory of Records* in the Exchequer, and directions for the search of those that are there, as likewise in the (12) Chancery and Tower, with the accustomed fees for such enquiries, will be of some use to our historian; as well as to those practitioners in law, for whom they were chiefly intended.

In the ninth year of Edward the Fourth, it was the declared opinion of all the judges of the realm, at a trial in the (13) Exchequer, that all the king's courts have been time out of mind; so that it is not known which is the most ancient. I shall not now move for the reversing of this judgment; but shall only inform the reader, that he may learn what pleas are triable before each of these, and consequently of what nature their several records are, from the writings of such authors as have designedly treated of their jurisdiction. W. Lambard's (14) *Archaion* discourses, after that writer's learned way, of all the supreme courts of judicature in this kingdom; and has been so well liked, as to admit of various editions, with considerable additions and improvements. The fourth part of (15) Sir Edward Coke's *Institutes* gives likewise an account of the institution, rules, jurisdiction, &c. of all the courts in England, from the parliament down to a court-baron. The author confesses, that in this work he amassed together every thing that seemed, never so remotely, to belong to any of those heads under which he had first ranked the whole of his matter: so that, if there be some repetitions and tautologies, it is but what usually happens in the prime draughts of all common-place books. His great age, when he came to lick these papers over for the press, would not admit of nicety and exactness; and he died before they were published. In Will. Prynne's (16) *Animadversions* upon them, a great many misquotations of records, &c. are noted; and the

(7) Dr. Chamberlayne's *Angl. Not. Edit.* 16. p. 229, &c. (8) *Vid. Præfat. ad Instit. par. 4. pag. 3.* (9) *Rot. par. 1. Ric. 2. m. 12. n. 5.* (10) *Term. Mich. 10. Jac. 1. Com. Banco.* (11) 4to. pr. 28. (12) 4to. pret. 18. 6d. (13) *Instit. par. 4. cap. 8.* (14) 8vo. pret. 18. 6d. (15) Fol. Lond. 1648, &c. (16) Fol. Lond. 1669.

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learned author is more severely reflected on, than he ought to have been for a posthumous work, wherein we know not what injustice might be done him by the publishers of his Orphan-Labours. As the case now stands with this book, perhaps our first enquiries after the history of the laws of this kingdom, ought to begin with the careful reading of Sir Will. Dugdale's (17) *Origines Juridicales*; which we shall find so accurately penned, and with so good a mixture of learning and judgment, that it will almost do the work alone. I cannot give a better view of this most elaborate treatise, than by telling the reader, that it fully answers its title-page; giving as complete a history as it was possible for one man to furnish us with, of the original of our English laws, courts of justice, forms of trial, punishments in cases criminal, law-writers, grants and settlements of estates, degree of serjeant, inns of court and chancery. Under all these heads the collections are many, and the method exact: so that we have abundance without superfluity; and all we can wish for, without the hazard of being cloyed. In the conclusion there is a chronology of the lord-chancellors, and keepers of the great seal, lord treasurers, justices itinerant, justices of the King's Bench and Common-Pleas, barons of the Exchequer, masters of the rolls, king's attorneys, solicitors and serjeants at law: in which, if any thing have escaped the search of so diligent and curious a writer, the tables are so ordered, that every reader's additional discoveries are quickly marshalled and tribed under their proper columns. Out of these and W. Rastal's Table of Years, were stolen the (18) *Chronica Juridicalia*; being a chronological table of the chancellors, &c. from the conquest to the first year of King James the Second: with a catalogue of such archbishops and bishops as were, in all that time, entrusted with the chief places of honour and eminence in the state. Sir William brings large (19) quotations out of Sir Henry Spelman's MS. history of the original of the four yearly terms at Westminster; which he calls an ample and judicious discourse. That treatise is now correctly (20) printed, and appears to have very well deserved the character there given it; demonstrating, with a great deal of solid learning, that these stated seasons of judicature are owing to the canon-law. Nor ought this to be looked on as a novel doctrine by any of the sages of our law; since they know very well, that it was (21) at the special request of the king made unto the bishops, that it was, some ages afterwards, provided, that assizes should be taken in Advent and Lent, times prohibited in the decretals for matrimony and law-suits. The Preface to this excellent discourse acquaints us, that it was written in the year 1614, to be communicated to some of his learned friends, who had then newly formed themselves, he being one of their number, into a society of antiquaries. This college had been erected some years before, and was now to be renewed: but King James the First, jealous of their meddling with state affairs, discountenanced the project; and so it perished in its cradle. What might have been hoped for from the joint endeavours of such a learned set of antiquaries as they were, and to what a height of perfection they would have carried the history of our English laws and government, is easy to imagine from this single performance; and a modern reader will hardly avoid the having a secret wish, that the design were revived in our days.

King's
Bench.

The court of King's Bench is called (1) *Aula Regia* in our old books, because supposed to be wherever the king himself resides; and the matters chiefly cognizable in it are *Proprie Cause Regie*, which we English by pleas of the crown. So that, in the records of this court, we are to look for all judgments upon notorious treasons, breaches of the peace, &c. as also for the like upon common-pleas, by bill for debt, covenant, promise, &c. against the immediate officers of his majesty's court; who, if impleaded elsewhere, would have been privileged. This court likewise corrects errors, and grants out prohibitions, for the keeping of all inferior courts, ecclesiastical and temporal, within their due bounds and legal jurisdiction. The most ancient writer, professedly, upon the pleas of the crown is (2) Sir William Stamford; who carries on his work by way of common-place. Ferd. Pulton's (3) treatise *De Pace Regis & Regni*, is on the same matter: and so is (4) Sir Matthew Hale's *Pleas of the Crown*, and J.

(17) Fol. Lond. 1666. (18) 8vo. pret. 4s. (19) Orig. Jurid. cap. 32. (20) Reliq. Spelm. pag. 69, &c. (21) St. 3 Ed. I. cap. 51. (1) Bracton, Lib. 3. cap. 7. Fol. 105. b. (2) 4to. Fr. pret. 5 s. (3) Fol. pr. 10 s. (4) 8vo. pr. 1 s. 6 d.



(5) Bridell's Jus Criminis. But the most copious is the (6) third part of Sir Edward Coke's Institutes; wherein the author proposes the same end to himself that he had in the second, the comparing statute-law with common, so as to discover which acts are only declaratory of former laws, and which are new. Having run over all criminal matters, and their legal punishments, he concludes with the nature of pardons and restitutions; shewing how far, in each of these, our kings can proceed alone, and where they want the assistance and joint power of their parliaments. The public records of this court, as well as those of the common-pleas, preceding the first year of Henry VI. are in the chapter-house of the church of Westminster: but those of that year, and downwards, are kept in very good order in their Upper-Treasury, adjoining to Westminster Hall; such only excepted as are of daily use, and not above ten years old, which are in the custody of clerks in the Lower-Treasury. In both these, 1. In the records of the Plea-side are entered and enrolled all the judgments of the said court betwixt party and party, by confession, *nihil dicet*, and *non sum informatus*; all issues tried by *Nisi prius* in London and Middlesex, and at the assizes in all parts of England, with the several verdicts and judgments thereupon; all writs of enquiry with the judgments thereon; all appeals, writs of error in parliament, and from the Common Pleas and other inferior courts, from the court of the Exchequer-Chamber here, and the King's-Bench in Ireland, with the several judgments affirmed or reversed thereupon; all statutes and recognizances acknowledged in the said court, with the proceedings thereon; all prohibitions, *audita querela's*, *scire facias's*, deeds and conveyances here acknowledged, replevins, actions of *qui tam*, &c. Likewise all bails, *postea's*, writs of *elegit*, exigent, *capias ad satisfaciendum*, *fieri facias*, *latitat*, *habeas corpus*, *venire facias*, and all others issuing out of the said court, are filed up in order according to their respective dates. 2. In the records of the crown-side are all pleadings upon indictments, informations, quo-warranto's, presentments, inquisitions, non-tenures, with the judgments thereupon; writs of error, reversals of outlawries and attainders, pleas of pardon, judgment by default; as also of writs *de excommunicato capiendo* and *mandamus*, with the returns to them. All files of indictments, informations, orders, recognizances and warrants for *certiorari's*, are likewise sent into the treasury.

Polydore Virgil must be in a mistake, when he affirms, that the court of Chancery was brought in at the conquest; if the Mirror, Fortescue, and others, say true, that it was well known here in the Saxon times. But then it is to be noted, that there are, at this day, two (7) several courts in our chancery; the one, which only was known to the ancients, wherein the process runs *secundum legem & consuetudinem Angliæ*, which determines all contests about letters-patent, offices, &c. the other proceeds *secundum æquum & bonum*, and is of a later date. The proceedings of the former court are not inrolled, but remain *in filaciis*, that is, filed up in the Petty-Bag Office. The chief clerk of this court is the Master of the Rolls, who in his patent is stiled *clericus parvæ bagæ*, as well as *custos rotulorum & domus converforum*. In his keeping are the inrolments of all letters-patent, treaties and leagues, deeds and purchasers-recognizances, commissions of appeal,oyer and terminer, &c. ever since the beginning of Henry the Seventh's reign, the rest having been remitted to the Tower. Most of the chancery records were, in an outrageous manner, burned and destroyed by the rebels under Wat. Tyler, &c. in Richard the Second's time, their leader having insolently given it out, that for the future, (8) all the laws of England should come out of his mouth. Razure and embezzlement of records is also (9) one of the charges against that king himself, upon his forced surrender of his crown to Henry the Fourth. There are some choice (10) Observations concerning the Office of Lord Chancellor, written by Sir Tho. Egerton, lord-keeper of the great seal in Queen Elizabeth's time; who was also created Baron Ellesmere, and Lord Chancellor of England, by King James the First. The excellency of this treatise should prevail with the studious in our laws, to make an industrious search after those (11) other four volumes of his collections upon, 1. The Prerogative Royal. 2. Privileges of Parliament. 3. Proceedings

(5) 8vo. pr. 1s. 6d. (6) Fol. Lond. 1660, &c. (7) Instit. par. 4. cap. 8. (8) J. Speed, in Rich. 2. Sect. 19, 23. (9) Id. ibid. Sect. 112. (10) 8vo. Lond. 1651. (11) Vid. Ath. Oxon. lib. 1. p. 354.

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in Chancery. 4. The Power of the Star-Chamber. There is no doubt but all these are written with that accuracy and strength of judgment, which may reasonably be expected from the vast extent of learning and parts, whereof this great man was master: for such he has abundantly shewn himself to be, not only in the book before-mentioned, but likewise in the large (1) harangue, which he made in the Exchequer-Chamber, upon the new signification of the word *postnati*. Mr. Selden alone was fit to second my Lord Ellesmere; and he has left us a like learned discourse on the same office, to which is added Sir Will. Dugdale's Catalogue of Chancellors and Lord-keepers. There was formerly such a catalogue as this, together with the list of the treasurers and masters of the Rolls, published by John Phillips, Somerset herald. There are several repositories of the records belonging to the High Court of Chancery; all of which are under the immediate care and inspection of the Master of the Rolls. 1. In the chapel of the Rolls, the oldest record is a patent-roll of Edward the Fifth; those that bear any higher date being long since deposited in the Tower. Those of the following reigns (to the end of Queen Elizabeth's, and somewhat lower) are still kept here, in good order: and it were to be wished, though that is not my present concern, that those of our own times were as carefully inrolled. In these we have all perpetuities, fee-farms and leases, which pass the great seal, grants of liberties, licences and pardons of alienation, presentations, special liveries, general and special pardons, with licences of all sorts; and on the back of those are indorsed all kinds of commissions which are passed under the said seal. Here are also Fine-Rolls, wherein are patents granted to escheators, customers, comptrollers, searchers, &c. Close-rolls of all indentures and recognizances inrolled by warrant from the lord-chancellor, lord-keeper, or master of the Rolls; Decree-Rolls, made up and inrolled at the charge of the subject concerned, but the parchment is the queen's; Parliament-Rolls of all the publick acts, sent in by the clerk of the parliaments, and of some few private acts brought hither by *certiorarij*. The returns of members elected to serve in parliament are likewise here. 2. The Petty-Bag Office first receives the inrollments of patents with the privy-seals, and estreats from the six clerks, but is obliged to transmit the former to the chapel, and the latter to the Exchequer: so that the lodging of such records there being only temporary, nothing of age is to be looked for. 3. In the Examiners Office are depositions of witnesses from the beginning of the reign of Edward the Sixth; and some few that are higher. These, though they are only on paper, are justly reputed records, since they are taken by the examining clerks, who are all sworn officers: whereas commissioners in the country, taking no oath themselves, are not always so scrupulous in keeping their examinants to the strictness of truth; an evil, which has long called for a remedy. I mention not the Office of Inrollments, nor that of the Six Clerks, because the deputy-clerks in the former transmit their inrolled deeds and recognizances, when they grow burdened with their numbers, to the Rolls Chapel, as the latter do their bills, answers, depositions and other pleadings to the Tower.

Tower.

It is here that we have the most noble repository of our ancient records in chancery: for this likewise is under the ultimate inspection of the master of the Rolls, though the immediate care and custody thereof has been for some time in the hands of other persons of good learning and eminent skill in these remains of antiquity; which is the true character of its present keeper, Richard Topham, esq. The principal treasure under his charge, lies in several presses within that part of the palace which bears the name of Wakefield-Tower; and the reader will have the best view of the contents of these, which the narrow limits of this book can afford him, in the following alphabetical order.

Affisa Magna. Writs and entries of pleas in that court. The oldest of these rolls contains no less than twenty years of King Edward the Second; wherein the very first cause is betwixt two tenants of the manor of Dalston, holding of John, Bishop of Carlisle, to be determined here, with the then usual *proviso, nisi duellum fuerit inde vadiatum*.

(1) Lond. 1609.

Brevia Selecta. Relating to fines, privileges, boundaries, &c. of several men and places, reduced under the titles of their respective counties. PART
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Bonds. For money borrowed, of the merchants and others, by the crown. The eldest of 26 Ed. I.

Cartæ Antiquæ. Inrolled transcripts of antient grants of lands and liberties to churches, civil corporations, and private persons: not lower than the former part of Henry the Third's reign.

Charter-Rolls. A regular and orderly inrolment of grants and confirmations, as also creations of the nobility, from the first of King John, to the end of Edward the Fourth; which is commonly the lowest date of the records of this place.

Close-Rolls. Writs of various kinds from the 6th of King John: so called, because the originals are issued under seals of wax inclosing the said writs.

Coronation. The whole proceedings in that of Edward the Second: and the petitions and claims of those of Richard the Second and Henry the Fifth.

Escheats. Upon inquisitions *post Mortem*; from the beginning of Henry the Third's reign, to the end of Edward the Fourth's. Two of Richard the Third.

Extracta Donationum. These are abstracts of grants, by way of calendar, made by Edward the Second, Edward the Third, and some few of Richard the Third's.

Fines. On grants, charters, writs, &c. from the 6th of King John.

Forfeitures. Given away by new grants. The first roll of these is of 15 Ed. II. which nevertheless has a retrospect to forfeitures under Ed. I.

Germany. The eldest of those that bear the title of Rotuli Alemanniæ, begins in the reign of Edward the First, and reaches from the twenty-second to the thirty-first year.

Gilds or Fraternities, of voluntary erection. There are a great many election-grants and charters of these; which are ranked under their respective counties of Bedford, Cambridge, Derby, Ebor. Essex, Gloucester, Hartford, Kent, Lancaster, Leicester, Norfolk, Northampton, Nottingham, Oxford, Salop, Stafford, Suffolk, Suffex, Warwick, and Wilts.

Homage. Done by the nobility of Scotland to our King Edward the First. These are five in number.

Hundred-Rolls. Registering the tenures, customs, &c. of several districts and subdivisions of counties, from returns made in or about the 7th of Ed. I.

Jews. Several records relating to that people; whereof the most remarkable are the letters-patent de domibus Judæorum post exilium eorum, &c. 19 Ed. I. many of their stars, or bonds, contracts, covenants, &c.

Inquisitions (ad quod damnum) in 89 bundles; from Edward the Second to Henry the Fifth, inclusive.

Ireland. Charters, commissions, instructions to judges and other officers, &c. from the reign of Hen. 3. as low as any.

Liberate. Writs, of privy-seal, &c. to the Lord-Treasurer, and other officers of the Exchequer, for payment of salaries, wages, &c. from the first year of King John.

Miscellanies. Matters of various kinds; beginning with King John, and ending with Edward the Fourth.

Normandy. The eldest of the rolls relating to this dukedom is that of the second of King John, who lost it; and from the 5th to the last of Henry the Fifth, who recovered it.

Pardons and Protections. Several rolls of these; from the twenty fourth of Ed. I.

Parliament-Rolls. This name is commonly appropriated to the Journals; which begin at the 5th of Ed. II. but are only compleat from the 4th of Ed. III. to 22 Ed. IV. Yet besides these, and the statute-rolls, mentioned below, here are also the *Placita Coronæ in Parlamento*, or the *Rotulus Judiciorum*, of 1 Hen. IV. &c. with petitions and answers; as likewise summons to parliament, besides the famous one of 49 Hen. III. from the beginning of Ed. I. to the end of Ed. IV. with many returns of elected members omitted by W. Prynne, in the fourth part of his Parliamentary Register; wherein, by the way, he constantly puts the 33 Ed. III. for 33 Ed. I.

Patent-Rolls.

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Patent-Rolls. These are grants of offices, lands, tenements, temporalities, wards, &c. and every matter passing under the great seal.

Perambulations of Forests. Chiefly of the 7th and 29 Ed. I. wherein are returns on enquiries by jurors, boundaries, &c.

Pipe-Rolls. Three of these, 1. The Norman Roll of 31 Hen. II. published by Mr. Madox. 2. Of 6 Rich. I. 3. 7^o John, seemed to have strayed hither: but those of the same years are likewise in the Pipe-Office; and it is rather a wonder, that we meet not here with more such duplicates, since one copy was yearly lodged in Chancery, and another in the Exchequer.

Pleas of both Benches. Several of these, of the reigns of Hen III. Ed. I, II, and III. have dropped in here, but ought to be deposited, with their fellows, in the Chapter-house at Westminster.

Redd ffeifm. Inrolled writs of possession, on recoveries at law. The first of these rolls is from the 14th to the 22d of Ed. I.

Reme. The first roll, touching the affairs of that see, begins with 1 Ed. II. and concludes with the 4th of the same reign.

Scotland. Transactions with that kingdom begin at 19 Ed. I. and the first roll gives those of that, and the five following years.

Statute-Rolls. They begin with the Statute of Gloucester, 6 Ed. I. and end with 9 Ed. IV. Those of later dates are to be sought for at the Rolls-Chapel, and Parliament-Office.

Treaties. These being lately published by Mr. Rymer, there needs nothing more to be said, than that, on any doubt arising about the truth of the printed copies of several of them, the originals may be occasionally consulted.

Wales. The records relating to this principality begin 10 Ed. I. as soon as it was reduced under any tolerable subjection to the crown of England.

Another considerable treasury of records, within the precincts of the Tower of London, and under the same inspection with the former, is in that part which they call Cæsar's Chapel; wherein they lay many years in that disorder wherein Mr. Prynne had left them, and in a rotting condition, until a committee of the house, lately appointed to view and report the condition of all offices and repositories of that kind, gave directions for the speedy reducing of them into a better posture. This good work is now carrying on with the utmost application: and one already sees there, in an exact and methodical disposition, a large collection of, incomplete proceedings in chancery, as high as the times of Henry the Fourth; together with regular bills, answers, and depositions, from the first year of Queen Elizabeth: privy-seals, manucaptions, &c. from the days of Edward the First: the statute-rolls of the 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, and 18th of Hen. VI. long wanted in Wakefield-Tower, and now happily restored out of the rubbish of this: as also numberless bulls of popes, and letters of foreign princes; writs of *distringas* and *superfedeas*, *de excommunicato capiendo*, statutes-merchant and staple, petitions to the king and council, &c.

Registrum
de Cancellaria.

There is one famous monument of antiquity belonging to this court, which they call *registrum de cancellaria*, or the registry of writs, containing the form of writs at the common law, which issue out of chancery, (1) *tanquam ex officina justitiæ*. For the better understanding whereof, we ought to consider the distinction that Bracton gives us of writs to be had in the court of chancery; (2) *Sunt quedam brevia formata in suis casibus, & quedam de cursu, quæ concilio totius regni sunt approbata; quæ quidem mutari non possunt absque eorundem contraria voluntate. Magistralia autem sæpe variantur secundum varietatem casuum*, &c. These last, which he calls *magistralia*, are such as are penned, in extraordinary cases, by direction of some of the twelve masters in chancery; whereas those that are in the register, are only such as are common and original. This being the chief repository of all the ancient forms of proceeding in our courts of justice, is the (3) best evidence we can produce that our English common law was not borrowed from the Roman; since we shall

(1) Inst. par. 1. lib. 1. §. 101. (2) Bract. lib. 5. fol. 413. & Fleta, lib. 2. cap. 12. (3) Vid. J. Seld. Dissert. ad Fletam, cap. 9. sect. 1.

hardly find one term in it, which is used in the same sense by the civilians, or to be met with in any of their books. The register has been frequently printed; but most commonly extremely false and uncorrect. In the (4) fourth edition better care is pretended; and the former prints are said to have been diligently examined and compared with the original. Some other writs, not extant in the register, though used in the office of the clerk of the crown, are added; as also the Digest of Writs Original, &c. composed by that eminent lawyer S. Thelwal. This industrious gentleman was the first that reduced all the readings and discourses upon writs into a methodical common place; which he therefore justly entitled (5) *Le Digest des Briefs Originaux et des choses concernants eux*. He observed, that after the pains taken by Stathome, Fitzherbert and Brook, our most learned men of the law, particularly Mr. Justice (6) Stamford, still complained, that this subject was left in confusion, and therefore he resolved to attempt somewhat towards the finishing of so useful, though hitherto imperfect a work; which he has so happily effected, that his book does, to this day, very deservedly bear a great and honourable esteem. In the former *Natura Brevium*, we had only the forms of several writs, under such proper heads as the author was pleased to tribe them, and in such an order as was not always agreeable; whereas here we have every particular branch of the matter itself laid open, all manner of original writs dissected and anatomized, their sound and weak parts discovered, &c. The work is divided into sixteen books, wherein is shewn who may sue out writs, and against whom, and by what names and titles; to whom they are to be directed; what are just matters of complaint; what are the natural as well as accidental nullities and abatement in writs; who may plead to them; in what time, manner, and form that is to be done; and, lastly, how the returns are to be made upon them; with some other incidents of a lower consideration.

The Common Pleas are so called, to distinguish them from pleas of the crown; which, as we have already seen, are triable elsewhere. This court is to be kept in some certain (7) and fixed place, that the subject may always be sure where to apply for justice. It hears all civil causes, real and personal; levies fines; suffers recoveries; and, as well as the King's Bench, grants prohibitions. The History of Fines, or Finales Concordiæ, is given amply and accurately by (8) Mr. Madox. There are several officers in whose hands records and proceedings are to be had. The chirographer, and his clerks, engrosses all fines, according to the several counties; and the clerk of the treasury makes out records of *Nisi Prius*. There are others whose names sufficiently intimate their office; as, 1. Custos Brevium. 2. Three Prothonotaries. 3. A Clerk of the Warrants. 4. A Clerk of the King's Silver, *Argenti Regis*. 5. Four Exigenter. 6. Fourteen Filazers. 7. A Clerk of Juries. 8. Clerk of the *Essoigns*. 9. Clerk of the Outlawries. The Course and Practice of it is given us in short by Tho. Cory, (9) Esq; sometime a Prothonotary in that court: and Dr. Zouch published several learned introductory discourses on, (its great rule) the common law: As, 1. (10) *Descriptio Juris & Judicii Feudalis*. 2. *Descriptio Juris & Judicii Temporalis*; printed with Dr. Mocket's Tract, (11) *De Politia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*. 3. *Descriptio Juris & Judicii Temporalis secundum Consuetudines Feudales & Normannicas*. In the reign (13) of Edward the Third, the pleadings in this court were brought to perfection and fineness; the judges and professors of the law being learned, and the serjeants drawing their own pleadings themselves. This is the most curious and distinguishing part of our English law; whereof Littleton gives this high character: (14) *Et saches (mon fils) que est un des plus honorables, laudables, et profitables choses en nostre ley, de aver le science de bien pleder en actions reals et personals, et pur ceo jeo toy counsaile especialment de mitter ton courage et cure de ceo apprendre*. It is this which is the chief subject of all our ancient law-writers; as will be better made appear in another place.

The Court of Exchequer has its name, either (as the green cloth) from a chequered carpet on the table; or from the French word *eschiquier*, a chess-board, because the accomptants

Exchequer.

(4) Fol. Lat. pr. 11. 2s. (5) Lond. 1579. (6) in *Præfat. ad Prærogat. Reg.* (7) *Instit. Par. ac.* 4. pag. 10. (8) *Dissert. before his Formulæ*, pag. 13, 14, &c. (9) 4to. pr. 6d. (10) 8vo. Oxon. 1634. (11) 8vo. Lond. 1683. (12) 4to. Oxon. 1636. (13) *Instit. par.* 1. sect 534. (14) *Tenur. Lib.* 3. c. 9.

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anciently used such in their calculation. There is a double court here, as well as in chancery. All judicial proceedings according to law, are *coram baronibus*: but the court of equity is *coram thesaurario, cancellario & baronibus*. The latter had only its beginning in the first year of Philip and Mary: but the former is of a very ancient date. The king's three courts, says a celebrated (15) writer, were originally in one, the court of lords, who deputed judges on several occasions: and, because that which concerned the publick treasure was of more regard than the other, the deputation thereof was probably committed to some of their own members, who, in those days, were barons of the realm, and afterwards retained the title, but not the degree. The more probable account is, that the whole usage (16) of this court was brought from Normandy, where the fashion was to call all sorts of judges Barons. Here we have the records of a great many inferior courts, that are now utterly abolished; such as, returns of process before the justices of traibaston, wards and liveries, &c. Into the pipe-office were likewise returns anciently made of the escuage paid out of all knights fees in the several counties of England; and in the rolls we find the lists still extant under the titles of (17) *De Scuitagiis Baronum qui non abierunt, nec Milites nec Denarios miserunt ad exercitum Hiberniæ, Galweix, Walliæ, &c.* The treasurer's remembrancer makes process against sheriffs, bailiffs, and other ancient receivers of fee-farm rents, &c. as the king's does against the collectors of the customs, and other new-erected parliamentary revenues. The remembrancer of the first-fruits and tenths, is an officer also within the rule and survey of the Exchequer; though his office has, for many years past, been kept in Hatton-Garden. He takes compositions for all those payments, and makes process against such as neglect them. The valuation of the church-dignities and benefices in England, was first taken in the 20th year of Edward the First. And there are (18) several manuscript copies extant of the returns made by the commissioners appointed for that purpose. One (19) in parchment bears the title of *Liber Taxationum omnium Beneficiorum in Anglia*: another has this note endorsed upon it, (20) This Manuscript was written An. 1291, Nicholas the Fourth being Pope, 19 Ed. I. and a third (1) transcript of a great part of the book is amongst R. Dodesworth's collections. He that desires to see the valuations as they now stand, may either consult the Index Villaris, published by (2) Mr. Adams, or the printed book of the (3) valuations itself; which seems to be taken from a copy drawn in or about the latter end of Queen Mary's reign, which bore this title; *Nomina & Valores omnium & singulorum Archiepiscopatum, Episcopatum, Archidiaconat. Diaconat. Præbendarum, Ecclesiarumque Paroch. infra Regnum ac Dominia Angliæ, ac omnium aliarum promotionum quarumcumque Spiritualium infra eadem, quæ ad solutionem decimæ partis earund. Dom. Regi & Reginæ nuper tenebantur.* This is lately published more correct, and according to the present state of that revenue, by Mr. (4) Ecton. There was formerly an Escheator chosen annually in the Exchequer for each country, whose office it was to collect all Escheats, or extraordinary and dropping dues, for the king's use: and in the rolls that belonged to this charge, we have all the forfeitures, heriots, wards, lapses of advowson, revenues of vacant dignities and livings, &c. The inquisitions taken by these officers, upon the death of any gentleman of estate, afford perhaps the truest draughts of the several counties in England; and the writ of *amoveas manum*, or *reseiser*, which were sometimes (5) sent to them upon such occasions, do frequently farther illustrate to us the then condition of such lands and possessions. In the hands of the two chamberlains of the lower Exchequer, where all receipts and disbursements are made, there are many ancient records, leagues and treaties with foreign princes, standards of money, weights and measures, Domesday, the Black Book, &c. some whereof will require our particular notice. For a fuller account of this court, the reader may have recourse to the (6) Practice of the Exchequer Court, wherein a view is given of its several officers, and the power and duty of each person. Arth. Agard (7) left also with the officers here a register, of his own collection, of all the records in the four treasuries, how they

(15) Nat. Bacon's Hist. Disc. pag. 190, 191. (16) D. Hen. Spelm. Gloss. in voce Baro, &c. (17) Tit. of Hon. p. 574. (18) W. Kennet's Paroch. Antiq. p. 315, 316. (19) In Bibl. Bodl. (20) Ibid. 1. (1) Vol. 86. (2) Fol. Lond. 1680. (3) 12. 1680. (4) 8vo. Lond. 1711. (5) Vid. Sat. de Escheat. 29 Ed. I. (6) 8vo. by Sir T. F. pret. 1s. 6d. (7) Ath. Oxon. lib. 1. p. 144.

are now placed, and how to be preserved for the future: and this book he deposited in the Receipt-Office, to be transferred in succession by way of inventory and indenture. He likewise required his executors, for a small consideration, to make over to the said officers eleven other volumes of his composition, wherein he had made such observations as he believed might be helpful to them, and serviceable to the interest of the king their master. There were anciently four several apartments, wherein the records of the Treasury of the Exchequer were kept; being all in the custody, and under the charge of the chamberlains of that court: 1. A vault in the cloisters of the Abbey at Westminster; wherein were foreign leagues and other publick instruments: which being found to be very ill lodged here, were, in the year 1696, removed into, 2. The old Chapter-house in the said cloisters; whence the late Mr. Rymer had the greatest part of those treaties, &c. which are the contents of his fore-mentioned noble volumes. Here are also the records of the King's Court, before its being divided into the King's-Bench and Common-Pleas, from the beginning of Richard the First, to Henry the Third; and thence forward those of both benches, down to Henry the Seventh; several rolls, deeds, papers, and books relating to the dissolution of abbies, renunciation of the pope's supremacy, the divorce of Henry the Eighth; with an exemplification of his will; sundry original parliament rolls of the reign of Edward the First; cancelled broad-seals, and privy-seals, for loans of money: books covered with blue velvet, and embossed with silver, touching the foundation of Henry the Seventh's chapel, and agreement of that king with the Abbot of Westminster for masses, &c. 3. The Third Treasury, as they call it, is by the side of the Tally-Court; where, besides the famous Domesday-book, G. of Tilbury, &c. whereof more anon, are many rolls of assize, and pleas of the crown, before the judges itinerant in most of the counties of England, and in the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, during the reigns of Henry the Third, and the three first Edwards: surveys and court-rolls of sundry honours, manors, lands and tenements in England and Wales, made parts of the estate of the Kings of England, Princes of Wales, and Dukes of Cornwall, by purchase, exchange, forfeiture or escheat; from the beginning of Edward the First's reign, to the end of Henry the Eighth's; the like of the several lesser monasteries which were granted to Cardinal Wolsey; together with the books and papers seized in the hands of the said cardinal upon his fall: a book of the old statutes of the order of the garter, another of those of the order of St. Michael, sent to our Hen. VIII. by Francis I. of France: a patent-roll of King John, from the first year of his reign to the ninth; another of Ed. II. from his first to his fourteenth; and a third of King Henry the Sixth's time: a pipe-roll of the third year of King John: inquisitions, in a bag called Rageman, concerning concealments of royal rights; with particular bags of the like on several tenures in most counties: indentures of delivery and receipt of records, jewels; weights, measures, &c. as also with the masters of the mint, on the advancing or debasing of the coin. 4. The Fourth Treasury is over the gate, leading from New Palace-Yard into St Margaret's-Lane; where, besides some cart loads of common-writs, postea's, &c. not worth the mentioning, are bills and answers in the court of survey, of Henry the Eighth's reign, and the fines on lands in the same and four following reigns; with a press of letters and cyphers of ambassadors, &c. of the same age.

It is a lasting obligation which Mr. Madox has laid upon the chancellor, barons, and other great officers of this court (as well as on all the true lovers of English history and antiquities) in his most accurate history and antiquities (Fol. Lond. 1711.) of the exchequer of the kings of England. This he divides into two periods; whereof the former reaches from the conquest to the end of King John's reign; and the latter from thence to the unhappy conclusion of that of Edward the Second. He discovers to us, from the most authentick and infallible records, the œconomy of the antient Curia Regis, its jurisdiction and pleas; what relation the court of the king's exchequer had to this; what were the chief branches of their old revenue; how and when these courts were divided, by the new erection of that of the common-pleas; what officers were in the exchequer, in its declining condition, upon the entrance on this second period; how sheriff's and other debtors brought in their accounts, and before whom they accounted; what securities were demanded of them, and what discharges given them, &c.

PART

III.

Pipe-
Office.Remem-
brancers.Court of
Wards.

Besides the great skill which Mr. Madox has shewn himself master of, in the most abstruse parts of the general history of Europe, he discovers there more particularly (to our English historian and antiquary) of what admirable use some other repositories of exchequer-records may be; which therefore ought to be as carefully searched as the former. That which justly challenges the pre-eminence amongst these, is the Pipe-office; wherein are kept the great rolls of the exchequer, that is, one bundle for every year from the reign of King Henry the Second (inclusively) to the present time. In these are stated the accounts of the royal revenue; whether certain, as arising out of the demesne land and farm-rents; or casual, in escheats, fines, amerciaments, &c. The most ancient record in this office is that which bears the name of the 5th of King Stephen. It was (1) W. Prynne's opinion, that it rather belonged to the 18th of Henry the First; and (2) Mr. Madox thinks also, that it is a roll of some year of the last mentioned king. It is a bundle of sixteen lesser rolls, of about four feet in length, (one with another) and a foot in breadth. To each of these *magni rotuli* there appertains (as a member or adjunct) a *rotulus compotorum*, wherein are entered (the *Anglia-accounts*, as they call them, that is) accounts of the issues of the great offices of the wardrobe, customs, butlerage of England, the cambium and mint, the equitium, &c. and (in general) accounts of all money impressed for the service of the crown and public. Here are also the *rotuli cancellarii scaccarii*; which are only counter-parts of the forementioned Great-Rolls, made up by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

There are other officers belonging to this high court, not to be overlooked by our historian, which are known by the name of their several Remembrancers. As, I. That of the Queen's Remembrancer; wherein are kept the Memoranda of the Exchequer, made up by that officer. Here are pleadings and judgments relating to the crown-revenue, admissions of officers of the exchequer and revenue, inrolments of charters and letters patent of the great and privy-seals, states and views of accounts; and, in general, the Communia, or common business, together with all the decrees and proceedings in cases of equity, in the court of Exchequer. In a large chest in this office are kept the following MSS. 1. An Abstract of Domesday-Book, written in a very ancient hand. 2. The Red Book of the Exchequer. 3. Testa de Nevil. 4. The Books of Knights-Fees. 5. Registers of the Abbies of Malmesbury, Torre, &c. II. The Office of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer; whose business it is to draw up counter-parts of the last mentioned records. For here likewise are pleadings and judgments on matters of the royal revenue, and concerning tenures, wardships, and reliefs; proceedings and judgments upon summons of *Scire facias ad ostendendum quo titulo tenet*, or *quo warranto clamat*; Claims of franchises, &c. Here is also kept another sort of record, which is called the Original or Estreat, of the Chancery; wherein are contained charters, letters-patent, and other acts that have (from time to time) passed the great seal. III. The Office of Pleas, wherein are the rolls of all proceedings at common-law, in actions brought by or against the ministers or officers of the Exchequer or other persons, (in this court) who were debtors or accomptants to the crown. IV. The office of Remembrancer of First-Fruits and Tenths; where we have the original surveys and valuations of ecclesiastical benefices in the reign of Henry the Eighth. In these the lands and possessions of monasteries, and other religious corporations, are also particularly specified and described. Here are likewise other records relating to the charge and discharge of that revenue; which is now graciously settled, by the royal bounty of her present majesty, on the poor clergy of the established church of England. May this unprecedented charity meet with an everlasting reward!

To these, as a late very considerable appendant, is to be added the Court of Wards; the records whereof lay many years neglected in a ruinous building adjoining to Westminster-Hall, and now made part of the treasurer of the Queen's-bench. This office was not only disregarded by the superior directors thereof, but wickedly garbled and purloined by a faithless keeper, who carried off such of its stores as he thought might be of most ready benefit to himself, leaving the rest in dirt and confusion. In this wretched and lamentable condition the lords committees

(1) Append. to Aurum Reginae, p. 5. (2) Pref. to Formul. Anglic. p. 3.

for the general inspection of records found it a few winters ago; and, recovering some of the PART III.
 stolen goods, secured its remains in an apartment over the Prince's Chamber. Here they are
 now deposited, waiting for a more convenient lodging, when greater affairs of the publick are
 brought to a quiet and peaceful settlement. Amongst these there are a great many volumes
 of the proceedings of that abolished court, verdicts and returns on inquisitions *post mortem*,
 descents of the nobility and others that held of the king *in capite*, or whose ancestors died pos-
 sessed of such knights-fees, or shares thereof, as legally subjected the infants to the wardship
 of the crown: all which are fairly entered in books, either promiscuously or according to the
 alphabetical order of the counties and manors wherein the lands lay. Here are likewise several
 chests, boxes, and confused heaps of deeds and conveyances, wills and other authentick instru-
 ments: which, as long as the court was in being, were undoubtedly in as great safety here, as
 in the custody of the respective families concerned in their preservation.

The court of Augmentations of the Revenues of the Crown of England, was erected by (1) Augmen-
tation Of-
fice.
 act of parliament, at the same time that all the lesser monasteries, not exceeding two hundred
 pounds in yearly revenue, were granted to the king; and was appointed to consist of a chancellor,
 treasurer, attorney and solicitor. All purchased and abbey-lands were within their survey; and
 therefore, for the better regulating of this newly augmented branch of the royal revenue, they
 had possession given them of all the leger-books and registers belonging to such monasteries:
 for the act provided, that not only the manors, grainges, lands and tenements, but also all
 their ornaments, jewels, goods, chattles and debts, should fall into the king's hands. Afterwards
 (2) several dispersed parks, messuages, &c. were united into manors, and put under order and
 survey of this court; which was sufficiently provided with all the requisite old charters, grants
 and evidences thereunto belonging. It was dissolved by Queen Mary's proclamation, in the
 first year of her reign, pursuant to a power given her to that purpose by act of parliament;
 but still there is an apartment in the Exchequer, which bears the name of the Augmentation-
 Office, wherein are to be had a deal of the forementioned registers, as also original surrenders
 of the abbies and priories of England and Wales, under their conventual seals; certificates or
 surveys of colleges, hospitals, and chantries; proceeding by bill, answer and depositions, in this court
 and the court of surveyors of the king's lands; accounts of the lands and revenue of abbies, priories,
 &c. in the reigns of Hen. VIII. Ed. VI. &c. Court-rolls of manors; enrolment of grants and leases;
 with particular surveys, charters, and other muniments, innumerable. These were of great use
 to Dodesworth and Dugdale; who acknowledge the helps they had from hence, in the compiling
 of the Monasticon (3) Anglicanum.

Amongst all the ancient records in the Exchequer, Domesday-Book is deservedly of the Domes-
day.
 greatest reputation and value. The name is undoubtedly of the Saxon original; and was plainly
 used in their times, in the same sense it is here taken. They called the judge's directory (4)
 his Dom-boc; which was an (5) inquisition taken of the several districts of the kingdom, when
 King Ælfred divided it into counties, hundreds, and tithings: and Fabian (6) tells us, that the
 citizens of London had formerly an old register, wherein were recorded the names of the portgreves,
 together with the laws and customs of that city, which, in the Saxon tongue, was called the Domes-
 day. This seems to countenance an (7) ingenious person's observation, that the addition of Dey or
 Day, by turning Dom-boc into Domesday-Book, does not augment the sense of the word,
 but only doubles and confirms it; since the word Dey or Day in that composition does not
 really signify the measure of time, but the administration of justice. Dr. Hammond takes (8)
 notice, that Day, in all idioms, signifies judgment, as *Ἀνθρώπων ἡμέρα* (9) is human judgment,
 &c. and even now in the north of England, Dayman is an arbitrator, umpire, or judge: so as
 Domesday-Book is no more than the book of judicial verdict, or decretory sentence and dooming
 of judgment. And thus is the reason of its name given by Gervase of Tilbury, who should

(1) St. 27 Hen. VIII. cap. 28. (2) St. 33. Hen. VIII. c. 37, 38. (3) Vid. Tom. 1. p. 398, 601, 961. Tom. 2.
 p. 109, 258, 962, 1007. (4) Vid. LL. Edv. R. in Præfat. & c. 8. (5) W. Kennet, Gloss. ad Antiq. Paroch. voce
 Domesday-Book. (6) Vol. II. p. 1. (7) Kennet, ubi supra. (8) In Annot. ad Heb. 10, 25. (9) 1 Cor. 3. 13.
 Z 2 best

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best understand it: (1) *Non quod in eo de propositis aliquibus dubiis feratur sententia, sed quod à prædicto judicio non liceat ulla ratione discedere.* In relation to the first intent and design of it, it is frequently called *Liber Censualis totius Angliæ*: for it is, in truth, a tax-book, made by William the Conqueror's commissioners, wherein is an exact survey of all the cities, towns and villages in England. It does not only account for the several baronies, knights-fees and ploughlands; but gives also the number of families, men, soldiers, husbandmen, servants and cattle; what rent, how much meadow, pasture, woods, tillage, common, marsh, heath, every one possessed. The bitterest part of it was, that, to reimburse the king his expences, in framing this great roll in the kingdom, six shillings was laid upon every ploughland; (2) which made the design of it less agreeable to the people, though every man's right thereby received a new evidence, and no injustice was complained of in the digestion of so difficult a work, and of so various a nature. This noble survey was begun in the sixteenth year, as (3) some will have it, of the conqueror's reign; or, as others, (4) in the fourteenth; and was finished as the book itself witnesses, in the twentieth. It is in two volumes; whereof the (5) former gives a succinct description of thirty-three counties, and the (6) latter, which was finished in the very last year of that king's reign, gives a somewhat larger account of Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk. The four northern counties of Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmoreland, are wholly omitted: and Lancashire comes under the titles of Yorkshire and Cheshire. In the front of each county stands a list of the lords of the soil, that is, the king and a few of his nobles; and the number of these ascertains the number of the chapters for that county. Sir Henry Spelman (7) has given us a sample of the book; which may be of good use and assistance to such as shall have occasion to consult it, and are strangers to its orthography.

Norf. Rex:

H. de Galgow. In Facenham ten' Herold'. t. r. e. ii. car'. ter'. semp'. v. vill'. & xx. bor'. & iiii. serv'. semp'. in. dmo'. ii. car'. & hom. iiii. car'. Silva ad xij. por'. v. acr. pra' iij. mol'. dimi. salina. Semp. iij. r'. & xxvii. por' & cc. ov'. Huic man'. pertinet i. beruita Alatorp de i. car'. ter'. &c. Facenham het'. vii. quar'. in long. & dimi. in lat. & xii. d' in gelt. Which is to be read thus:

In Comitatu *Norfolcia* Rex tenet terras subscriptas, viz. In *hundredo de Galgow. In Facenham* tenuit *Heroldus* quidam tempore Regis *Edvarai* Confessoris duas carucatas *Terræ*. Semper erant ibi quinque villani, & xx. Bordarii, & quatuor servi. Semper in *Domin* co ii. carucatae, & inter homines (Scil. Vassallos & Colonos) quatuor Carucatae. Silva ad duodecem porcos faginandos. Quinque acre Prati, iiii. Molendina, Dimidia salina. Semper iiii. runcini, & xxvii. porci & cc. oves. Huic manerio pertinet una beruita, Alatorp, de una carucata *Terræ*, &c. *Facenham* habet vii. quarteria milliarii in longitudine, & dimidium in latitudine, & reddit Regi xii. denarios in *Gelt*. i. in geldo seu Tributo. Neither of these volumes, which are kept under three locks, are to be consulted under a fee of six shillings and eight pence; and four pence is to be likewise paid for every line you transcribe. Amongst several MSS. of great value, which were bequeathed to the Cottonian library by Arthur Agard, deputy-chamberlain of the Exchequer, there is (8) one of his own compofure, entitled, *Tractatus de usu & verbis obscurioribus Libri de Domesday*; wherein is also given the whole history of its compofure, the several names by which it has been called, &c.

Red-Book.

There is also, in the keeping of the king's remembrancer, an ancient miscellany of several notable treatises; which volume is commonly cited, and called by the name of *Liber ruber Scaccarii*, or the Red-Book of the Exchequer. It has some things, as the number (9) of the hides of land in many of our counties, &c. relating to the times before the conquest: and the

(1) Citat. à D^o Guil. Dugdale, Orig. Jurid. p. 7. (2) Sir Will. Temple's Introd. to Hist. p. 256, 257. (3) Annal. Waverl. ad An. 1083. (4) Lib. Rub. Scacc. (5) Fol. (6) in 4to. (7) Glossar. in voce Domesdei. (8) Vitellius. C. ix. 26. (9) Vid. Hist. Angl. Script. xx. à Tho. Gale, Vol. i. p. 748.

ceremonies used at the coronation of Queen (1) Eleanor, wife to King Henry the Third, are there at large. There is likewise an exact (2) collection of the escuages under Henry the Second, Richard the First, and King John, compiled by Alexander, Archdeacon of Shrewsbury, a most diligent officer in the Exchequer, in the reigns of the two last mentioned kings, and Henry the Third, in whose time he wrote that book. In the (3) Preface to this work, he says he collected also into one volume, the certificates made by all the prelates and barons of England, to king Henry the Second, of the number of knights fees held by each of them; and this, he says, he did in the service of William Bishop of Ely, Lord Chancellor in the time of Richard the First. Such a collection as this there is likewise in this very volume; which is reasonably believed to be the same he there speaks of, the title being *Escuagium tam super Prælati quam cæteris Baronibus assisum*. When Sir Edward Coke (4) affirms that the Red-Book was written in the time of Henry the First, he is to be understood a little figuratively; since it is plain, that it could not, all of it, be penned so early. The collector of the treatises in this book is reasonably thought, by Mr. Madox, to have been Alexander de Swereford, Archdeacon of Shrewsbury, and an officer in the Exchequer in the latter end of the reign of Hen. II. who has here discovered the true author of the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, whereof here is a transcript, as well as in the Black-Book, as we shall hear anon.

The Black-Book is supposed to be compiled by Gervase of Tilbury, (5) nephew to King Henry the Second, in the twenty-second of that king's reign. In this we have the history of the first institution of the court of the king's Exchequer; the reason of its being named *Scaccarium*; the names and titles of all the officers, both on the chequer and treasury sides; their duties, privileges, fees, &c. the order and form of issuing out writs and tallies; the manner of stating the accounts of those times, and the way of collecting the rents, both in money and purveyances of victual, &c. Some share of the book at least, as particularly the last chapter save one of the first part, which bears the title *de Libro Judiciario*, (6) Sir Henry Spelman ascribes to Hen. de Bloys Bishop of Winchester. I know not what authority that worthy person might have for such an assertion: but I suspect that bishop's being nephew to our first Henry, as Gervase was to the second; and there being frequent mention made of the state of the treasury under the former of those princes, might occasion the mistake. In other places of the same (7) work, he confesses the book was commonly reputed to be Gervase of Tilbury's; and in the conclusion, (8) he seems to have been fully brought over to that opinion himself, and boldly ascribes it to him. Mr. Madox, who has given us a correct edition of this treatise, is of opinion, that Richard (Nigelli filius or Nelson) Bishop of London, was the true author; and his reasons are hardly to be answered.

The great roll that is here of all the lands held in (9) grand or petty serjeanty within the county of Hereford, being written in the reign of Henry the Third, and bearing the title of *Testa Nevilli*, seems to be nearly related to the *Nomine Villarum*, cited by (10) Dr. Fuller; saving only that this latter manuscript, which is also said to be in the Exchequer, is of a more general extent. It was compiled, as he says, by order of King Edward the First, who, in the ninth year of his reign, directed his letters mandatory to all sheriffs of counties, requiring them to make returns, *qui & quot hundredi sunt in balivâ tua, & quorum sunt; & quæ & quot civitates, burgi & villæ sunt in quolibet hundredorum illorum; & qui sunt domini eorundem. Tibi præcipimus, firmiter injungentes, quod modis & viis omnibus, quibus plenius & diligentius poteris, te informes de præmissis, &c.* Thus runs the letter directed to the Sheriff of Gloucester, which our author exemplifies at large; and he farther tells us, that it appears, from some passages in the book, that this survey was not completed till twenty years after the date of these writs. Here is a story so like that we have already had of the Conqueror, in all its parts and circumstances, that it would tempt a man to look for a counter part of Domesday; and to hope that King Edward's

(1) Selden's Tit. of Hon. p. 149. (2) *Ibid.* p. 573, 574. (3) Lib. Rub. fol. 47. (4) Instit. Par. 4. cap. 53. in Margine. (5) John Stow, ad an. 1176. (6) Glossar. voce Domesdei. (7) *Ibid.* voce Arfura & Cancellaria. (8) *Ibid.* voce Scaccarium. (9) *Ibid.* in voce Chacepollus. (10) Worthies of Engl. p. 365, in Gloucester.

PART III. Inquisition, being taken two hundred years later, would prove the nobler piece of the two. But I am much afraid that these *nomine villarum* are little better than an empty sound, since I have not met with any other writer that has magnified this relick at the doctor's rate. Perhaps the Hundred-Rolls, already mentioned amongst the records of the Tower, may be what we want.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Records of Assize, Sessions of the Peace, and other inferior Courts in ENGLAND and WALES.

Assizes.

ASSIZES, properly so called, were first instituted by King (1) Henry the Second; and *Nisi prius* by the (2) second statute of Westminster. The former had its name from the *Assise nova Disseffina*, which the judges are impowered to take in their circuits; though that method is now much laid aside: but they are, by many acts of parliament, invested with new powers of trying murders, treasons, felonies, riots, &c. The other should be rather called *Si prius*; for so runs the writ, *Si prius die lune, &c. venerint*. It is elsewhere observed how pernicious a matter it has always been esteemed, to alter or erase any records in the courts at Westminster, even by the judges themselves; and it is also long since enacted, (3) "That the justices assigned to take assizes by the king's commission in the counties of the realm, shall cause to be delivered fully in the king's treasury all the records of assizes of *Novel Disseisin* and *Mordancestor*, &c. every second year; and that the said records shall in no wise be amended or impaired by new entering of the clerks, &c." There is a little book, called the (4) Office of a Clerk of Assize; wherein is the form and method of proceeding here, and at a general gaol-delivery, together with precedents of presentments, indictments, &c. And for the better instruction of juries, we have some other useful tracts. Those on the crown-side ought not to be strangers to Zach. Babington's (5) advice to grand jurors in cases of blood: nor should those of the other court be unacquainted with the (6) *Tryals per Pais*, or the law concerning juries by *Nisi prius*, &c. reports of adjudged cases in the circuits, where the different customs of the several counties are best canvassed and proved, would be as beneficial to our historian, and, I presume, to the young students of the law, as those that are brought from any of the courts in Westminster-Hall: and some (7) such have been lately published, of cases tried at the assizes at York, before sundry judges of that circuit.

Sessions.

The office of a justice of peace began in the first year of Edward the Third: since which time there have been quarterly courts held before them, wherein the grand juries of their counties have inquired of all traitors, hereticks, conventiclers, thieves, murderers, money-coiners, riots, assaults, &c. and those that appear guilty, are by the said justices committed to prison, to be tried at the assizes next following. The rolls or records of these sessions are, or should be, in the custody of one of the principal justices of the peace and *Quorum*, who is appointed to that office by the (8) lord chancellor, and is usually styled *Custos Rotulorum*. The first designed directions for the right execution of the justice's office, were collected by Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, one of the Judges of the Common-pleas; whose book, together with what he wrote of some other offices of sheriffs, bailiffs, coroners, &c. has been several times published, and is much enlarged by (9) R. Crompton. Besides this, W. Lambard's (10) *Eirenarcha* is the only treatise on this subject before the death of Queen Elizabeth; since whose reign Fleetwood, Chamberlain, Sheppard, Dalton, Bond, Keble, and others, have been more voluminous and better known. There are divers other inferior officers, who are to act by the direction and warrant of the justices; a full account and knowledge whereof may be had

(1) Vid. Reliq. Spelm. p. 90. (2) St. 13 Ed. I. (3) St. 11 Hen. 4. cap. 3. (4) 8vo. pret. 2s. 6d. (5) 8vo. pret. 2s. 6d. (6) 8vo. pret. 6s. (7) John Clayton's Reports, 8vo. pr. 1s. 6d. Vide & MSS. R. Dodesworth, in Bibl. Bodl. Vol. I. (8) Vide St. 37 Hen. 8. cap. 1, & 3. 4 Ed. 6. cap. 1. (9) 4to. Fr. pret. 6s. (10) 8vo. London. 1581, 1592, &c.

from those that have written about the office and duty of constables, &c. as W. Lambard, J. Layer, PART
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G. Meriton, and others.

The city of London has several Courts of judicature; the chief whereof is the Hustings, to which there lies an appeal from that of the two sheriffs. This name is evidently compounded of two Saxon words, [*hust* and *sting*] which may be rendered either by *domus placitorum*, or (11) *forum contentiosum*; and, in the very same sense, it was many ages since used likewise at (12) Lincoln, Winchester, and York. The records of this court are kept in the chamber of London; and for the greater ease of him that has occasion to consult them, are marked alphabetically. The lord mayor holds also, by prescription, a court of conscience, or equity; the like to which several have been lately erected in other places by act of parliament. After these, follow the courts of the mayor, and aldermen, orphans, common-council, ward-mote, hall-mote, chamberlain, conservator of the river, coroner, &c. all which have their proper clerks, records and registers. For the better discovery of grants and other evidences, belonging to this city, being genuine, it ought to be known, that the citizens, at, and a little after the conquest, were governed by portgreves; (13) and afterwards, by charter from Richard the First, by two bailiffs. The same king, in the first year of his reign, appointed their first mayor; who continued till the eighth year of King John, from whom they had another. Two years after, that king granted them a power of chusing a mayor *de seipsis*; which has continued to this day. There is an old treatise in Latin and Saxon, in Sir John Cotton's (14) library, which bears the title of *Judicia Civitatis London*; which promises some special remarks on the ancient jurisdiction of this famous city.

Counties palatine have all the *jura regalia* within themselves; and of what extent those are, as Counties-
palatine. likewise what kind of records are there to be fought for, will be best learned from the words of the charter granted by King Edward the Third, to his son John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster: (15) *Ut habeat infra comitatum Lancastriæ cancellariam suam, ac brevia sua sub sigillo suo pro officio cancellarii, deputando, consignando. Justiciarios suos tam ad placita coronæ, quam ad quæcunque alia placita communem legem tangentia, tenenda, ac cognitiones eorundem, & quascunque executiones per brevia sua & ministros suos faciendas.* The bishops of Ely have the like royalties within the isle of Ely, by grant from Henry the First, founder of that bishoprick. The like had the earls of Pembroke, in that county, till their jurisdiction and privileges were taken away by (16) act of parliament; which also put an end to the same pretensions of Hexamshire, (17) giving the sheriff of Northumberland power to execute his office there. But, omitting all the rest, the reader will best understand the true constitution of these palatinates from the state of that of Durham; which is thus given me by (18) an ingenious person, and one that is perfectly acquainted with the antient usages and records of that place. The county of Durham, he says, is a county palatine by prescription, time out of mind, and not by creation, or grant within memory; and extends from the middle of the river of Tyne on the north, to the midst of Teese on the south: the shires also of Norham, Holy Island, and Bedlington, together with the manor of Crake, in the county of York, having anciently been, and still continuing members thereof. The bishops of this diocese successively, as well before, as ever since the conquest, have always been counts palatine within the foresaid limits; and, as such, have held and enjoyed divers royalties and jurisdictions, with the following courts of justice and equity. 1. A Court of Chancery; wherein the chancellor, register and examiner, are all made by the bishop's letters-patent. 2. A Court of Pleas; which used to determine all pleas of the crown, as well as all civil rights in actions real, personal and mixt: wherein commissions were given to the justices in his own name, and under his seal, the indictments running *Contra pacem domini episcopi*; and pardons were granted in the same name and manner. The (19) act of resumption of royal franchises put an end to some of these privileges: but continued the bishop and his temporal chancellor (for the time being) perpetual justices of the peace for that county. This honour is likewise still retained, that even those commissions, writs, &c. which run in the king's name and style, bear *teste* the bishop; who also appoints the sheriff of the county, under-sheriff, county-clerk, gaoler, clerk of the crown, pro-

(11) Instit. Par. 2. p. 322. (12) Fleta, Lib. 2. cap. 28. (13) Instit. Par. 4. cap. 50. (14) Claudius, D. 2. (15) Rot. Par. A°. 50 Ed. 3. (16) 27 Hen. 8. cap. 26. (17) 14 Eliz. cap. 13. (18) J. Rowel, Dec. & Capit. Dunelm. Registr. (19) 27 H. 8. cap. 24.

thonotary,

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thonotary, clerk of the peace, curfitor, &c. 3. A Court of Wards and Liveries, with an escheator and feodary; which continued till even the king's own wardships were taken away by (20) act of parliament. It is well known, that the excise of beer and ale was settled on the crown in lieu of these. And, in recompence of the bishop's loss, the king was graciously pleased to release to him and his successors, (from and after the decease of the then queen-mother) the yearly rent of eight hundred and eighty pounds; which is still discontinued, and stands discharged to the present bishop. 4. A Court of Admiralty; with a vice-admiral, register, marshal or water-bailiff, with other officers, who have all constantly acted therein, both on the sea-coasts, and in the rivers of the said county. The bishops have also enjoyed all forfeitures and profits incident to this royalty, as wrecks of the sea, anchorage, beaconage, wharfage, moorage, and other the like advantages; in as ample a manner as the kings of this realm have had, in the other parts of their dominions. They likewise anciently arrayed, armed, and equipped, all land-soldiers and ships of war, by writs and commissions in their own names out of the chancery at Durham; upon notice or command from the king, by writ or summons to that purpose. For the proof of these, and many other royal privileges belonging to this palatinate, there are great numbers of records still remaining; which have happily escaped the fury of the last great rebellion. Amongst the rolls of the chancery, the most ancient is that of Richard de Bury; who was (1) consecrated bishop in the year 1333, and died in 1345. Some of their grants and charters are much older, as, 1. Carta Willielmi de S. Karilefo Episcopi Dunelm. de Libertatibus Ecclesiæ Dun. (Priori sc. & conventui) concessis, per consensum Gregorii Papæ & Will. Conquestoris, Anno Regni 14^o. 2. Recordatio Marchiarum, temp. Willielmi Secundi: whereby the metes and bounds of the river Tyne are described, as then agreed on, and enjoyed by the Earl of Northumberland on the north, and Bishop Ranulphus on the south. 3. Carta Hen. I. Ranulpho Episcopo Dunelm. concessa de Consuetudinibus in Aquis S. Cuthborti in Tina: Quas Ranulphus Episcopus disacionavit adversus Northumbrenses, in sua & Baronum suorum presentia. The original is in the dean and chapters treasury. 4. Carta. Hen. II. Episcopo Dunelm. concessa, de Applicatione Navium ex parte sua in Aquâ de Tina; tam libere, honorificè & quietè, sicut Rex habet ex alterâ parte.

The judges anciently appointed to preside in the sheriff's courts were (2) Episcopi, Comites, Vice-Domini, Vicarii, Centenarii, Aldermanni, Præfecti, Præpositi, Barones, Vavafores, Tungrevii, & cæteri Terrarum Domini: And the causes triable before them are such as were proper for these persons to examine, *Agantur* (says the same law) *primò debita veræ christianitatis jura; secundò regis placita; postremò causæ singulorum dignis satisfactionibus expleantur*. Neither the courts nor the causes are now so considerable as in former days; though that for the trial of civil disputes is still held, as this law directs, once a month; the turn or county-leet is kept only twice in the year, at Easter and Michaelmas. How the sheriffs are to behave themselves here and elsewhere, and what furniture they can afford us for history, may be seen at large in (3) Dalton's *Officium Vice-Comitum*, J. (4) Wilkinson's *Office and Authority of Coroners and Sheriffs*, and William Greenwood's (5) *Βουλευτήριον*, or treatise concerning County Judicatures.

Court-Leet.

A Court-Leet or View of Frank-Pledge is held twice in the year by stewards of manors, mayors, bailiffs and other governors of corporations; wherein sureties of the peace (6) were anciently given by every suitor of twelve years old, by taking the oath of allegiance. It takes presentments of murders, riots, and other misdemeanours; some whereof are in *Misericordiâ Judicis*, and others transmitted to the cognizance of superior courts. For the methods in this, consult J. (7) Kitchin's *Jurisdictions*, and (8) D. Jenkins's *Pacis consultum*: as likewise Rob. Powell's (9) *Treatise of their Antiquity, Authority, Cases, &c.* (10) W. Sheppard's *Court-Keeper's Guide*, and his (11) *Survey of the County Judicatures*.

Court Baron.

In the Magna Charta of King John it is granted, *quòd faciemus summoneri archiepiscopos, episcopos, abbates, comites, & majores barones regni singulatim per literas nostras*. Where it is to be observed, that these last lords of parliament are called *barones majores*, to distinguish them from

(20) 12 Car. 2. cap. 24. (1) Angl. Sacr. Vol. 1. p. 763. (2) LL. Hen. 1. cap. 7. Edit. Twyfd. p. 180. (3) Fol. pret. 16s. (4) 8vo. pret. 4s. 6d. (5) 8vo. pret. 3s. 6d. (6) Inst. t. Par. 4. cap. 56. (7) 8vo. pret. 6s. (8) 8vo. pret. 1s. (9) 4to. pr. 2s. 6d. (10) pr. 1s. 6d. (11) 8vo. pr. 1s.

the *Minores*; who were only lords of manors, and had courts of their freeholders, which to this day are called (12) *Curie Baroniarum*. It is true, most of the matters debated here are little peddling debts and trespasses; and yet, where the court-rolls are carefully kept, much of the fashion and humour of the times is to be learned from them. Very remarkable was that passage which was observed by the famous antiquary R. Dodesworth in those at Wakefield, where this record was entered some time in the reign of Edward the First: (13) *Franco Tyas miles tulit actionem versus Germanum Mercer, qui arrestavit equum Willielmi Lepton armigeri sui ad dedecus & damnum prædicti Franci, quia fuit sine armigero: et prædictus Franco recuperavit C. Solidos. Ideo Germanus Mercer in his Misericordia.*

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The chief judges in the Forest-Courts, are the *justiciarii Itinerantes*, or, justices in Eyre; where- of the one presides in all forests on the north of Trent, as the other does on the south. There are many particular forest-laws, which (with the famous Carta de Foresta) are the guides in these judicatories: amongst which, that which bears the title of (14) *Ordinatio Forestæ*, though it has constantly kept its place amongst the statute-laws of this realm, is looked upon as an ordinance only (15) made by the king alone without authority of parliament. Indeed what Sir Edward Coke gives us in Latin is very different from what we have in our English prints, where it is expressly affirmed to be the "Answer given to a request made by the great men to our lord the king in this parliament:" which, as I apprehend the custom of those days to have been, is all that is requisite to the legal formality of a true act of parliament. With these laws, and with the records of these courts, our English historian ought to be thoroughly acquainted; that he may be able to understand readily the terms of *Viridarii*, *Agistatores*, *Regardatores*, *Gruarii*, *Bosci*, *Haie*, *Fugacia*, *Pannagium*, *Assertum*, *Putura*, &c. which he must plentifully meet with in our old historians and law-writers. The old perambulations (16) of forests, together with the boundaries and extent of neighbouring purlieus, may be had amongst the records of the Tower; where there are also several rolls of verdicts and judgments given in the courts of the justices in Eyre. The cutting of timber for the king's use, in any of his majesty's forests most convenient for the present occasions of the state, has been ordered by commissions, either under the great seal, or seal of the Exchequer; whereof many precedents are in the keeping of the king's remembrancer: and therein it is observable, that exceptions have been usually made of such trees as, by the judges in any of the said forest-courts, shall be thought necessary for the cover- ture and pawnage of the deer. For the better understanding of the Carta de Foresta, it may be convenient to read with it J. Manwood's Treatise of the (17) Laws of the Forest; wherein we have the original of the word and thing; its difference from a chase, park and warren; the proper terms of art thereunto belonging, &c. with some statutes of the forest not elsewhere printed. The Swainmote or Swanimote, from the Saxon (18) word, *swægn*, a country clown, or husbandman, and *mōt*, or *gemot*, Conventus, is an inferior court of freeholders within the forest; which had a power to enquire into transgressions, by empanelling juries of men of better quality than this etymology seems to intimate. What sort of records this court afforded, appears also from the last clause of their commission: (19) *Et sic inquisita veritate præsentationes illæ per communem concordiam & assensum ministrorum prædictorum roborentur & sigillis suis sigillentur.*

Forest-
Courts.

The chief part of the (20) laws observed in the court of admiralty, are those of Rhodes and Oleron; whereof the former were long since incorporated into the Roman civil law, and the other were compiled at the direction of our great Richard the First, being collected into one body, which, from that isle in the bay of Aquitaine, wherein they were made, bears the name of La Rool d'Oleron. To these there were several excellent constitutions added by Edward the Third, at Quinborough, in the year 1375. If the reader has a mind to see this court in its nonage, and before King Richard had finished its rules, let him peruse that king's (21) Carta de Statutis illorum qui per mare ituri erant: wherein methods of trial and execution are pre-

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ralty.

(12) Instit. Par. 4. cap. 1. p. 49. (13) Vid. Seld. Tit. of Hon. p. 690. (14) 33. Ed. 1. (15) Instit. Par. 4. cap. 73. pag. 202. (16) Vid. St. 1 Ed. 3. cap. 1. (17) 4to. pret. 145. (18) Vid. Reliq. Spelm. p. 85. (19) Ordin. Forest. 34. Ed. 8. in Instit. Par. 4. p. 292. (20) D. Chamberlain, Not. Angl. Edit. 16. p. 174. (21) R. Hoveden, p. 656. Edit. Francof.

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scribed, which are very singular, and without all manner of precedent. And, even now when it is better formed, some of our English lawyers will not allow it to be called a court of record; because, forsooth, if an (1) erroneous sentence be given in that court, there lies no writ of error in the case, but only an appeal: which as a late noble (2) lord observed, upon some other contests betwixt these gentlemen and those of the admiralty, is not "Speaking as we ordinary men do, but a making bold with the very sense and language of the whole nation." It appears that the English admirals have had a judicature, as long as the English kings themselves have had a sovereignty, in the British ocean; and that was long since allowed to be (3) *du temps dont il ny a memoire du contraire*. Out of the historical remains we have of their proceedings, which we commonly call Records, the English dominion over the four seas, totally excluding our neighbours, both French and Dutch, from fishing therein without our licence, has been fairly made out by Mr. Selden, in his *Mare (4) Clausum*; against all the objections of H. Grotius, in his (5) *Mare Liberum*. It is very plain, that when the author penned this book, he was not such an inveterate enemy to the prerogative doctrine of ship-money, as afterwards: for he professedly asserts, that, in the defence of their sovereignty at sea, our kings constantly practised the levying great sums on their subjects, without the concurrence of their parliaments. His authorities indeed are brought no lower than the reign of Henry the Second: but even so the service was reckoned of that valuable kind, as that, by an express order of the king and council, the book was delivered to the barons of the Exchequer, in open court, to be (6) "by them laid up, as a most inestimable jewel, amongst the choice records which concerned the crown." It was translated into (7) English by Marchamont Needham, the scurrilous news-monger; who suppressed the epistle dedicatory, interlarded it with several treasonable comments and false glosses of his own, and added a few old evidences, which were supposed to be communicated to him by J. Bradshaw of infamous memory. After the restoration of King Charles the Second, this edition was revised and (8) corrected by J. H. Gentleman; who did the learned author that justice after his death, which he wanted the courage to demand in his life-time. About the same time that the *Mare Clausum* was penning, Sir John Borough, keeper of the records in the Tower of London, and soon after garter king at arms, was busied on the same subject; but he seems to have suppressed his collections, as needless, upon the appearance of that famous work. However some of this gentleman's friends, almost ten years after his death, did him so much right, as to send them also abroad; which was done under the title of (9) *The Sovereignty of the British Seas proved by Records, History, and the Municipal Laws of the Kingdom*. That the common law took cognizance of trespasses committed at sea, in the twenty fifth year of Edward the First's reign, (10) Mr. Selden thinks very probable from an old MS. report which he had of that year: and the like he believes may be concluded of the times of Henry the Third, from a torn roll of the forty seventh of that King. He mentions also a manuscript treatise, sometime sent him by Sir Walter Raleigh, bearing the title of *De l'Office de l'Admiraltie*; wherein the indictments and trials ran in the same form as is now used at common law: but he confesses the book seemed rather a collection of *Adversaria* for a designed work on that subject, than a finished piece. He guesses it might be penned about Henry the Sixth's reign; and commends it for preserving several constitutions of Henry the First, Richard the First, King John and Edward the First, relating to the Admiralty, which were hardly to be had elsewhere. The jurisdiction of the court is asserted, against Sir Edward (11) Coke's articles, by (12) Dr. R. Zouch; who, sometime before and after the restoration, was judge of it himself. To which ought to be added his (13) *Descriptio Juris Maritimi*; and Dr. Godolphin's (14) *View of the Admiral-Jurisdiction*. The practice of it is given by (15) Fr. Clark. The affairs of sea-commerce are well handled by Ch. Molley, in his book (16) *de Jure Maritimo & Navali*;

(1) Instit. Par. 4. cap. 22. p. 135. (2) D. of B's Speech in Skinner's Case. (3) Vid. Record. 22. Ed. 1. De Superioritate Maris Angliæ, &c. Instit. Par. 4. cap. 22. (4) Fol. Lond. 1635. (5) 8vo. Lugd. Bat. 1618. (6) Ath. Oxon. Vol. 2. p. 109. (7) Fol. Lond. 1652. (8) Fol. Lond. 1662. (9) 12mo. Lond. 1651. (10) Not. in Fortesc. cap. 32. (11) Instit. Par. 4. cap. 22. (12) 8vo. Lond. 1663. (13) 4to. Oxon. 1640. (14) 8vo. pr. 2s 6d. (15) 8vo. pr. 1s. (16) 8vo. pr. 5s.

which

which has been so well approved as to admit of several editions. Lastly, a short account of almost all the forementioned treatises, with some other valuable pieces, are to be had in the *Consuetudo* (1) or *Lex Mercatoria*; wherein are likewise the necessary instructions that relate to the right understanding of sea-laws, merchant-accounts, and the other essentials of traffick. To these must be added an enquiry into the Navy-Office; and the abstracts of accounts, lists of the old and new shipping, from the several yards at Deptford, Woolwich, Chatham, &c. all which may be seen in the custody of the Secretary of the Admiralty.

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For a just estimate of the increase of the military force in England, there are several repositories of papers and rolls wherewith our historian should be acquainted. The lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants of our counties have their muster-masters and others that keep stated accounts of all that is transacted and ordered amongst them. But, above all, the office of ordnance will afford him the best acquaintance with the provisions of war; as being the grand magazine of this kingdom. All orders and instructions for the government of this office, as likewise all patents and grants to the many officers, artificers, attendants and labourers; with the quarter-books for salaries, legers of receipts and returns of his majesty's stores, &c. are in the custody of the clerk of the ordnance; as those for the giving out of any provisions or stores, either at the Tower or any other of the king's magazines, are under the care of the clerk of the deliveries

Ordnance

There are some other courts, communities and corporations, which have their proper registers; and ought not to be slighted. The court of Stannaries has had mighty privileges for all such as are (2) actual workers in the mines of Cornwall; and that of the (3) Cinque-Ports has a jurisdiction which extends to all manner of civil causes. But these are so particular and purely local, that we can only just point at them. The court of the Mayor of the Staple (4) was heretofore kept at Bruges, Calais, Antwerp, Middleburgh, &c. and afterwards at Westminster, its jurisdiction reaching from Temple-Bar to Tothill-Fields. In it the mayor and two constables gave sentence according to (5) law-merchant; and the chief matters under debate where the five staple commodities of this kingdom, wool, wool-fels, leather, lead and tin. As the proceedings in this, and that which our lawyers call *papoudrous*, are summary, and such as are most agreeable to the haste that merchants are in, both when they make their contracts, and sue for the performances; so all the registers that we can expect of them, must look like minutes more than records. What remains there are of either of them, are to be sought in those corporations and market towns, where such courts have been kept: but, of late years, the merchant-pleas have been usually tried in the Mayor's Court of the place where the actions have happened.

Staple, &c

C H A P. V.

Of our Law-Writers, Year-Books, and Reports.

BEFORE one attempt the perusal of our ancient law-writers, it will be highly convenient to have a general idea of the common-law itself, the chief subject of all their tracts: and this perhaps cannot be had more readily than from that methodical system which is well known by the name of Finch's Law. It was written by Henry Finch, a young counsellor of Gray's-Inn; whom King James the First made afterwards one of his own serjeants, and then a knight. It was first published in French, under the title of (6) *Nomotechnia; cestascavoir, un Description del common Leys d'Angleterre, &c.* But, some time after, the author himself translated it into English; in which language it has had a great many (7) editions, and is still in good

(1) Fol. pr. 24s. (2) Vid. Instit. Par. 4. cap. 45. (3) Ibid. cap. 42. (4) Ibid. cap. 46. (5) Vid. St. 27. Ed. 3. cap. 21. (6) Fol. Lond. 1613. (7) 8vo. Lond. 1613, 1636, 1661. &c.

PART
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de Nor-
mandy.

credit and repute. Out of it is extracted, or stolen, another small treatise, which is called a (1) Summary of the Common Law of England.

If the Custumier de (2) Normandy were indeed, as some have (3) asserted, an ancient formulary drawn up by the first princes of that country, and brought in hither by the Conqueror, it might justly challenge the first rank in this catalogue of law-books: but there are many particulars in it which will not suffer us to allow it so great an age. Some are of opinion that it was written in the reign of Henry the First; which they pretend to prove from Sequerius's affirming, that this king established the English laws in Normandy. He might possibly introduce some of our sanctions into that country: but that this very Codex of them was drawn up in his time, seems not so probable. There is one chapter in it of Nampes, or Distresses, wherein it is decreed, that none shall bring his action upon any seizure, save only from the time of the coronation of King Richard; which must be our Richard the First, since no French king had that name; nay, the author (4) himself intimates, that he compiled the work about forty years after that king's access to the throne. There are in it a great many of the laws of Edward the Confessor, and other Saxon kings; but mixed with many Norman customs that are no way related to them. Several paragraphs are, almost verbatim, translated out of Glanvil; yet some of his courts of justice, original writs, &c. are not so much as named. Sir Edward (5) Coke tells his reader, that he will frequently meet with this book cited in his Institutes, where it agrees with the laws of England, and sometimes where it disagrees, *ex diametro*.

Henry II. It is said (6) that Ralph de Meschines, E. of Chester, in Henry the First's time, wrote a book of the common law of this kingdom; and the same (7) authority assures, that King Henry the Second himself did the like. There is indeed a volume in (8) Sir John Cotton's library, which is thus inscribed, *Consuetudines Angliæ, quæ proponebantur Tho. Becket tempore Henrici Secundi; cum Constitutionibus ejusdem Regis renovatis in Normannia*; which perhaps has given occasion for this report. On the contrary, it is well known that this king was a great encourager of Archbishop Theobald and his civilians, whom his predecessor had endeavoured to suppress: insomuch that one of that primate's domestics tells us, that it was the fashion of the family, betwixt prayers and dinner, to have publick mootings in the common-hall, where (9) *Omnes quæstiones regni nodosæ referuntur ad nos*. And his example had that influence upon his two sons and successors, King John and Richard the First, that they gave the same protection to the professors of the civil law; ordering that this should be joined with the common in all courts of judicature within this realm, which was accordingly put in (10) practice all their reigns. Yet some will not be satisfied but he was the first great patron and polisher of the common-law. Henry the Second, says a florid (11) gentleman, "Was the first Mæcenas since the conquest that brought on the spring-time of a settled common-weal; and therefore left this fair testimony by putting forth the primrose of English laws, under the name of Glanvil, letting all men know that thenceforth England would no more veil itself in an unknown law, but explain itself to the world to be a regular government." And as King Henry thinks fit, in this place, to call himself by the name of Glanvil, so we shall find that elsewhere Glanvil goes by the name of Henry the Second; since one of the MS. (12) copies of his book bears the title of that king's laws.

R. de
Glanvil.

But let us enquire how our historians are like to determine this controversy. *Eodem anno* (says Hoveden (13) who was his contemporary) *Henricus Rex Angliæ Pater* (to distinguish him from his son of the same name, whom he had caused to be crowned king) *constituit Ranulfum de Glanvilla summum justiciarium totius Angliæ; cujus sapientiâ conditæ sunt leges subscriptæ quas Anglicanas vocamus*. After which he proceeds to give us the law of Edward the Confessor, and William the First; as if these had never been brought into any regular form before his

(1) 8vo. Lond. 1654. (2) Fol. Fr. pret. 20s. (3) See Whitlock's Speech in Par. Argum. Anti-Norm. p. 115. (4) Vid. Custum. cap. 22. fol. 29. & cap. 112. (5) Instit. Par. 2. p. 5. (6) Coke's Reports, Vol. 8. in Proem. (7) Ibid. Vol. 3. in Proem. & J. Bale, Cent. 3. cap. 26. (8) Titus, A. 13. (9) Pet. Blef. apud J. Seld. Dissert. ad Fletam, cap. 8. Sect. 1. (10) J. Seld. Ibid. (11) Nat. Bacon, Hist. Disc. par. 1. p. 169. (12) Bibl. Cot. Claudius, D. 2. (13) Ad annum 1180.

time. John Bale very gravely tells us, that he was sent by King Henry to the siege of Damietta in Egypt, and that he did mighty feats in that expedition: but the good man mistakes, in that short story, Henry the Third for Henry the Second; and Ralph de Meschines, the Second, Earl of Chester for Ralph de Glanvil. The Mirror (1) represents this chief justice as an able lawyer, affirming, that he was the inventor of the famous writ of Affize, or de Novel Disseisin; though others (2) believe it to be more ancient. The book that now carries his name, was (3) first published by the persuasion and procurement of Sir William Stanford; and has since had (4) several editions. In all these it has kept the same title, which runs thus: *Tractatus de legibus & consuetudinibus Regni Angliæ, tempore Regis Henrici Secundi compositus, Justitiæ gubernacula tenente illustri viro Ranulpho de Glanvilla, Juris Regni & antiquarum consuetudinum eo tempore peritissimo. Et illas solum leges continent & consuetudines, secundum quas placitatur in curia Regis ad Scaccarium & coram Justitiis, ubicunque fuerint.* From these last words some (5) have concluded, that the court of Exchequer did anciently take cognizance of all manner of common-pleas; whereas a little pointing of the words will make these three distinct courts. 1. In Curia Regis. 2. Ad Scaccarium. 3. Coram Justitiis ubicunque fuerint. It has also been concluded from this title, that the first publishers, or copiers of the book, looked upon it as rather penned in the time of that judge, than by himself; which may possibly appear likewise from what I shall hereafter advance, in treating of the Regiam Majestatem of Scotland. For the present, we are to suppose him to be the author: and I shall only observe, that whoever compares this book with that ancient repository of the common-law of our neighbouring kingdom, must conclude, that there is no such hideous distance betwixt our law and theirs, as the Lord Chief Justice Coke and Attorney General Bacon, in the beginning of King James the First's reign, represented the matter; but that, if the secret reasons of these gentlemen against making them one, had not been stronger than those they published, Britannia (6) might have easily and readily had as good a body of law as either Anglia or Scotia. The whole work is divided into fourteen books; treating of, 1. Pleas and Effoins in the Court of King's-Bench. 2. Trials by Combat and the grand Affize. 3. Warrantry. 4. Advowson of Churches. 5. Naturalization and Freedom. 6. Dowry. 7. Bastardy and Wardship. 8. Fines. 9. Homage, with other Services; and Purprestures, or Encroachments. 10. Debts and Contracts. 11. Attorneys. 12. Writs of Right and Prohibition. 13. Recognizances and Disseins. 14. Pleas of the Crown: in all which we have forms of such writs as were then, and are mostly still, in use, upon all the several occasions there treated on. When Mr. Selden wrote his *Titles of Honour*, he questioned whether this book was rightly fathered: for, having occasion to cite a passage out of it, he does it with an expression full of diffidence as to its authority, (7) as the words are in the book attributed to Glanvil. And surely, whether he be the true or only reputed author, may be still a query with us; since it was so to him, who could want no light that was any where to be had in this matter. "I know," says he (8) elsewhere, "the authority of that treatise is suspected; and some of the best and ancientest copies have the name of E. de N. which I have heard, from diligent searchers in this kind of learning, affirmed to have been sometimes E. de Narbrough, and not R. de Glanville, it has been thought to be another's work, and also of later time: but as on the one side, I dare not be confident that it is Glanvil's, so I make little question that it is as ancient as his time, if not his work. The tests of the precedents of writs under his name, the language, especially the name of Justitia, always for that which we now, from antient time, call Justiciarius; and Justitia was so used in writers under Henry the Second, and the law delivered in it, taste not of any later age."

We are not so much in the dark about Mr. John Bracton: whom all agree to have been a (9) judge itinerant in the latter end of Henry the Third's reign, as likewise, say some, (10)

(1) Cap. 2. Sect. 25. (2) Instit. Par. 4. cap. 27. (3) 8vo. Lond. 1554. (4) 8vo. ibid. 1557, 1604, &c. (5) Vid. Instit. Par. 4. cap. 8. (6) See Coke's Instit. Par. 4. cap. 75. and Sir Francis Bacon's three Speeches. (7) Tit. of Hon. p. 649. (8) Juris. of Test. Par. 1. cap. 5. (9) Orig. Jurid. fol. 56. (10) Dr. Brady in Præfat. ad Hist. Angl.

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III.

in the beginning of that of Edward the First, and the undoubted author of the book that bears his name. This indeed is variously written in the records that come nearest his own time; where we have him called Bratton, Breton, Bretton, Briton, Britton, and Brycton. He seems to have given it (1) himself with some exactness, which inclined the publishers of his book to call him Bracton with a good assurance: but even in that passage, it is variously penned in most of the (2) manuscripts. Though we have now several (3) editions of this work, it was a good while before it was printed; and the MS. copies were so many, that it was no easy task to compile a genuine text out of any, or all of them. Some learned persons had loaded their books with marginal notes, and some with interlineary remarks; which, by the carelessness of transcribers, were afterwards admitted as part of the author's own discourse. It was hard for one man to struggle with these difficulties, and to be so perfect a master of Bracton's style, as always to distinguish what was truly of his own composition, from what was only, through ignorance or inadvertency, fathered on him; and therefore many worthy professors of the law gave their assistance towards the setting forward and finishing so desirable a work. By their kind clubbing of their pains and parts, this truly venerable code of our ancient common law was published in as correct a manner as was possible; and has ever since had an esteem answerable to its real deserts and value. It consists of five books, which begin with the several legal ways of procuring of properties, and proceed to those of the just maintaining or recovering of them. The method is natural, and very conformable to that of the great Emperor Justinian, whose matter is also very frequently adhered to, and his laws quoted, sometimes *in ipsissimis verbis*, as familiarly as if they were part of the known common law of this kingdom. On every head we have an interspersed register of proper writs, and reports of adjudged cases in both benches; as also of such as have been tried before the judges in Eyre, assize, &c. The author must be pardoned his easy admission of the pope's supremacy, and his sometimes naturalizing the canon as well as civil law, when we consider the time wherein he wrote: that it was soon after King John had made a formal conveyance of his realm to the see of Rome, and when the greatest part of Europe was entirely under its usurped dominion. The passages that favour strong of the iniquity and vassalage of those unhappy days, are not many; and there is that disagreeable obliquity in them, from the other continued description of our true English government, that they are readily discerned to be preternatural and monstrous. Some mistakes he made in his (4) account of parliamentary proceedings in the twentieth (it should be the eighteenth) year of Henry the Third, are corrected by a (5) learned pen; especially his misreciting the names of the barons, &c. In many places whole sentences are perfectly transcribed out of Glanvil.

Fleta.

Once more we are to return to our shades: for who was the author of that methodical and learned treatise which bears the name of Fleta, is not known, nor indeed hardly so much as guessed at. It is plain that he wrote in the reign of King Edward, of whom he says many mighty things in his Preface; but which of our first three Edwards he means, will admit of some dispute. There is one passage in the (6) book, which seems to intimate, that he wrote either in the days of the second or third: *Qui receperint debita regis, vel partem debiti, & debita illa non acquietaverint tam de tempore regis E. patris regis, quam de tempore presentis*. Thus our printed books, in both editions, give the words; and herein they are acknowledged to agree with the manuscript from which they were published. But even that copy itself is full of literal faults, and is supposed, by several blanks in it, left for words, and sometimes whole sentences, to have been taken by an unskilful scribe, and a good while after the author's own time. It is therefore not improbable that the transcriber mistook E for H; or else, that writing his copy in one of the two latter reigns, and being over-wise, he took upon him to vary the story, so as to suit his own days: for it is impossible that such a writer, in either of the two supposed reigns, should overlook the many famous statutes that were enacted by those kings, and would have been so much to his purpose on several occasions. Besides the passage before-mentioned refers

(1) Edit. 1569. lib. 4. fol. 188. b. (2) Vid. J. Seld. Dissert. ad Flet. cap. 2. §. 2. (3) Fol. Lond. 1569, 1640, &c. (4) Cap. 19. fol. 417. a. §. 2. (5) Seld. Tit. of Hon. p. 597, 598. (6) Lib. 1. cap. 20. §. 59.

to part of a (1) statute of Edward the First; which is punctually repeated in (2) another part of this treatise, as what had been newly passed into a law by the prince then reigning. He quotes also the statute of (3) Acton-Burnel, as newly (4) enacted, *in parlamento nuper habito*; and he speaks of the privileges of the (5) Knights-Templars, as then in being, who, it is well known, were abolished in the beginning of Edward the Second's reign. The character that he gives the then ruling king, in his Preface, is what can never fit Edward the Second: though it must be confessed, no great weight is to be laid on this argument; since the like, and in almost the very same words, is given by Glanvil to our King Henry the Second, and by the Scotch author of the Regiam Majestatem to their King David the First. These, and some other reasons, which I shall not now stay to repeat, prevail with Mr. Selden (6) to fix the time of this author in the reign of Edward the First, contrary to the opinions of (7) Sir Edward Coke and (8) Dr. Cowel, who are verily persuaded that he wrote either in the latter end of Edward the Second, or in the beginning of Edward the Third. The author himself acquaints us, in his preface, that the reason of his book's bearing the title of Fleta, was, because it was penned in the prison of that name: and so, in our time, Sir John Pettus was pleased to give some of his labours, in the same place, the inscription of Fleta Minor, though treating on a quite different subject. In the year 1289, the king imprisoned Tho. de Weyland, chief justice, and several other judges for foul practices. The (9) Chronicles indeed say, they were committed to the Tower: but the Fleet being, even in those days, a prison for delinquents of note and quality, it is probable some of them might be sent thither. In his first book he insists chiefly upon pleas of the crown; in the second he gives a most full and curious account of all the officers of the king's household, with many other particulars that exceedingly illustrate the story of those times; and in the four following he shews the then practice of our courts of judicature, the forms of writs, explication of law-terms, &c. He sometimes transcribes the very words of Bracton; and elsewhere jumps with one of Bracton's epitomizers, Gilbert de Thornton. There is one piece of history in his book, which will want the authority of some others to support it. It is the account which it gives (10) of a provision made in a general congress of the christian princes at Montpellier, in the fourth year of Edward the First's reign, which obliges them to a revocation of all grants made of their crown-lands and ancient demesnes: a doctrine which he (11) elsewhere maintains for good English law, however contrary to the known practice of both former and more modern times. And indeed there was little occasion for such a national compact, if other kingdoms had the same notion of the nature of the ancient demesne of the crown, or Terra Regis, as Domesday calls it, which is said to have (12) prevailed in ours; that it was *sacrum patrimonium*, and therefore the same crime to lessen or embezzle it, as to violate the rights, or alienate the possessions of God and his church. We might probably be better instructed in this particular, were the discourse published which was written by (13) Sir Anthony Brown, one of our learned judges in the reigns of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, upon Certain Points touching the Inheritance of the Crown; though the greatest part of it seems to relate to the nature of the succession, and designed to assert the right of Mary Queen of Scots. The Fleta was happily secured to us, amongst many other valuable monuments of the like kind, by the incomparable Mr. Selden, who found it in the (14) Cottonian library, in a hand as old as the author's own time, and assisted in the making it publick. He (15) says indeed, that it was transcribed for the press by such unskilful amanuenses as the stationer employed; and that, upon this score, it was published in a more slovenly dress than he could have wished. But ought not we much more to complain, that a (16) second edition has not corrected the faults which he so long since lamented, and had marked out to us? it is true, the impertinent marginal notes are removed; but the abbreviations still continue, and the Fet Affavoir to this day remains as part of the text.

(1) Stat. Westm. 1. An. 3 Ed. 1. cap. 19. (2) Lib. 2. cap. 33. (3) An. 13. Ed. 1. (4) Lib. 2. cap. 64. (5) Lib. 2. cap. 50. §. 16. (6) Dissert. ad Flet. cap. 10. (7) Pref. to Rep. lib. 8. (8) Interp. voc. Fleta. (9) Holinshed and Stow, ad an. 1289. (10) Lib. 3. cap. 6. §. 3. (11) Lib. 1. cap. 8. (12) Vid. Reliq. Spelm. p. 57. (13) Vid. Ath. Oxon. lib. 1. p. 119, & 148, 149. (14) Julius, B. 8. (15) Dissert. in Flet. cap. 1. §. 1. (16) 4to. Lond. 1685.

PART
III.
G. de
Thornton

We have before hinted, that Bracton's more voluminous book was epitomized by Gilbert de Thornton, who was (1) chief justice towards the latter end of Edward the First's reign. Mr. Selden (2) met with a MS. copy of this treatise, nor could he ever hear of any other, in the Lord Burghley's Library; in the title whereof was this account of the book and its author: *Incipit summa de legibus & consuetudinibus Angliæ à magistro Henrico de Bryetona composita tempore Henrici filii regis Johannis, quam quidem summam dominus Gilbertus de Thornton, tunc capitalis justiciarius domini regis in Angl. secundum statuta & leges usitatas, ad utilitatem posterorum diligenti studio postmodum abbreviavit sub compendio, anno regni Edwardi filii regis Henrici vicefimo. Et ipse idem dominus Gilbertus tempore illo scientia, bonitate, & mansuetudine, floruit eleganter.* This is not so to be understood as if the epitomizer had intermixed the statutes made after Bracton's time, as Breton did afterwards; but that he so modelled this abstract of the common law, that it might be most useful in explaining present and future acts of parliament. He frequently quits Bracton's method, and makes use of one which looks more confused: as may best appear by the following catalogue of the eight parts of his book. 1. Of Persons and Things, Grants and Confirmations. 2. Actions, Bonds and Penalties; with the Power of Judges Itinerant and others. 3. Criminal Matters; Murder, Appeals and Felony. 4. Unlawful Seizures and Disseizures. 5. Common Pasturage, Assise of Mordantcestre, Damages and Attaints. 6. Writs of Right and Appearance; and of Essoigns. 7. Demurrers and Prohibitions; Bastardy and Inheritances. 8. Homage and Relief; with Settlements upon Marriage and Doweries. These parts were subdivided into two hundred and twelve chapters, which is near a third short of the number of those in the printed Bracton: but several of these are lost out of that manuscript, and we can hardly hope to meet with another that will supply them.

R. de
Heng-
ham.

Sir Ralph de Hengham was chief justice of the King's-Bench at the parliament which enacted the statute (3) de Bigamis. In the sixteenth year of King Edward the First, he was (4) removed, and fined seven thousand pounds; but was afterwards restored to favour, and made chief justice of the Common-pleas. In this station there is the process of a cause (5) tried before him and his fellow-justices, in the thirty-third year of that king: about which time Sir Edward Coke (6) observed him to be called in one record, Roger de Hengham. But that learned man is undoubtedly mistaken; since it appears, that soon after, in the first (7) year of Edward the Second, there was another judge of this latter name, who sat on the same bench with Sir Ralph. His Summs have always passed under the titles of Hengham magna and parva; and have both the same common subject, treating of the ancient, and now obsolete, forms of pleading in essoigns and defaults. They were long since translated into English: but that being done in the language of Edward the Second or Third's time, it was thought most adviseable to print them in their original Latin. This was done by Mr. Selden, who published them (8) with Fortescue, adding some few notes of his own in English. The bookseller, who (9) reprinted the last mentioned author, gave us also a new edition of Hengham, but dissembled the date in the title page, pretending that this part of his book was the old one of 1616. However, his heedless printing of the notes, as he there found them, discovers the cheat: for they do not answer to the pages in this stolen edition; but confound and perplex the reader, instead of being rightly serviceable. There are many remarkable forms and rules in these Summs, which are omitted by Bracton on the same heads; and yet it is thought we want a considerable share of the author's whole work, none of the MS. copies that were to be had being perfect.

MS3.
Ed. 1.

Besides these, there are a great many more treatises on matters of law, which were penned in the days of Edward the First; wherein the bar-practice began indeed first to flourish. These, though not so very conducing to our historian's purpose as the former, are worth the mentioning; which shall be done in a method somewhat different from that wherein (10) Sir William Dugdale has given them.

(1) Vid. Dugd. Summon. A° 23 Ed. 1. p. 9. (2) Dissert. ad Flet. cap. 2. §. i. & 4. (3) St. 4 Ed. 1. Vid. Instit. Par. 2. p. 267. (4) Seld. in Præfat. ad Hengh. M. (5) Kennet's Paroch. Antiq. p. 351. (6) Instit. Par. 2. p. 142, & 220. (7) Vid. D. W. Dugd. Summon. p. 60, 62, 64. (8) 8vo. Lond. 1616. (9) 8vo. Ibid. 1660. (10) Orig. Jurid. cap. 23.

THE ENGLISH HISTORICAL LIBRARY.

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These, with those that follow, are all mentioned in an old parchment-roll in Cotton's library; PART
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but he knows not where they are now to be had.

1. Speculum Justiciariorum.
2. Examen Cartarum
3. Curia Baronis.
4. Affisa in London, de muris et stillicidiis.
5. De Narrando.
6. Casus qui tenet locum secundum Leges Angliæ.
7. De Divortio.
8. Ordinale Compoti de Walvescie secundum Oliverum.
9. Modus Chirographandi in Curia Regis de omnibus Placitis.

These two were in the Hand of Sir Orlando Bridgeman :

10. De Brevibus Ordinandis.
11. Breves Pledes.

In the Possession of W. Goddard of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq;

12. Modus Calumniandi Effonium.
13. Cadit Casa.
14. Cum sit Necessarium.
15. Natura Brevium.
16. De Brevibus Cassandis.
17. Exceptiones generales.
18. De Bastardia.
19. Tractatus Coronæ.
20. Placita Coronæ.
21. Notabilia.
22. Articuli in Narrando.
23. Proprietas Narrationum.
24. Judicium Effoinorum, per Joh. de Metingham, Cap. Justit. 18. Ed. I.

In the Custody of Sir Mat. Hales :

25. Rageman, de Justiciariis assignatis.
26. Ordinationes Novissimæ apud Westmonasterium.

Some few others are supposed to be of the same age, though they are not registered in the fore-mentioned roll; as,

1. Statutum Regis in Judaismo: which was likewise in Sir Mat. Hales's Library.

Amongst Sir Orlando Bridgeman's Manuscripts:

2. De veteribus Placitis Coronæ.
3. Nova Capitula Coronæ.
4. Dampna in Duplo.
5. Ordo Exceptionum.
6. Placita de Itinere Cornubiæ, 30. Ed. I. in Mr. Selden's Library.

It is no great matter whether Andrew Horn, the author of the Miroir des Justices, lived in the reign of Edward the (1) First, or his (2) son: but we shall follow a great man's example Miroir.

(1) Vid. Not. ad Ælfred. M. Vit. p. 82. (2) J. Seld. Dissert. ad Fletam, cap. 1. §. 2.

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III.

against the many, in placing him under the latter. This writer can best inform us what he means by the title of his book: his design, he says, (1) was to give the judges of his time a view of their comely and hard-favoured features; the presenting them with what they should have been, as well as what they were. He very frequently quotes the rolls of the Saxon times, and even their very year-books, which are now vanished: and this shews that we have lost many of our best helps towards the furnishing out of the history of those ages; and demonstrates withal, that the state of the law in this kingdom was then much different from what some would make it. He pretends to have perused all the laws of this island ever since the reign of the famous King Arthur; and some are so generous as to believe, that amongst the many ancient pieces out of which he gathered his materials, he had seen K. Ælfred's book *Contra Judices iniquos*. I rather think, that the story and catalogue which he gives us (2) of the forty-four judges, that were hanged up by this king for their illegal and corrupt practices, was the occasion of his being the reputed author of such a book; and I am pretty sure that this is a better foundation than either Bale or Pitts many times have for several of their volumes. The English (3) edition differs very much from the French; and yet the translator pretends that he "kept himself close to the words and meaning of his author."

Briton.

That excellent French manual of our laws, which bears the name of Briton, is usually ascribed to John de Breton Bishop of Hereford: this opinion being grounded on the account which one of our chief historians gives of the death of that prelate; *Obiit*, says he, (4) *hoc anno Johannes Bretoun episcopus Herefordensis, qui admodum peritus in juribus anglicanis, librum de eis conscripsit, qui vocatur le Bretoun*. It is certain that bishop died in the year there mentioned; there being still to be seen, amongst the records of the Tower, the Conge d'Eslire for the election of a new one in his place: but then it is hard to imagine how one that died in the third year of Edward the First's reign, should refer his readers, as (5) he does, to a statute enacted in the thirteenth year of that king. This has prevailed with some to look after another author; and finding there was one, of both these names, who was a judge, together with Henry de Bracton, in the (6) fifty-first year of Henry the Third, they have guessed that he was the man. But why should not this person be the same with the bishop? we know, it was usual enough to have clergymen justices of both benches; and Sir Edward Coke says expressly, that the author of this book was an (7) Ecclesiastick. Mr. Selden was of the same opinion, when he published Hengham: but he was persuaded to change it afterwards; observing this note, in the conclusion of a MS. copy of that treatise in his own study; *Icy finist le Breton; que continent IV. lieures, en les queux chescun maniere de plee est contenue*. He also found, that, in our year-books, it was cited by the name of Bracton; and that the passage quoted from Matt. of Westminster was an interpolation; no such thing appearing either in the best MS. or in the first edition of that historian. These considerations prevailed with him to believe (8) that Bracton and Breton were intended for the same person; the latter being given to a treatise, which indeed is no more than an abstract of another, better known by the former. He allows the penman to be an anonymous epitomizer, some time in the reign of Edward the First; out of whose laws several things are added, which are not, nor could be, Bracton's. If I may be allowed to differ from all these authorities, I should think that the true writer of this abstract was that same John Breton, whom we find one (9) of the king's justices, together with Ralph and Roger de Hengham, in the first year of Edward the Second; and this falls low enough to remove all the difficulties wherewith the other opinions are clogged. E. Wingate's (10) edition is justly commended for the care and judgment of the publisher; such various readings being added in the Appendix, as serve very much to supply the defects and imperfections of the former impression. The language is the true old French of the thirteenth century, as appears from the authentic instruments of those days; and differs considerably from that of Littleton in the fifteenth, which is

(1) In Præfat. (2) Cap. 5. §. 1. (3) 12mo. Lond. 1646. (4) Matt. Westm. ad An. 1275. Vid. etiam E. Wingate, in Præfat. ad Briton. & Prynne's Rec. of Ed. I. p. 168, 169. (5) Brit. Capp. 14, & 36. (6) Vid. J. Seld. Not. in Hengh. p. 7. (7) Instit. par. 2. p. 265. (8) Dissert. in Flet. cap. 1. §. 2. & cap. 2. §. 3. (9) Vid. D. D. Dugd. Summon. p. 60, 62, 64. (10) 12mo. Lond. 1640.

still in fashion among our modern pleaders and late reporters. The whole book runs in the name and stile of the king himself; as a summary of all the laws then in force, within the kingdom of England, and dominion of Ireland. There are some MS. ordinances of barons of the Exchequer for the establishment of the estate of Edward the Second's household, &c. in (1) Sir John Cotton's library; which, with what has been already accounted for, is all that is now fit to be mentioned in that reign. PART III.

It is generally agreed, that the art of pleading was brought to its perfection in Edward the Third's reign; when the little manual of entries, which bears the name of *Novæ (2) Narrationes*, was first collected and published. It gives us such forms of courts, declarations, defences, pleas, &c. as were then in use; to which are added the *Articuli ad Novas Narrationes*, being a commentary, and some short rules upon them. But all these are few and defective, in comparison of what we have in those Books of Entries which are the works of later times; the chief whereof are those by (3) Will. Rastal, (4) Sir Edward Coke, and (5) Sir Humphrey Winch. Out of these three, a great many late pedlars in precedents have collected and published what, to their several little wisdoms, appeared to be of common and ordinary use; and it were endless to repeat so much as the title-pages of such insignificant retailers. The old *Narrationes* are said to have been (6) vouched and allowed by Sir John Priscot, who was chief justice of the common-pleas under Henry the Sixth. Novæ Narrationes.

We are told of a book called (7) *Speculum Regis*; which was written in Latin by Simon Isip Archbishop of Canterbury, and directed, I suppose, in an epistolary way, to King Edward the Third. The author sharply inveighs against the intolerable abuses of purveyors and purveyance, in many particulars; and earnestly presses the King to provide remedies for those unsufferable oppressions. Accordingly his majesty was pleased frequently to peruse the book, and to consider its contents; which had so good effect upon him, that, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, he caused many excellent laws of his own will to be made for that purpose. The other law-books of his time, which are here to be mentioned, are these only: 1. *Natura Brevium vetus*, which has been several times (8) printed; and gave occasion to Fitzherbert to call his, *La Nouvelle Natura*, &c. 2. A MS. (9) book of old Tenures. 3. *Placita (10) in Itinere Comitatus Bedford, Nottingham, & Derby*, 3 Ed. III. 4. *Placita (11) in Itinere in dictis Comitatus*, 4 Ed. III. Spec. Regis.

Sir John Fortescue was (12) Chief Justice of the King's Bench, during half of Henry the Sixth's reign: though, since he thought fit to acquaint us that his unfortunate master made him chancellor, he is never so much as remembered in the other high office. He attended the king into Scotland, when he fled thither for shelter; and there it was, as is supposed, that he had the Great Seal committed to his charge. However he was certainly (13) chancellor, when he wrote his book *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, in the Duchy of Berry; where Queen Margaret, with her son Prince Edward, lived then in exile, during the king's imprisonment in England. The prince, he says, improved himself wonderfully, in riding the great horse, and other exercises of chivalry, suitable to his high birth, and prospect of a crown: which a certain old knight (*grandævus quidam senex*, in his own modest language) his father's chancellor, observing, concluded with himself, that such a martial hero would want no other qualification for a throne, save only an acquaintance with the laws that were to be his guide, and the rule of his government. This might be the occasion of his putting the work into that form wherein it is published; but it is reasonably (14) believed that it had a more early original. William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, Henry the Sixth's great favourite and flatterer, endeavoured to bring in the use of the civil law; which obliged the chief-justice to write in commendation of our own laws, preferring them, for the government of this land, before the other. In this treatise, Fortescue.

(1) Claudius, 8. (2) 8vo. Lat. pr. 2s. è MS. in Bibl. Hosp. Lincoln. (3) Fol. Lat. pr. 3l. (4) Fol. Lat. pr. 3l. 5s. (5) Fol. Lat. pr. 4os. (6) Coke's Rep. vol. 10. in *Præcem*. (7) *Instit.* par. 2. p. 545. (8) 8vo. Lond. 1572, 1584. (9) In Bibl. Hosp. Lincoln. (10) MS. in Bibl. Selden. (11) MS. *ibid.* (12) *Spelm. Gl. J. edit. noviss.* p. 343. & J. Seld. in *Præfat. ad Fortesc.* (13) See his *Introduct.* (14) *Instit.* par. 2. cap. 99. pag. 208 ubi etiam citantur Rott. Parl. 28 Hen. 6. num. 19. usq; ad n. 47.

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III.

which is managed by way of dialogue betwixt the prince and himself, he proves, that all kings are under the like obligation to be conversant in the laws of their own realms, as those of Israel were to be in the book of Deuteronomy; that our laws are not alterable at the sole will of our monarchs, whose power is not absolute and royal, but legal or politick; that our customary or common-law is most reasonable, as well as the most (1) ancient in Europe; that our statutes enacted by the advice and consent of above three hundred senators, are not alterable but by the same authority that gives them their being; that our conviction of criminals by juries, and without racking, is more just and humane than the methods of some neighbouring nations; our challenging of pannels, writs of attaint upon corrupt verdicts, and the usual wealth of our jurors, such securities to the lives and estates of subjects as other countries are incapable of affording; our kings greater and more potent in the liberties and properties of their people, than arbitrary tyrants in the vassalage of their slaves; the civil-law more unreasonable than ours in the legitimation of children born before wedlock, as also in its axiom of *partus sequitur ventrem*, tuition of orphans, &c. Our inns of court more convenient for the study of the English law than our universities, and their serjeant's degree as honourable as that of doctor in these; and, lastly, that the proceedings in our courts of judicature are less dilatory than in those of other nations. The book was first translated, and published together with its English version, by (2) R. Mulcaster; being revised (3) afterwards, and improved with a few cursory notes by Mr. Selden. His edition being out of print, the company of Stationers gave leave to one of their body to reprint it: but he (4) published it in a very careless and slovenly manner; the literal faults, especially in the Latin text, are very numerous, and some of them such as most wretchedly pervert the author's sense and meaning. Being written in a concise method, such as was proper for a piece designed for the view and use of a prince, it was thought deserving enough of such a gloss or commentary as usually attends books of value and authority; and this good pains was taken with it by Edw. Waterhouse, who calls his work by the name of (5) *Fortescutus Illustratus*. He wrote other two books of the distinction betwixt *Dominium Regale & Politicum*, and a retractation of his errors about the title of the house of York; both which are still pretty (6) common in manuscript, but have not yet been thought worthy of the press. A third he compiled likewise, as (7) himself tells us, for the use of Prince Edward, which treated de *Naturâ Legis Naturæ*; and, in the opinion of its author, was a notable shrewd piece: but whether it is now lost, or was destroyed and recanted upon the forementioned change of his side and principles, I cannot tell. I suppose he grew weary of banishment and the interests of the house of Lancaster sometime before the unhappy return of the queen and her son, upon the Earl of Warwick's revolt; since we do not (8) hear of him in their retinue. I am assured, by (9) one of general acquaintance in the antiquities of this kingdom, that his last retirement was at Ebburton in Gloucestershire; where he lies buried, and has lately had a good handsome monument erected to his memory.

Statham.

Nicholas Statham, one of the barons of the Exchequer in the time of Edward the Fourth, was the first that employed himself in that usual service to the young students of the law, of abridging the larger arguments and tedious reports of the Year-Books into a short system under proper heads and common places; which he did as low as Henry the Sixth's reign. His book has had several (10) impressions; and still carries a good repute and high price. His example was followed by Sir Robert Broke, Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas under Queen Mary; who also made an alphabetical abstract of all the choice matters in our law, as contained in such commentaries, records, readings, &c. This is justly entitled *La Graunde Abridgement*: being indeed a general epitome of all that could be had upon the several heads there treated on. It has had likewise a great many (11) editions; amongst which, as it commonly fares with the authors of that profession, the eldest are still reckoned the best. The daily multiplying our

(1) See Sir W. Temple's *Introduct. to English History*, pag. 312, 313. (2) 8vo. Lond. 1599. (3) 8vo. ibid. 1616. (4) 12mo. Lond. 1660. (5) Fol. pr. 12s. (6) J. Selden. *Præfat. ad Fortesc. It. Bibl. Cott. Claudius*, A. 8. & Otho. b. 1. (7) Fol. 27. b. 35. a. 78. a. 88. b. (8) Stow's *Chron.*, p. 424. (9) R. Parsons, LL. D. *Diæces. Glocest. Cancell.* (10) Fol. Fr. temp. Hen. 8. &c. pret. 30s. (11) Fol. min. Lond. 1573. 76, 86, &c.

reports

reports has occasioned a third alphabetical abridgment by (12) Hen. Roll, published by the late learned Chief Justice Hale, and a fourth by (13) W. Sheppard; and we must expect that the number of these will be yet farther increased. They are indeed much more helpful to a man of law than to an historian; who will find that they generally omit what makes most for his purpose.

Sir Thomas Littleton was one of the justices of the common-pleas, in the reign of Edward the Fourth; who, in his fifteenth year, made him a Knight of the Bath. His book of Tenures is in every one's hand and head that pretends to the profession or study of the municipal laws of this kingdom; and has been more (1) frequently imprinted than any other law-book whatever. A great many of these editions are very faulty, and cautiously to be used; turning the foolish marginal notes (of some illiterate owners of the MS. copies) into the text, and senselessly quoting (2) cases that were never thought on by the author himself. The first impression shews that it never had his finishing hand; since the table there gives the titles of tenancy by elegit, statute merchant and staple, which he never lived to treat on in his book; having only projected them, amongst others, in the first draught of his work. A great many particulars of his common-law are now altered by acts of parliament; and others are disused and grown obsolete. For example, the whole story about gifts in frank-marriage, &c. (3) serves only for moot-cases; affording some pretty quaint and nice questions in law, for the exercise of youth in the inns of court. Some passages which may here seem a little dark (by reason of the brevity to which the author's method obliged him) may be had more largely explained in the year-book of Edward the Fourth; wherein we have frequently Littleton's opinion in several intricate cases, and the reasons that confirmed it. Others are more amply treated on by Bracton and Breton; which, in the main, have been epitomized by this writer. His two first books were (as himself (4) confesses) written by way of comment upon *Le ancien Livre de Tenures*; which (as (5) Fitzherbert informs us) was the work of a grave and discreet man in the reign of Edward the Third. Notwithstanding all these seeming insufficiencies, the treatise has obtained that credit, and the author's judgment has been reputed so infallible, that (6) Sir Hen. Hobart and others of King James the First's judges would not suffer his opinion to be argued; and he who best understood him, gives a character of his performance as towering as it is possible to raise it. It is the most perfect and absolute work, (7) says he, that ever was written in any human science; and they that endeavour to disgrace the author, do not understand him. The first volume of Sir Edward Coke's *Institutes* is only a translation and comment upon this little book; wherein all the corruptions and additions that were in the former prints, are said to be removed. I do not doubt but effectual care was taken in that matter; and yet there have several mistakes (especially in proper names) escaped the commentator himself, in his own part, which will be more troublesome to the historian than the lawyer. Sir Edward's complete (8) copy-holder may be also read as a second commentary on Littleton's Tenures; since therein is explained the nature of manors, and the tenements that are held by copy of court-roll, &c. Together with these it will be highly convenient to peruse Sir Hen. Spelman's most learned and methodical treatise of the original, growth, propagation and condition of feuds and tenures by knight-service here in England; which is lately (9) given us in print, and wherein that whole subject is very critically and minutely handled. He proves, beyond all contradiction, that these hereditary tenures were brought in by the Normans; and that all the words or terms of art, that belong to them, were unknown to the Saxons; as were also those beneficiary fruits (of wards, marriage, homage, &c.) that grew from them.

Ed. Dudley was an eminent lawyer in the beginning of the reign of Henry the Seventh; who made him a privy-counsellor, and employed him (with Sir R. Empson) in the invidious office of collecting forfeitures upon penal statutes, which (to gratify the enraged populace, in the entrance

(12) Fol. Fr. pret. 50s. (13) 4to. 3. Vol. pret. 35s. (1) 4to. Rotham. & Fol. Lond. temp. Hen. 8. Gallicè & Lat. sæpius Gall. & Angl. 8vo. Lond. 1670, &c. (2) Lib. 3. cap. 1. § 260, &c. (3) *Instit. Par.* 1. Lib. 3. cap. 2. § 271. (4) Lib. 3. cap. 13. § 749. (5) In *Præfat. ad N. B. Q.* (6) *Præfat. ad Instit. Par.* 1. p. 5. (7) *Ibid.* (8) 8vo. pret. 2s. 6d. (9) *Inter Reliq. Spelman.*

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III.
Seintger-
man.

of the next reign) cost him his head. He wrote in a (1) juridic stile, a book entitled *Arbor Reipublicæ*; but what the reader will find in it, worth his seeking, I cannot inform him.

The Dialogue, in two parts, which goes now by the name of the Doctor and Student, was written by one Chr. Seintgerman, a barrister of the Inner-Temple; who died in the year (2) 1540. Bale says it was in 1539, and Dr. Fuller (3) misplacing the two last figures, makes it 1593, assuring us that he was extremely aged (above eighty) when death seized him. His book was first published in Latin, and has had several (4) editions in that language, under the title of *Dialogus de fundamentis Legum Angliæ & de Conscientia*. In the translation it is called (5) *The Dialogues in English between a Doctor of Divinity and a Student in the Laws of England*; and this has some few chapters more than the former. The design of the book is, to enquire into the grounds and reasons of the common-law of England; and to shew how consistent every of its precepts (how surprizing soever they may appear, at the first sight) are with right reason and a good conscience. A great many of the most curious and intricate points of law are stated with that clearness which is extremely pleasant and entertaining, as well as useful and instructive; and all the seeming hardships and difficulties in the cases of inheritance, contract, warrant, wreck, actions feigned, &c. are made easy, and fairly reconcileable to Moses and the Prophets. Mr. Wood says, that, with several of the Latin copies, he found another treatise bearing the title (6) *Principia sive Maxima Legum Angliæ, à Gallico illo (ut fertur) sermone collecta, & sic in Latinum translata, non solum generosis Studentibus, verum etiam Terrarum dominis & possessoribus summè Necessaria*: but he knows not whether it was of the same author's composition. Since his time, even down as low as our own, this very subject has been undertaken by a great many writers. Some of these having rashly attempted the treating of matters above their understandings, are not worth mentioning: but others are highly deserving of any true Englishman's reading and consideration. Such are J. Perkin's French treatise, which is said to have been written (7) not long after this author's decease; Sir Francis (8) Bacon's *Elements of the Common-Law of England*; Dr. Cowel's (9) *Institutions*, after the Method and Order of those of the Empire; M. (10) Hawkes's and (11) Noy's *Grounds of the Law*; W. (12) Philip's *Principles*; and (13) E. Wingate's *Maxims of Reason*.

Fitzher-
bert.

Sir Anthony Fitzherbert was one of the justices of the Common-Pleas in Henry the Eighth's time, and was author of the new (14) *Natura Brevium*, amongst some other things elsewhere mentioned. He is observed in this book never to cite any authority, but where the case is rare and doubtful; following herein the great example of Sir Tho. Littleton in his famous *Treatise of Tenures*. It was carefully reviewed and corrected by W. Raftal; who added a table and some other proper ornaments, to what its excellent author seems to have left unfinished. This Raftal was one of the most learned justices of the same bench in Queen Mary's time; but left the kingdom upon her sister's accession to the throne, being as zealous a Romanist as his uncle Sir Thomas More, and died at Louvain. He has written, besides the Entries before-mentioned, (15) *Les Termes de la Ley*, being an useful explanation of the terms of art in our English law-books; a work well known and esteemed by the professors and students in that faculty. Dr. Cowel's (16) *Interpreter* was intended as an enlargement upon this book; but met with a different sort of usage, the (17) parliament having ordered it to be burned and its author imprisoned. One of the crimes laid to his charge was his vilifying the laws of England, and endeavouring to expose Littleton's *Tenures*: whereas, in truth, all that could justly be charged on him, as to this particular, was only a (18) modest recital of Fr. Hottoman's raillery and objections. Others alledge (19) a quite different reason for this severe treatment of him and

(1) MS. in Bibl. Cott. Vid. & Ath. Oxon. lib. 1. p. 7. (2) Ibid. p. 48. (3) Worthies, p. 210. in London. (4) 8vo. Lond. 1528, 1598, 1604, &c. (5) Lond. 1580, &c. (6) 8vo. Lond. 1546. (7) Vid. Orig. Jurid. cap. 23. (8) 4to. pret. 3s. 6d. (9) 8vo. Lat. pret. 2s. Angl. pret. 2s. 6d. (10) 8vo. pret. 4s. (11) 8vo. pret. 1s. (12) 12mo. pret. 1s. (13) Fol. pret. 14s. (14) 8vo. Fr. 1567, &c. (15) 8vo. Lond. 1595, &c. (16) 4to. Cantab. 1607. (17) A°. 7. Jac. 1. (18) Vid. Spelm. Gloss. voce Tenure. (19) Weldon's Court and Char. of King James I. p. 191.

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his book; assuring us that he had therein ventured to assert, that King James the First (who used not to put up a reflection upon himself) had never taken "that oath which he ought to have done at his coronation:" and some (20) say, that his maintaining that the royal prerogative was limited, was what chiefly occasioned his sufferings.

There were ten (1) volumes of the Year-Books printed by subscription, about twenty years ago; being recommended by the judges to all students and professors of the law, as an essential part of their study. These began with the reign of Edward the Third, and ended with that of Henry the Eighth; and had all of them, at several times, been published heretofore: to which were afterwards added the (2) Cases adjudged in the Time of Edward the Second, collected by Serjeant Maynard out of several ancient Manuscripts. The fairest of these is in the library of the Inner-Temple; given to that society by Sir John Barker, Chancellor of the Exchequer under Philip and Mary. It was written by Richard de Winchedon, a student of the law in those times; who is supposed to be the first collector of these juridical annals. Mr. (3) Selden had seen the like reports of the reign of Edward the First: for, speaking of the authority of the civil law in our courts, and the quotations that were sometimes made out of it at the bar, *Sed rarissima*, says he, *sunt ejusmodi in seculo illo juris apud nostros citationes; quod scimus ex annalibus juridicis Edwardorum tum primi tum secundi. Neque in primi annalibus quid ejusmodi mihi occurrit.* The first published ten volumes are, 1. The former part of Edward the Third; being reports of cases in his first ten years. 2. The second part of Edward the Third; beginning with the tenth, and ending with the thirty-ninth year of his reign. The Quadregesims, beginning at the fortieth, and ending the fiftieth year of that king. 4. The Book of Assizes and Pleas of the Crown, moved and depending before the justices, as well in their circuits as elsewhere, in the time of Edward the Third: which said book is of great authority in (4) law; and is so called, because it principally contains proceedings upon writs of assize of *novel disseisin*, which in those days was *festinum & frequens remedium*. It is often quoted and referred to by most of our ancient writers; and even Littleton (5) himself gives some examples out of it. 5. The Reigns of Henry the Fourth and Henry the Fifth. 6. The Annals of Edward the Fourth. 7. The Long Quinto; or cases adjudged in the fifth year of Edward the Fourth. 8. The first Part of Henry the Sixth; being the cases of the first twenty years of that reign. 9. The second Part of Henry the Sixth; or, reports in his twenty-first and following years. 10. Cases adjudged in the Reigns of Edward the Fifth, Richard the Third, Henry the Seventh and Henry the Eighth. These undoubtedly give us the best history of our judges of both benches; setting forth their opinions in cases of intricacy, and, by consequence, good probable grounds for guessing at the learning and accomplishments of the men. In this we have the concurring testimony and experience of Sir William Dugdale; who, amongst the numerous monuments of his industry, has left some MS. collections of his own, which bear the title of (6) Observations upon sundry Persons learned in the Law, extracted from the Year-Books. He has indeed (7) elsewhere noted two faults, in the older editions of them, which may expose young students to mistakes; and, I am sure, they will be a much greater stumbling-block in the way of an historian. 1. The authorities alledged are dark, not distinguishing the judges and pleaders. Sir William's own catalogues of the judges may help to rectify this. 2. The names of both are in such abbreviations as to leave the reader to very uncertain conjectures, how the persons mentioned were truly called. For the more effectual and ready use of them, there are several tables and other manuals published, the chief whereof are Tho. Ash's (8) Repertorium Generale, and his (9) Epiceia.

Anciently judgments at the common-law were recorded with the reasons and causes of such judgments; and so the custom was during the whole reign of Edward the First, and a great share of that of Edward the Second. But this fashion ceased in Edward the Third's time, when causes were numerous, and the practice of the law was brought to its full stature and

(20) Ath. Oxon. Vol. 1. p. 784. (1) Fol. Lond. 1679. (2) Fol. Fr. pret. 25s. (3) Differt. ad Flet. cap. 8. § 3. (4) Instit. Par. 1. lib. 3. cap. 4. Sect. 318. (5) Lib. 3. cap. 5. Sect. 383. & cap. 7. Sect. 420. (6) MSS. Dugd. in Museo Ashmol. E. 2. (7) Orig. Jurid. in Prefat. (8) Fol. Fr. 2. Vol. pret. 15s. (9) 8vo. pret. 2s.

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perfection. Hence arose the trouble of those grave reporters of cases, (18) who, from the beginning of that reign, have supplied the defects we meet with in the records, and do not only afford us, as these do, the final determination of the judges in each case, but also the intermediate reasonings and debates whereon such judgment was formed and founded. The numbers of our reporters are already swoln to some scores, and are daily increasing; but I shall only trouble the reader with an alphabetical index of such as give the history of the cases within my own present limits, not meddling with those that have been adjudged since the union of the kingdoms.

Anderson, (19) Sir Edmund, sometime Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, of the principal cases argued in his own court, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Bendloes, (20) William, Sergeant at Law, gives the reign of Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, Philip and Mary, and Queen Elizabeth.

Broke, Sir Robert, beforementioned, collected the cases most remarkable in the Common-Pleas, from the sixth of Henry the Eighth, to the fourth of Queen Mary. The book has been frequently (1) printed, and bears the title of *Ascuns novel cases*, &c.

Coke, Sir Edward, in his first (2) eleven books brings prime cases adjudged in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James the First, intermixed. The author being accused, by the said king's directions, before his majesty and the privy-council, of some misbehaviours in the management of his office as chief justice, it was ordered: (3) 1. "That he be sequestered from the council-table, until his majesty's pleasure be further known. 2. That he forbear to ride his summer's circuit as justice of assize. 3. That during this vacation, while he has time to live privately, and dispose himself at home, he take into consideration and review his books of reports: wherein, as his majesty is informed, there be many exorbitant and extravagant opinions, set down and published for positive and good law: and if, in reading and review, he find any thing fit to be altered or amended, the correction of it is left to his direction: and, amongst other things, his majesty was not well pleased with those books wherein he stiled himself Lord Chief Justice of England, whereas he could challenge no more than Chief Justice of the King's-Bench: and, having corrected what in his discretion he found meet in those reports, his majesty's pleasure was, that he should bring the same privately to himself, that he might consider thereof as in his princely judgment should be found convenient." This was an authoritative and terrible sentence upon the whole. The fifth part of them contains cases relating to ecclesiastical power and jurisdiction; and the false grounds whereon many of the judgments are there given, in Cawdrey's case especially, have been shewn by Parson's in his (4) answer to that part.

Croke, Sir George, one of the justices in the King's-Bench, *temp. Car.* 1. in the first of his three (5) parts, brings cases from the twenty-fourth of Queen Elizabeth, to the end of her reign.

Dyer, Sir James, Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, collects choice (6) cases throughout the four reigns of Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, Mary and Elizabeth, i. e. from the 4th of Hen. VIII. to 24 Eliz.

Goldesborough, (7) J. Esq. Prothonotary of the Common-Pleas, touches only upon the last years of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

Hughes, (8) W. Esq. of Gray's-Inn, published an anonymous collection of reports, seen and approved by Mr. Justice Godbolt, the first whereof go as high as Queen Elizabeth.

Kelway, (9) Supervisor Liberationum Regis, 10 Hen. VIII. wrote reports from the twelfth of Henry the Seventh, to the twenty-first of Henry the Eighth; and seems to have been the first writer of reports, giving that name to his own collection of cases which are brought within the year-books.

Noy, (10) William, Attorney-General to King Charles the First, begins with Queen Elizabeth's, though the chief of his are in the two following reigns.

(18) Vid. Instit. Par. 4. p. 4. (19) Fol. Fr. in two Parts, pr. 24s. (20) Fol. Fr. pret. 12s. (1) 8vo. Lond. 1578, 1604, 1625, &c. (2) Fol. Fr. pret. 3l. Engl. pret. 30s. (3) Act. Council. Reg. MS. Grenovic. Jun. 30. 1616. (4) 4to. 1606. (5) Fol. pret. 50s. (6) Fol. Fr. pret. 24s. (7) 4to. pret. 3s. 6d. (8) 4to. pret. 12s. (9) Fol. Fr. pret. 14s. (10) Fol. pret. 10s.

Owen, (11) Thomas, one of the justices of the Common-Pleas in Queen Elizabeth's, reign, PART
III. reconciles many seemingly disagreeing sentences in the year-books.

Plowden, (12) Edm. Sergeant at Law, goes through the reigns of Edward the Sixth, Philip and Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. He might have done much greater things, had he started early enough; but he (13) practised physick some years before he engaged in the law. His reports were abridged in French; and the abridgment was afterwards translated into English by Fabian Kikes: as before they had been rendered somewhat more useful by a table made for them by W. Fleetwood, Recorder of London. There is this character given of him by an able judge, (14) *Ut in juris Anglicani scientia, de qua scriptis bene meruit, facile princeps; ita vitæ integritate inter homines suæ professionis nulli secundus.*

Popham, (15) Sir John, in his own cases are only those of Queen Elizabeth's reign; though others are added by the publishers of his book. Camden (16) says he was Chief Justice of the King's-Bench. But his last (17) will proves, that (18) Sir William Dugdale has more rightly placed him in the Common-Pleas. His book itself adjudges the cause the same way.

Savil, (19) Sir John, Baron of the Exchequer, has the cases of his own court, and those of the Common-Pleas, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Yelverton, (20) Sir Henry, Justice of the Common-Pleas, gives also some few of the latter part of that queen's reign.

Together with the perusal of the law-writers, properly so called, it may be convenient for our Readings. historian to consult also some of the short Readings: which are vacation exercises performed by the Utter-baristers in our inns of court, by the appointment of the benchers. The Reader usually makes choice of some act of parliament for his subject; and his chief business is to observe what inconveniences and defects were in the law, before the making of that act; and how far it removes them. Of this kind several have been published by Sir Robert Brook, Sir Francis Bacon, and others.

C H A P. VI.

Of Conveyances, Deeds, and other Evidences, in the Hands of private Subjects.

THE miseries of our many civil wars must be presumed to have destroyed vast numbers of papers relating to the affairs of private families, as well as more publick records; especially when we consider the several forfeitures and sequestrations, to which, at some time or other, all that are of any note have been exposed. But the sudden subversion of monasteries, together with the havock that it made of registries of a more general nature, did also occasion a heavy destruction of these useful materials for history; since many of the most considerable English families had committed their best (1) evidences to the custody of the monks, in whose hands they thought them safer than at home. The small scraps of parchment and paper, wherein these were commonly written, were more liable to be lost and squandered, than the more bulky instruments of our days: for our fore-fathers used such short, simple and confiding forms of conveyance, as sufficiently proved that they were not upon the catch, nor expected any advantage by their skill in quirks, and the nice wording of their deeds. W. Shepherd's (2) Law, and (3) Touchstone of Common-Assurances, would have been useless pieces in those ages; when all manner of feoffments, gifts and grants, ran in as few and easy terms as the first bargains (that

(11) Fol. pret. 9s. (12) Fol. Fr. in two Parts, pret. 20s. (13) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 176. (14) Cam. Annal. R. Eliz. ad An. 1584. (15) Fol. pret. 8s. (16) Annal. Reg. Eliz. ad An. 1592. (17) Vide Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 293. (18) In Chron. Serie ad fin. Grig. Jur. (19) Fol. Fr. pret. 6s. (20) Fol. Fr. pret. 8s. (1) Vide Rites, &c. of the Ch. of Durham, p. 132. (2) Fol. pret. 14s. (3) 4to. pret. 10s.

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occasioned them, were or could be concluded. An eminent antiquary has floridly declaimed against degeneracy in this matter, from the laudable practice of our ancestors, in this panegyrick upon their contrary methods and management: (4) *Quàm facilis & apicibus juris soluta, videre est, domini fuit translatio, simul & à perplexantium captiosâ malitiâ turgescensque membranarum fascibus & polytychis libera.* And (5) another, who himself was a great master of that primitive integrity which he observed in the men of old, takes special notice of the vast "Difference between the candid simplicity and plainness of those elder times, when conscience was accounted the best evidence, and the serpentine subtilty of these, when no conveyance but in folio; when an acre of land cannot pass without almost an acre of writing, &c. their honest meaning going farther, in point of security, than our much writing now; whilst their plain dealing supplied and made up what was wanting either in matter or form, or multitude of words." We have now a very valuable and judicious collection of these contracts, grants and other evidences, gathered, chiefly out of the Office of Augmentation, by Mr. Madox; who has placed them in a methodical order, and ascertained the age of every single instrument from the Norman conquest to the end of Henry the Eighth's reign, under the proper title of (6) *Formulare Anglicanum*. This useful work, of unspeakable service to our students in law and antiquities, was first engaged in upon the encouragement and approbation of the famous Lord Chancellor Somers, and carried on with an application and judgment peculiar to its worthy author. The general heads are Certificates, Confirmations, Compositions, Feoffments, Letters of Attorney, Releases, Wills, &c. of all which there are here more authentic examples than ever heretofore were found in any one collection. The greatest part of these are, beyond controversy, truly genuine; and fair notice is given of those that are, or seem to be, otherwise. A cautious reader will find some particular use of almost each single form; the compiler having assured us, that few or none of them were inserted merely by chance. Here the character given of this book, by the most competent judge that the kingdom affords: (7) *Prodiit nuper Londini liber Formulare Anglicanum inscriptus. In quo auctor Thomas Madox, magna cum diligentia, nec minori judicio, vetustas diversæ generis chartas secundum seriem temporum ab adventu Normannorum, & sub xviii. titulos digestas & dispositas, in rei antiquariæ illustrationem, archivorum juris Anglicani honorem, ejusque studiosorum beneficium, suique laudem edidit.*

Seals.

Whether the Norman nobility brought their use of large seals into this kingdom, or found it here, I am not certain: but here they had them, presently after their arrival; the most usual impresses being an armed knight on horse-back, with a drawn sword and the bearer's name; as *SIGILLUM ROBERTI DE VALLIBUS*, &c. Perhaps the large territories, wherewith the conqueror rewarded their services, induced them to believe themselves advanced to so many principalities, and this conceit might incline them to rival their sovereign himself in the grandeur of their publick instruments. Sometimes, instead of the horseman, we have a lion, leopard, grey-hound, bird, or other device, part of the arms of the family; but also the person of honour's own proper name incircling his paternal coat, or whatever other impression he was pleased to fancy. Seals of a round (8) form generally betokened something of royalty in the possessor, and a more than ordinary extent of temporal jurisdiction: whereas great ladies under coverture, and bishops, abbots, &c. commonly made use of oval ones. The bishops of Durham, as counts palatine, had round ones, bearing the bishop sitting in his chair, circumscribed with his name *Dei Gratia Episcopus Dunelmensis*; and, on the reverse, an armed man on horse-back with his sword drawn, and the bishop's arms, either of his see or family, on the shield, circumscribed as before. If the grantor's quality was mean, and his family too inconsiderable to bear arms, the conveyances were usually ratified under the authentick seal of some publick officer or corporation; the reason being alledged in these or the like words, *Quia sigillum meum penitus est ignotum, sigillum officialis de N. apponi procuravi.* From the frequency of these subscriptions, and other arguments of less consideration, some have (9) affirmed, that the common use of seals did

(4) J. Se'd. Jan. Angl. lib. 2. p. 70. (5) W. Somner of R. Ports in Kent, p. 71. See also Cam. Brit. N. E. p. 344, 345. (6) Fcl. Lond. 1702. (7) D. G. Hickes, Præfat. ad Thesaur. p. 29. (8) See Tit. of Hon. p. 532. (9) W. Lamard's P. Ramb. of Kent, Edit. 1596. pag. 404, 405, 406.

not prevail in England before the reign of Edward the Third: and there is a passage in a MS. history of Battail-Abbey, which seems to countenance that opinion. It tells a story of an inferior fellow's being reprimanded by Richard Lucy, Lord Chief-Justice under Henry the Second, for daring to use a private seal; which, as he observed to him, was the proper prerogative of the king and peers of the realm. The matter of fact, as it there stands, is but lamely reported; and it is hard to draw any certain conclusion from it. The man (3) perhaps was censured for unjustly usurping another's signet, and coat of arms; or, it may be, he had insolently taken upon him to use a greater seal than became his quality: for the nobility, and other persons of rank and family, had their larger and less seals; the former giving the impression of their ancestor's coat, and the latter any little device without a 'scutcheon. This is proved from an entry on an old record, which runs thus: (4) *Johannes de Burgo cognovit quod opposuit parvum sigillum suum cuidam scripto, quod fecit decano & capitulo de Lichefeud, de confirmationes & quieto c'ameo de advocacione de Herdel, & apponet sigillum suum magnum prædicto scripto circa tertiam septimanam post pascham.* Others have thought that none below the degree of a knight-bachelor was anciently privileged to use a seal: and this fancy seems to be supported by a clause added to a charter given by Hufculph de Soligne Lord of Dol in Bretagne to the Abbey of Vieuville, about the year 1170. (5) *& quia abhuc miles non eram, proprium sigillum non habebam, quando hanc concessionem fecimus, auctoritate sigilli domini Johannes patris mei cartam illam sigillavimus.* Agreeable to which, and of an elder date, is that in the old leiger-book of (6) Abingdon from Richard Earl of Chester, under King Henry the First, and his mother the Countess Dowager; which is there reported to have been sealed by the said earl with the countess's seal: and the reason assigned is, *Nondum enim militari balteo cinctus est;* Nay, and it is likewise added, that *literæ quælibet ab eo directæ materno sigillo includebantur.* From this latter passage Mr. Selden thinks it probable that infants, in those times, were not allowed to have any seal of their own, being obliged to have continual recourse to those of their guardians or tutors; and that out of a very prudential consideration, to prevent the inconveniences that youth and indiscretion might otherwise bring upon them. The former expression proves also, that the earl was now under a legal, as well as natural, non-age: for the nobility were sometimes knighted in their childhood; and, whenever that honour was conferred, it always, amongst its other privileges, brought a supply of full age. Notwithstanding these seeming objections, and whatever surmises of the like kind may be raised, we are pretty sure that the ancient use of seals in this nation was general; and that from the most early times, after the coming in of the Normans. A great many of the eldest of these are verbally described, and some few of the most beautiful represented in sculpture in the fore-mentioned *Formulare Anglicanum*. That no seals, on wax, were used here, till the Normans taught us this fashion of theirs, amongst others, has been the generally received opinion; ever since Ingulfus asserted it for a known truth. Yet Sir Edward Coke (7) gives instances of grants passed by some of our Saxon princes, *sub proprio sigillo*, as high as the middle of the tenth century; and he confidently reports that King Offa's charter, for the payment of the Peter-pence, doth yet remain under seal. But, besides that the last mentioned curiosity is no where now to be found, he did not know, what Sir Henry Spelman (8) could have told him, that the Crosses, werewith both principals and witnesses then signed, were indifferently called *Signa* and *Sigilla*. Ingulphus indeed, speaking of the many English customs that were abolished here under the conqueror's arrival, says expressly: (9) *Chirographorum confessionem Anglicanum, quæ antea usque ad Edwardi regis tempora fidelium præsentium subscriptionibus cum crucibus aureis aliisque sacris signaculis firma fuerunt, Normanni condemnantes, chirographa chartas vocabant; & chartarum firmitatem cum cereâ impressione per uniuscujusque speciale Sigillum, sub instillatione trium vel quatuor testium astantium, conficere constituebant.* That this usage was observed in the next following reigns, we are sufficiently assured by the evidence that was then admitted at common-law upon deeds or

(3) Vid. Tit. of Hon. p. 652. (4) Placit. apud Westm. Term. Hil. 44 Hen. 3. Rot. 28. (5) Tit. of Hon. Par. 2. cap. 3. p. 459. (6) Ibid. p. 651. (7) 1 Instit. Fol. 7. (8) Vid. Glossar. voc. sigillum & signum. (9) Ingulf. Hist. Edit. Francof. p. 901.

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other securities; this being one of their remarkable ways of convicting a defendant: (10) *Ubi sigillum suum esse publicè recognoverit in curia, cartam illam precipè tenetur warrantizare, & conventionem in ipsa carta expressam, sicut in eà continetur, omnino servare sine contradictione. Et sue malæ custodiæ imputet, si damnum incurrat per sigillum suum malè custoditum.* These last words put me in mind of a passage I have lately read in a grant bearing date, not long after Glanvil's time, in the year 1247. (11) *In cujus rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum meum innovatum apposui, quia sigillum, quod prius habui, amisi:* which shews the great care taken by the men of that age to have their proper seals certainly known, and the speedy pains they took to prevent the mischief that might ensue upon the casual loss of their signets. Bracton (12) likewise tells us, that all the deeds in his days, and he flourished about the very year last mentioned, ended either with the aforesaid clause of, *In cujus rei, &c.* or in other words, *quod ut ratum sit & firmum, huic scripto sigillum meum apposui.* It is plain therefore that sealing was in vulgar use long before the days of Edward the Third; though it is also certain, that there were several conveyances, which down as low as his reign, were admitted as good and legal, when otherwise well attested, although they never had any seals affixed to them: these being the grants of such as still adhered to their old Saxon modes, and so retained the ancient subscriptions of names and crosses. There were other transgressions of the common rule and practice as when * Edward the Third fancifully gave

*To Norman the hunter the hop
and the hop town
With all the bounds upside down:
And in witness that it was sooth
He bit the wax with his fong tooth.*

And to Aubrey de Vere's conveyance of Hatfield a short black-hafted knife was affixed, instead of a seal; the like whereof, in other fond crotchets, Mr. Lambard (13) says he had met with several. Many effectual conveyances of right, we are sure, were anciently made without writing; feisin being then only taken by delivery of a (14) sword, helmet, horn, spur, bow, arrow, &c. But, even in those times, the more cautious thought it safest to convey their lands in Scriptis. Hence the *geppte Landboc*, *Telligraphum* and *Chirographum*, of the Saxon ages; notwithstanding what Ingulfus or others may have asserted of Charters, in the modern signification of the word, being brought in by the Normans. It cannot be denied but that the words *Charta*, (15) *Chartula* and *Kartula*, sometimes occur in Latin grants of a more early date than the conquest: but these (16) are generally counterfeits, or, at best, translations made after the coming in of the Normans. The word *Charta*, as many like terms of art, had one (17) signification that was Primitive, and another which was Barbarous: for, in the ancient Latin, it signified only Paper; but, in the Franco-Romanic dialect (first brought into this island by Edward the Confessor, but of no growth till after the conquest) its most proper import is all one with that of *Diploma*, a publick instrument or grant.

Deeds.

The noble and learned Du Fresne (18) asserts that, after the conquest, there were no deeds written in the Saxon language: but since it is evident, what he also denies, that there were several charters and other publick instruments in that tongue, for three or four successive reigns, we may presume that all the private evidences, which are still to be seen in that language and character, are not to be condemned as spurious. Amongst these, the grants from the nobility, as well as the king, were usually directed *Omnibus hominibus suis Francis & Anglis*; there being generally a mixture of both nations in every barony and manor. Donations to churches began

(10) Vid. R. Glanvil, lib. 10 cap. 12. (11) In Cartular. MS. Abbat. de Holme-Cultram. (12) Bract. lib. 2. cap. 16. §. 12. * The like is reported of W. the Conq. See his life in Speed, §. 59. (13) Peramb. of Kent, pag. 406. (14) Ingulf. inter Script. post. Bed. p. 901. (15) D. Hickes, præfat. ad Thesaur. p. 30. & Dissert. Epist. p. 63, 64. (16) Madox, Dissert. ad Form Angl. p. 2, 3. (17) Id. in præfat. Hist. Scacc. p. 8. usq. 17. (18) W. Kennet, in Præfat. ad Antiq. Paroch. p. 7.

commonly

commonly with *Notum sit omnibus* (or *universis*) *sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis*: and afterwards, about Henry the Second's time, *Notum sit omnibus tam præsentibus quàm futuris*; or, *Notum sit universitati tam præsentium quàm futurorum*; or, *Sciant Præsentes & futuri*. The donation-clause itself ran, *Deo & ecclesiæ de N.* and the warranty in the conclusion was as general as heart could wish, *Contra omnes gentes—omnes homines & fæminas—Christianos & judæos*. The dating of them, with particular mention of the king's reign, was hardly ever used before that of Edward the First, and not very constantly than neither: for, both in his and in his son's, we meet with several which have the day of the month, but not the year. They generally concluded with *hiis testibus*, &c. till in the reign of (11) Henry the Eighth, the fashion was brought in of naming the witnesses under the deed, and sometimes endorsing their names. In the perusal of those of elder date the reader will find it necessary for him to be well skilled in the ancient modes of contracting words and syllables; and, to this purpose, a work of Sir Hen. Spelman's, giving a scheme of these abbreviations, may be very useful to him. It is true, this is not yet printed: but there are so many (12) copies of it in manuscript, that there can be no great difficulty in procuring one of them. Nor will it be amiss to observe to him that, so carefully have our law-givers been to secure us against being cheated in these matters, the (13) forgers of any deed, will or other sealed writing, whereby another's right may be molested, are for the first offence, to be pilloryed, their ears cut off, noses slit and seared with a hot iron, forfeit their lands, and be imprisoned during life; and the second offence of this kind is felony. All fraudulent (14) conveyances deeds of gift and alienation, feigned bonds and judgments, &c. whereby a creditor may be defeated of a just debt, are void; and the party offending forfeits one year's value of the lands specified, and the several sums mentioned.

Those attested instruments that recorded any mutual contract or agreement betwixt two several bargainers, did always, as at this day, consist of a part and counterpart, or script and rescript; wherein our ancestors seem to have been more cautious and exact than we are, how far soever they fell short of us in the wording and contrivance of their single deeds. They wrote both parts of their articles on the same sheet of paper, parchment or vellum; and, betwixt the two copies, they drew the capital letters of the alphabet or the word SYNGRAPHUS, through which they cut the sheet asunder indenture-wise, and so were able to prove both parts by matching them on any future occasion. "After this prudent custom," says Dr. (15) Kennet, "had prevailed for some time, then the word Chirographum was appropriated to such bipartite writings;" which he proves out of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, and some ancient evidences alledged in his own book. And, indeed, though Ingulphus, in the fore-cited passage, affirms peremptorily, that the Normans did change Chirographa into Chartæ, we do find that the former word was continued long after his time: for in the (16) second statute of Westminster, we read *de chirographariis, pro chirographo faciendum statutum est, quod de quatuor solidis sint contenti*; and this, in (17) another act of parliament, is explained so as to be meant of the chirographer of the Common-Pleas, who is to have no greater fee than the said sum for any fine levied in that court.

The committing of boundaries to writing, was undoubtedly in practice in the Saxon times; since (in King (18) Edgar's days, above an hundred years before the conquest) we find a grant of lands with such a particular survey, which is there called **the Land-gemark**; and the like was made by several of his successors. Under our first Norman kings, disputes about these limits were very common; so that, in some of the laws of Henry the First, we have this rule for the trial of such frequent pleas: (19) *Si exurgat placitum de divisione terrarum, si interest barones meos dominicos, tractetur in Curia mea; & si inter Vavassores duorum Dominorum, tractetur in comitatu*. Fortescue reckons these exact divisions and limits as peculiar to the English nation, and amongst the many advantages she has over her neighbours. Take the description he gives of her usage

(11) Instit. Par. 2. pag. 78. (12) Vid. Vit. D. Hen. Spelm. per E. Gibson, pag. 15. (13) St. 5 Eliz. cap. 14. (14) 13 Eliz. cap. 5. & 29 Eliz. cap. 5. (15) Gloss. ad Antiq. Paroch. voce Chirographum. Vid. etiam T. Madox, Dissert. de Cartis, p. 28, 29. D. H. Spelm. Gloss. voc. Indentura. (16) Stat. 13 Ed. 1. cap. 44. (17) 2 Hen. 4. cap. 8. (18) Vid. Reliq. Spelm. p. 19. (19) Cart. Hen. 1. citat. in Reliq. Spelm. p. 58.

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in his own words: (3) *Vilarum metæ, non muris, ædificiis aut stratis, terminantur, sed agrorum ambitibus, territoriis magnis, Hamiletis quibusdam, & multis aliis; sicut Aquarum, Boscorum & Vastorum termines.*—*Vix in Anglia est locus aliquis, qui non infra Villarum ambitus contineatur, licet Privilegiati loci quidam infra villas de iisdem Villis pars esse non censentur.* With these we may join the ancient Terriers of every particular acre of ground, houses, and other edifices, demesne lands, parks, pawnage, &c. which (if of any considerable age) are usually drawn according to the fulness of that method which is laid down in the statute of (4) Extenta Manerii.

Pedigrees.

Had pedigrees been carefully preserved in all the great families of England, I can hardly think of any better old stores of history than they might probably have afforded us; since the most notable circumstances of the life of any eminent person in the progeny, are usually recorded there with accuracy and niceness; but many of this kind we shall not meet with. Sir H. Spelman (5) found one of them in his native county of Norfolk, that of the ancient family of the Sharburns; which seems to have been perused by (6) Camden; yet this was looked upon, by its discoverer, as such a rarity, that he has left us this motto upon it:

*Non Vulgare videtur Monumentum; forte videbis
Haud duo præterea talia, si quæ vides.*

Accounts.

Old accounts of expences and disbursements, in the families of noblemen and persons of quality, will be of most singular use to our historian, who will soon perceive what necessary articles the prices of food, cloaths, and other conveniences of human life, the wages of servants and day-labourers, &c. will make in his enquiries. We may easily believe that, among the Norman nobles, most of their stewards made up these in the French language; and there is a better reason assigned for this practice, than for obliging the whole nation to have her laws in the same tongue. It was (7) *ne ipsi inde deciperentur.* But to observe, as the same author does, that the generality of our arithmetical terms are borrowed from that people, would tempt one to believe that book-keepers were mighty rarities in the times of the Saxons; and that there was hardly so much of the mystery here, before their arrival, as would serve to settle the affairs of a private family, much less to adjust the concerns of the kingdom. In these *Expensa Domus* we may (with great pleasure and advantage) see how different the rates of corn, cattle, wool, leather, &c. were in several ages; this will not only furnish us with a tolerable conjecture at the humours of the men of those times, but also pretty well enable us to calculate the gradual improvements that have been made in our trade and manufactures, or what we call the state of the nation. The wages of servants, and other labourers, is what is most especially to be noted; since the prices of all other things have been rightly (8) observed to bear a due proportion to these; their hire has been always at dearer rates, as the plenty of our money grew upon us; and is well known to be extremely enhanced since the discoveries of the West-Indies, and the vast importation of gold and silver from thence. Edward the Third was the first of our princes that took care to regulate (9) wages, by the prices of edibles, and other household provisions; and, since his time, several (10) statutes have been enacted about the same subject. The rents of farms, by the yearly improvements of the lands, are so changeable and uncertain, that hardly any proper judgment can be made of the value or scarcity of coin in the nation, by any estimate taken thence: But house-rents will afford a more certain bottom for calculation, especially in such places where the concourse and throng of the inhabitants has continued almost the same for several ages. Thus, for example, when we find a very large house within the very precincts of the court, in Channon-Row in Westminster, letten to no less a person than the Comptroller of the King's household for thirty shillings, we must conclude, that (in King Edward the

(3) De laud. Leg. Angl. c. 24. (4) 4. Ed. 1. (5) Reliq. Spelm. p. 188. (6) Brit. Edit. Noviss. p. 391. (7) Forte c. de Laud. Leg. Angl. cap. 48. (8) See R. Vaughan of coinage, p. 105. (9) Stat. 25 Ed. 3. (10) 12 & 13 Ric. 2. 13 Hen. 4. 6. & 23 Hen. 6. 6 Hen. 8. 5 Eliz. &c.

Sixth's time, when (11) this was done) money was not so plenty as it is now; and that one of his shillings, when it was first coined, would have done a man far more service than it will at this day. PART III.

The grand advantage and light that accrues to history, from the epistolary remarks of men of sense and business, is so very obvious and apparent, that I shall need only just to touch upon it. I will not trouble the reader with more than one instance of the usefulness of such papers; and I can only point to a small handful of these, the greatest part of the store being still in private hands. It is the collection of those Latin letters that were composed by R. Ascham; and, chiefly upon the account of their elegance, have had several (12) editions. The author was sometime an instructor in the Latin tongue, and afterwards Latin Secretary to King Edward the Sixth, Queen (13) Mary, and Queen Elizabeth; and in this latter station, was frequently employed to translate several letters of the then English ministers of state to foreign princes, ambassadors, and other great men. In these we have all the fine variety of language that is proper for the rendering of either a petition or complaint the most agreeable; and (withal) a deal of very choice historical matter, that is hardly preserved any-where else. Together with the author's own letters, we have a good many that are directed to him, both from the most eminent foreigners of his time, (such as Sturmius, Sleidan, &c.) and the best scholars, as well as wisest statesmen of his own country; and the (14) publisher of these assures us, that he had the perusal of a vast number of others in the English tongue, which were highly valuable. His attendance on Sir Richard Moryson, in his German embassy, gave him an intimate acquaintance with the affairs of that country; and the extraordinary freedom and familiarity, wherewith the two sister-queens treated him here at home, afforded him a perfect knowledge of the most secret mysteries of state in this kingdom; so that, were the rest of his papers to be retrieved, we could not perhaps have a more pleasing view of the main Arcana in those reigns, than his writings would have given us. I know not whence a late (15) writer was informed, that he spent too much of his latter days in dicing and cock-fighting. A. Nowel, the learned Dean of St. Paul's, who preached his funeral sermon, and was his confessor during his last sickness, affirms, that he never knew any man live more honestly, nor die more christianly; and all that we have of his composition, shews him to have been a master of such accomplishments as are rarely attainable by any of such loose dispositions.

Out of letters of correspondence, and private journals, have been composed several lives of eminent statesmen and warriors; and many more might still be had from the like materials, wherein are always some scattered passages of of note, which either illustrate or improve the more general histories of the times. Of this time are those of (16) Fulk Fitzwarren, and (17) R. Fitzwalter, two persons of great figure and renown in the reign of King Henry the Third. In after ages, as the remains of men of business grew more considerable, their lives were drawn at greater length, and in fuller proportions. Sir Thomas More's was written by a great many (18) Hands; and Sir Fulk Grevil has given us the (19) story of his intimate friend Sir Philip Sidney; but not so accurately as we could wish, nor as the memory of that extraordinary person deserves. Sir Thomas Smith's is (20) lately published by Mr. John Strype, who recounts a great many figures which that extraordinary person made in the several stations to which his natural and acquired parts advanced him; how eminently famous he was in his Greek lectures, and the discharge of his reputable offices, as public orator and professor of law in the University of Cambridge; his grandeur in the courts of King Edward the Sixth and Queen Elizabeth, and his quiet privacy in the days of Queen Mary; his exact conduct as an ambassador, secretary of state, chancellor of the garter, &c. To qualify him for the deanry of Carlisle, our author will needs have him to have been (at least) in priest's orders; but no such thing was then necessarily

(11) J. S. Life of Sir Tho. Smith, p. 226. (12) 8vo. Lond. 1577, 1578, &c. & 12mo. Col. Allobr. 1611. (13) J. S. Life of Sir Tho. Smith. (14) E. Grant, in Vit. Auctoris. (15) Ath. Oxon. vol. 1. p. 695. (16) MS. Gall. apud Camb. Brit. N. E. p. 549. (17) See Plot's Staffordsh. p. 444. (18) Vid. J. Pitt's, p. 764. & Ath. Oxon. vol. 1. p. 35, 36, & 115. Fuller's Worthies, in Lincolnsh. p. 208, 209. (19) 8vo. Lond. 1652. (20) 8vo. Lond. 1698.

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required. Mr. Strype has also given us the (1) life of (Sir Thomas's contemporary, friend, and companion) Sir John Cheke, who, after having risen to great honours under (his pupil) King Edward the Sixth, endured as great hardships in his exile in Queen Mary's reign; and yet afterwards made a dastardly compliance, which broke his heart. There is a good collection of letters to and from this unhappy great man.

C H A P. VII.

Of the ENGLISH Medals and Coins, from the Conquest, to the End of Queen ELIZABETH'S Reign.

SINCE a collection of medals and coins is esteemed (2) not only an ornament, but an useful and necessary appendage to a library, this historical one ought not to want a concluding chapter on that subject. And, I trust, the reader will pardon me, if here my method be a little altered, and I am forced to treat of the matter itself, instead of the authors that have handled it. Few or none are our English writers that have hitherto attempted a full history of our coins. Mr Speed gave us the cuts of several of them, curiously enough designed, in his general chronicle; but, as we shall have occasion to observe anon, he took them upon the credit of Sir R. Cotton's and Mr. Selden's conjectures; and therefore has not always appropriated them to their right owners. Sir H. Spelman's dialogue (newly (3) printed) reaches little farther than briefly to shew the variety in value of our ancient groats, &c. as also of all sorts of commodities, from those of modern times; and (4) Mr. Vaughan's treatise of money, is only a political discourse on the advantages and disadvantages in trade, by the rise and fall of the current species. Sir John Davis, in one of his reports, gives the most satisfactory account of the mixture of metals in the royal mints; and John Stowe, in his survey of the Tower of London, has picked up a deal of useful remarks relating to the history of coinage. Others have lately considered the same affair with much skill and exactness; but their speculations, being of an universal extent, and applicable to almost all nations and climates, are not to our purpose. Only Mr. Lowndes has written in so peculiar and instructive a manner, that our historian may learn better, by his (5) little book, how to distinguish and value the coins of our several kings, than from all the volumes of our English antiquaries. From the eighteenth year of Edward the Third (downwards) he gives the abstracts of such indentures of the respective masters of the mint, as are now to be had in the exchequer; shewing what pieces of gold and silver were coined, and of what weight, fineness or allay. We might justly have expected whatever could have been desired on this subject, from the excellently learned pen of Mr. Evelyn; and he bent his thoughts, as was believed, towards the consideration of our British coins, as well as medals. It now appears that his (6) Numismata carried him no farther than those larger and more choice pieces that are usually called by this latter name; whereon he has indeed treated with that accuracy and fineness which became a gentleman and a scholar. Our common ordinary coins are still neglected and untouched; and therefore it is but a lame account that is to be looked for in this first essay. Some few MS. tracts are to be had in the Cottonian library, which seem to look this way; and the founder's eminent knowledge in (7) these matters, as well as all other parts of good and polite learning, would put an enquirer upon a better stock of hopes than will be answered on a search into them. One of these had the good fortune

(1) 8vo. Lond. 1705. (2) Evelyn's Numism. p. 1. (3) Reliq. Spelm. p. 203, &c. (4) 8vo. Lond. 1675. (5) Essay for the Amendment of the Silver Coins, 8vo. Lond. 1695. (6) Fol. Lond. 1697. (7) Vid. Cottoni Posthuma, p. 285.

to be highly applauded by the learned publisher of the catalogue, who bestows this inviting character upon it; *Si liber iste suis numeris absolutus fuisset, pretii foret inestimabilis, & vel ditissimis Thesauris æquandus; utcunque erit in re Antiquaria & Historica maximi usus.* It bears the title of (8) *Livre de Monnoyes*; being written in the French tongue, and presenting the reader with pretty fair draughts of a great many coins of several nations. But this author, or designer, furnishes us only with twenty-seven of those which he calls English; though he reckons others among the French, which are truly of our growth. None of these are of any great age; the eldest being two golden pieces of Richard the Second, and the rest of a much later date. The other fragments are very inconsiderable, and hardly worth consulting; being mostly abstracts of our laws, and other ordinances about coinage, &c. easily to be had elsewhere. Such are those, 1. (9) *De Monetarum pondere.* 2. (10) *De Danelaya*, five *Lege Danorum & Denariis beati Petri.* It gives the statutes whereby this tribute was enacted; tells how much was collected in each diocese; brings a testimony of King Æthelwolph's making the offering to the Pope, about the year 948, &c. 3. Of the (11) orders about money, &c. in the time of Henry the Eighth, by Sir Tho. Gresham. Most of this, which is not transcribed from the statute-book, relates to the disposal of the many extravagant sums that were expended in that reign. 4. (12) Two letters to King Edward the Sixth, touching the reformation of the coin; short and political. 5. (13) *Capitula de tonsura Monetæ*; which are only heads of some intended discourse. 6. (14) *De Compositione Monetæ tempore R. Edwardi filii Regis Henrici*; in French: which, having repeated Henry the Third's statute of *Affisa Panis*, goes on with other collections of a like nature. In the same volume there are two other small tracts, inscribed *Varia genera & valores auri & argenti*, and *Affaium auri factum apud Westminster, A^o 23. R. Edw. 3.* where you have a regular scheme of what his majesty and the mint-master are to gain by the coinage of such and such quantities of gold; these being the two general titles of the calculation, *Pondus Auri*, and *Pars Regis & Magistris.* There is also a fair French MS. in the well furnished library of the present worthy Bishop of Norwich, written by Nic. Tyery, one of Henry the Eighth's mint-masters. The design of the book, is to suggest some reasons for the new coining of the money of this kingdom, and raising its value; to which end, he gives his Majesty an account of the weight, metal, form, &c. of all the then current money in Europe; with draughts of every piece, in black and white. The heads and reverses seem to be exactly taken; but the legends are very faulty, and not to be relied on. The author is most particular about the Irish money; because (as appears from his preface) he was concerned in the reformation that was made, by this king, in the mint at Dublin.

Before the reign of King Charles the First, we have very few pieces (as Mr. Evelyn observes) Medals. that can pretend to the name of medal. The most of those few, he has given us; and I shall not repeat them, but remit the reader to his book. One or two there are, within my limits, which seem not to have fallen in the way of that most curious gentleman. If Edward the Third's rose-noble (or golden-royal, as he calls it) be indeed to be reckoned amongst our medals, yet it must not pretend to be the first of that name; if all be true which a modern (15) author has recorded about the coronation-pieces of that great king. He is extremely particular in his description of these; telling us, that on the pile was the young prince crowned, laying a sceptre on a heap of hearts, with this motto, *POPULO DAT JURA VOLENTI.* On the reverse, a hand held forth, as it were, saving a crown falling from on high, with these words, *NON RAPIT SED RECIPIT.* I do not doubt but his friend at Gray's-Inn had such a medal; but he must give me leave to suspect, that they were very widely mistaken, that first ascribed it to this prince. For (to omit other reasons) there is nothing in the legend that looks that way; and the inscribed fancies are too brisk for those times, favouring of a much more polite age. One of Queen Elizabeth's is omitted, whereon we have the queen's head crowned, with the

(8) Tiberius, D. II. 1. (9) Julius, D. II. 15. (10) Nero, C. II. 11. (11) Otho, E. X. 3. (12) Vespasian, D. XVIII. 4. (13) Cleop. C. VII. 6. (14) Cleop. A. XVI. 3, 6. 7. (15) See J. Barnes's Hist. of Ed. III. pag. 4.

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legend, *QUID NOS SINE TE*; and on the reverse, a castle mounted on a globe, inscribed, *QUID HOC SINE ARMIS*. Another of the same queen is also wanting, which bears four figures (a man, woman, and two children) in a praying posture, and subscribed 1588. The legend being *HOMO PROPONIT, DEUS DISPONIT*. On the reverse, is a great ship tossed on the waves, and *HISPANI FUGIUNT ET PEREUNT NEMINE SEQUENTE*. These are all that (as far as I know) were struck before the union of the kingdoms in King James the First, which have escaped the notice of this worthy person. I shall only beg leave to add this single remark, That perhaps, the reverse of his first medallion of Henry the Eighth, is rather to be reckoned a family-badge, than regardant of any particular action of that king; since his father has the portcuse, with the same motto, on his tomb at Westminster, which, there, seems to refer to his other titles to the crown being strengthened by his mother's being a Beaufort, of which family the portcuse was the badge. And, what if this very medallion be indeed one of Henry the Seventh's; and unduly (by some error of the engraver or copier) bestowed on his son? The figure of the face would tempt a man to suspect some such matter.

Wil-
liam I.

At the conquest, the little coined silver they had, bore the same countenance with what had passed in the days of our Saxon Kings; for the conqueror's penny (in Speed) is of the same size with theirs, giving his head full-faced, a cross in the right-hand, and a sceptre in the left, inscribed, *WILLEM. REX. ANGLO*; On the reverse a cross fleuree, with four sceptres quarterly; the inscription, *IESTHN. ON HEREFOR+*. Some (16) others, that are justly believed to be his, have two sceptres on the crown side; and some have none. Stowe says, the conqueror (as he appeared on his coins) wanted a beard; and he quotes William of Malmesbury to prove that the Normans never wore any. As also mentions some pieces of his that had *Le Rey Wilam* inscribed on them; though all those that we now attribute to him, have either the simple stile of *Rex*, or with the addition of *An.* or *Anglo*. I suppose the coinage of their money in this fashion, was one of those improvements which the Norman court had from our Edward the Confessor; who, by their own writers, is allowed to have taught them a great many of our English customs. That all great sums were yet paid by (17) weight and touch, is generally agreed; and thus the Monks of (18) Ely paid the king thier seven hundred marks, and Edgar (19) Etheling's allowance was a pound of silver (by weight) daily. Yet purveyances were, even in this king's reign, (20) changed into money; and the sheriff collected them in the following proportions. Instead of

Bread for an hundred men, one shilling:
One pasture-fed ox, one shilling;
A ram or a sheep, four-pence;
Provender for twenty horses, four-pence.

But when these little contributions were thus gathered, the collectors still paid their gross sums into the exchequer by weight. *Solutionis autem modus* (says (21) Mr. Selden) *Ponderis & metalli opera chymica examen, fusor & miles argentarius, fufius apud metipsum enarrantur*. Where he has done this, I could never yet learn; for, in his treatise (1) *De Nummis*, there is no mention of any such matter. But Mr. Lowndes gives the discourse at large out of the black-book in the exchequer, *De Officio Militis Argentarii & Fusoris*.

Wil-
liam II.

W. Rufus's penny is of the same bigness with his father's; bearing his own image, full-faced, and inscribed, *WILLEM. REX*. (some have *WILLEM. II. REX*.) and on the reverse, *CODRIOONO+WI+*. Which perhaps, should be read, *GORIC. ON. NORIHWIC*. Both this king and his father appear, on their coins, in a pearled diadem, with labels at each ear, and a sort of an arch cross on the head, such as is frequent on those of the eastern (2) emperors.

(16) Penes RR. D. Joh. Archiep. Ebor. (17) Vid. Reliq. Spelm. pag. 203 (18) Speed ad An. 1073. (19) Id. ad An. 1074. (20) Gerv. Tilbur. in Dialogue de Ufu Scacc. (21) Jan. Angl. lib. 2. p. 75. (1) Ad. finem Ph. Labbei, Bibl. Bibliothec. 8vo. Rothom. 1679. (2) Selden's Tit. of Hon. p. 134.

Henry the First's is of the same shape and size with the former; inscribed, *HENRIC REX*. PART III. and *LEFPARD. ON. SV+*. So Speed has given it; but (3) sometimes he bears a crown of three fleurs de lis, without any rays intermixed, and without any pearls at his ears. Roger de Henry I. (4) Hoveden gives this notable account of the state of the mint in his time: *Monetam corruptam & falsam sub tanta animadversione corrigi statuit, ut quicumque falsos denarios facere deprehensus fuisset, oculos & inferiores corporis partes, sine ulla redemptione, amitteret; & quoniam sepiissime, dum denarii eligebantur, flectebantur, rumpebantur, respuebantur, statuit, ut nullus denarius vel obolus, quos & rotundos esse jussit, aut etiam quadrans, si integer esset, respueretur. Ex quo factum magnum bonum toti regno provisum est, &c.* Some of these small pieces are still to be seen in several of the museums of our learned men, with the king's head crowned (as on his penny) with a pearl diadem; but without any manner of inscription. There is another memorable passage, in one of his own ordinances, relating to this subject; (5) *Monetarium Commune, quod capiebatur per Civitates vel Comitatus, quod non fuit tempore Edwardi Regis, hoc ne amodo fiat omnino defendo.* R. Westcot (or rather (6) Ad. Littleton) translates *Monetarium Commune* by these words, the common duty of money, or coinage; and, in his notes, guesses that the country mints paid some such duty to the king's chief mint. He proves, from Domesday Book, that Winchester paid twenty shillings for each minter; *Pro Cuneis Monetæ accipiendis*; that is, for their dies or stamps. Some of these do not seem to have made that honest use of the privileges so granted them, as they ought to have done; since it appears, the land was so oppressed with false, counterfeit money, that the king was forced to put his fore-mentioned law in execution; (7) *Omnes Angliæ Monetarios, eo quod Monetam furtive corruperant, fecit turpiter ementulari, & manus dextras præcidi.* We shall have occasion to say something more of this matter hereafter. At present, let it only be observed, that many of our chief antiquaries (and such as have been curious in their enquiries about our ancient coins) have complained, that it is extremely difficult, if not utterly impossible, to distinguish those of our elder kings of the same name; especially our Henries and Edwards. Indeed, Henry the First and Second are, in their coins crowned alike, with fleureé (8) de lis, and the two labels of pearl (or some such thing) at each ear; but several of the rest differ considerably in this particular; as will be noted of each in their order. And, where no assistance can be had from the variety of their crowns, we may be pretty well enabled to tribe them right by the change of their stile and title; whereof enough has been already said, upon the subject of their charters. Where this expedient likewise fails us, we are scrupulously to examine the different allays of the metal itself; and (lastly) the difference of the size is sometimes carefully to be heeded. For example, amongst the three first Henries we meet with nothing but thin pieces of about the weight, breadth, and intrinsic value of a Queen Elizabeth's three-pence; which was their penny, and from which we still retain the name of our penny-weight. In succeeding reigns, larger pieces, of four times the bulk and weight of these, were minted; they, from such increase of their size beyond that of former times, were called groats, and weighed as much as our present shillings.

In King Stephen's time there seems to have been a deal of money coined; for thus write Stephen. some of our historians (9) *Erant in Anglia quodammodo tot Reges, vel potius Tyranni, quot Domini Castellorum, habentes singuli percussuram proprii numismatis, & potestatem Subditis Regio more dicendi Jus.* And yet we have very few remains of their treasure. His penny, in Speed, is no bigger than those of his predecessors. It is the first, after the conquest, that is half-faced; with this inscription, *STIEFN. E.* and, on the reverse, *+SPTIDET & DN ∇ V.* which may possibly be the blundered name of some of his fore-mentioned royal lords. Different from this, is (10) that which gives us both his eyes; though, even here, the face is somewhat sidewise. The crown is much the same with that of Henry the First; only the flowers are raised higher.

(3) Penes RR. Archiep. Ebor. (4) Edit. Francof. p. 471. Vid. & LL. Hen. 1. cap. 1. (5) Vid. Cart. Hen. 1. citat. (è Matt. Paris.) à Joh. Seld. Jan. Angl. lib. 2. p. 80. (6) Ath. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 180. (7) M. Paris, ad An. 1125. (8) See Selden's Tit. of Hon. p. 1. cap. 8. p. 134. (9) G. Neubrigenf. apud. J. Seld. Jan. Angl. lib. 2. p. 88. (10) Penes RR. D. Archiep. Ebor.

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Mr. Tanner lately met with another; which, instead of the king's head, bore two angels with *STIEFEN RE.* and had a reverse like that of William the Conqueror. Amongst the foreign coins that were current in England at this time, the most remarkable were the silver and gold besantines, so called from Bizantium, or Constantinople, where they were coined; whereof the former was worth about two (11) shillings English, and the other about the (12) weight of a ducat. A manuscript in (13) Sir John Cotton's library sets it at a florence and an half.

Henry II. It is a strong dispute among our antiquaries, whether the name of sterling-money be any older than the reign of Henry the Second. Nay, some will needs bring it as low as that of his son (14) Richard the First. Mr. Kennet (15) observes the use of the word *sterilnensis* for the later *sterlingi*, to be as early as the days of Ordericus Vitalis, who particularly uses it in his history of the transactions of the year 1082. from whence he concludes (according to Mr. Somner's opinion) that the word should be derived from the Saxon *ŕceon regula*, and *ŕceopan* (to steer) *regulare*; because this money was of that just temper and fineness which was the proper standard of the mint. But Sir Henry Spelman thinks otherwise; and so does the author of a MS. (16) fragment on this enquiry. They (and others) affirm, that it must be derived either from Easterling, a standard used by the merchants trading hither from the eastern parts; or from those Easterlings themselves, who were the first workmen of it. For my own part, I cannot prevail with myself (notwithstanding the powerful authority of Sir Henry Spelman) to believe such a story; and am strongly inclined to fancy that this conjecture (from the jingle of the two words) has been too rashly vented by some, and as carelessly embraced by others. It is certain the Prussians and other next neighbouring nations to the Baltic Sea, who are the Easterlings aimed at by these writers, had no silver money among them, till it was brought into that country, by the knights of the Teutonic (17) order, about the middle of the thirteenth century; and King Winceflaus, about fifty years after that, gave a currency to (*die Bohmische Groschen*) the (18) Bohemian groats, which was the first silver coin that was known in the kingdom of Poland. How then is it possible to imagine that we had our first refiners of silver from a country that either was wholly unacquainted with the metal, or (at least) did not, at that time, use it in commerce? Nor was there any such purity in the best foreign money, as in that which we now coined at home; and therefore this king had also, amongst other officers of the exchequer, his *Miles Argentarius* or Assay-master, whose business it was (19) *examinare pecunias Regi Solutas, propterea quod in multis locis & diverse admodum cudebatur*. Sterlingus, in all the records of this age, is the very same thing with Denarius; and both words are indifferently used to signify that small piece of silver money which our kings then coined, with little anulets or stars in every quarter of their reverse. This king's is no larger than those already mentioned; giving him full-faced, with a scepter in his right hand, and this inscription, *HENRICUS REX.* on the reverse ---- *ORIM. -- ON. S. --* Instead of his crown in Speed, (20) several of his coins have only a row of points (commonly five in number) with a cross raised upon the middlemost of them; and, on the reverse, a double-lined cross, with four globuli or bullets in each quarter. Mr. Thoresby of Leeds has three several sorts of pennies, which he supposes to have been coined at York in this reign; one of them bearing *NICOLE ON EVE*; another *RE-NAVD ON EV.* and the third *TOMAS ON EVR.*

An eminent (1) antiquary observes, that he had two prodigal sons, Henry and John, kings at the same time with himself; and that it was a vast treasure which they wasted in their costly expeditions into France, Flanders, Sicily, &c. His son Henry (who died before him) was indeed (2) crowned in his life-time; and brought a charge on the nation, by grasping at a greater share of sovereignty than was designed him: But John was not so much as a vice-roy, till the throne was in the possession of his brother Richard, who made him *Dominus Hyberniæ*, but no

(11) See Kennet's Paroch. Antiq. p. 109. (12) Id in Gloss. voce Besant. (13) Nero, C. II. 11. (14) Chamberl. Not. Angl. edit. 16. par. 1. p. 10. (15) Gloss. ad Antiq. Paroch. Vid. & G. Somner. Gloss. ad X Script. (16) Bibl. Cott. Faustina, E. V. 10. (17) Chr. Hartnoch. Dissert. de Reb. Pruss. p. 282. (18) Vid. Alex. Guagnini Hist. Sarmat. Edit. Spir. fol. 10. a. (19) D. H. Spelm. Gloss. in voce Arfura. Hales's Sheriffs Accompts, p. 6. (20) Penes RR. Archiep. Ebor. (1) Vid. Reliq. Spelm. p. 206. (2) M. Paris, ad An. 1170.

Rex. Whether Henricus junior (as our historians call him, in distinction from his father) coined any money, I know not: But it is certain he had a great (3) seal. PART III.

Richard the first is represented as a corrupter, rather than a refiner of our English coin: And truly his parade in the holy land, with his ransom upon his return, was so very chargeable, that it is no wonder to find him put to all imaginable shifts for the multiplying of his money at home. His penny, in Speed, looks a little oddly, having two faces inscribed *RICUS. R : : S. REX.* and, on the reverse, *A : V : : ON. N : : NICO.* His money is rare. Richard I.

King John gives his face full, in a triangle, with a sceptre in his right hand, inscribed *JOHANNES. REX,* on the reverse, another triangle, with a half moon and a star, and this inscription, *ROBERD. ON. DIVE.* Which last words, I presume, shew that the money was coined at Dublin or Divelin; he being the first (as has been already hinted) that had the title of *Dominus Hybernæ*, and that in his brother's lifetime. Some pennies of the following kings have also the head in a triangle; and it is observable that all such are Irish coins. John.

Henry the Third's is inscribed *HENRICUS REX. III.* and, on the reverse, *ROBERT. OICANT.* i. *Rob. on Cant.* or Canterbury; though I can hardly think it is any way related to Robert Kilwardby, who came only to the archiepiscopal see in the very last year of that king's reign. The crown here differs much from that on his great seal; which (as it is drawn by Speed, and described by (4) Selden) gives it fleuree, pointed or rayed, the points or rays being raised, but not high, between the flowers: Whereas here there seems to be somewhat of a tuft or button in the middle of the crown. In all the coins that belong to this king there is always his number (III.) added to his title; which is enough to distinguish them from those of other kings of the same name. About the thirtieth year of his reign, the clippers had made that havock with the money, that there was hardly a penny to be seen, which had not lost the letters on both sides: So that the king was obliged to issue out a proclamation, requiring all traders to receive and pay by weight. Strict enquiry was also made after those traitorous persons themselves, who had been the authors of this mischief; and they were found to be chiefly the (5) *Caurfmi*, a knot of Italian bankers, who (under pretence of coming hither to traffick by the Pope's encouragement) carried on their villainous practices of impoverishing the kingdom by usury, and other oppressive exactions. There were also a great many Jews and Flemish merchants engaged in the confederacy; and such of them as could be apprehended, were immediately executed (as they were likewise in France) according to their demerits. Hen. III.

Edward the First finished many of his father's well-designed projects; and among these, is supposed to have been the first of our kings that perfectly fixed the (1) standard of our coin. This he very quickly effected. In the third year of his reign, as we are told out of an old (2) Leiger-book of the Abbey of St. Edmund's-Bury, the matter was thus ordered by Gregory Rockley, then Mayor of London, and Mint-Master: That, in a pound of money there should be eleven ounces two-pence farthing pure leaf-silver, and only seventeen pence halfpenny farthing allay; and this pound was to weigh twenty shillings and three pence in account, each ounce twenty pence, and every penny twenty-four grains and a half. But the size of his coin was not so presently altered, if ever it was so in his reign: For, at the making of the statute of (3) *Articuli super Chartas*, the penny is (4) supposed to have been the only current money of England. At the same time there were diverse kinds of foreign (5) and counterfeit money (as pollards, crocards, staldings, eagles, leonines, and steepings) cried down by proclamation; because, says the record, two pieces of them were only of the value of one sterling, their composition being an artificial mixture of silver, copper, and Sulphur. Others (6) observe that the French crocards, pollards, &c. were first forbidden in the seventh year of this king; and that his prohibition was not repeated in his twenty-eighth, but (instead of that) rosaries, steepings, and staldings, were only decried utterly, and crocards and pollards ordered to pass at half. After- Edward I.

(3) Tit. of Hon. p. 134. and J. Speed, in Hen. 2. § 79. (4) Tit. of Hon. p. 134. (5) Vid. M. Paris, ad ann. 1248. Annal. Waverl. ad ann. 1247. (1) Evelyn's Numism. p. 233. Lowndes, p. 94. (2) Camd. Remains, chap. of money. (3) 28 Ed. I. (4) Coke's Instit. par. 2 p. 575. (5) Id. ibid. p. 577. (6) Camden's Remains.

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wards, he is (7) reported, (but, I think, falsely) to have ordered the minting of groats; which were so called, because they were the greatest, or largest, money then used. So the Germans had already named their grosche; which, though Schottelius makes it a primitive, is a word of the like signification, and undoubtedly the parent of our groat. These were of the weight and value of four pennies. J. Speed pretends to give us a cut of one of them, inscribed *EDWARDUS. DI. GRA. ANGL.* on the reverse, in a larger circle, *DNS. HYBNE. DVX. AQVIT.* and, in a lesser, *CIVITAS. LONDON.* I fancy he is mistaken. None of those pieces of silver which we find on the borders of Scotland, (where this king parted with a great share of his treasure, and afterwards his life) carry this inscription; and therefore I sometimes thought that this was coined by his grandson, before he took upon him the title of France. I have now learned that the figure of the *N* (as will be observed hereafter) determines it rather to Edward the Fourth: But, the truth is, it is so very singular (and so different from any that I have, or have seen) that I know not well what to say to it. It is also reported, out of the (8) red-book in the exchequer, that this king's foreign mint-masters (from Marseilles and Florence) had thirty furnaces at London, eight at Canterbury, besides three which the archbishop had there, twelve at Bristol, twelve at York; and that they coined gold as silver: But, the main of that book having been written before this reign commenced, the authority of a quotation out of its additional fragments (of a later date) is not of any great weight.

Edw. II.

We cannot assuredly affirm that Edward the Second did ever coin any money; he and his favourites minding more the methods of exhausting, than encreasing, the treasure of the kingdom. Some pennies indeed there are which usually go by the name of this king: Bearing *EDW. R. ANGL. DMS. HYB.* (as in Speed) and, on the reverse, the names of several cities in England and Ireland; as *CIVITAS. LONDON. LINCOL. DUBLIN. WATERFORD,* &c. But, whether all or any of these be ascribed to him, I cannot tell; neither our histories nor laws affording us any light in this matter. My (9) best guide has observed that Edward the First set up four mints at Dublin, and coined a great deal of money in that kingdom; and that old Edward-pennies, that are Irish, have only the three first letters of the name. He likewise takes notice that most of the English have the like; and therefore (considering that this king coined far more money than his son) he thinks it reasonable to conclude, that all such pennies as have *EDW.* belong to the first of that name; whereas those with *EDWA.* (*EDWAR.* or *EDWARD.*) are the second's, and those with *EDWARDUS* (at length) were coined either by the third or fourth.

Ed-
ward III.

Edward the Third (the greatest prince of Europe, of his time, and the glory of our English throne) improved the regulation of coin, begun by his grandfather; providing (10) largely against the importation of false or black money, and counterfeit sterling. This, the preface to the law tells us, was then commonly practised by foreigners: And it was a mischief so difficult to redress, that another (11) statute awards an exigent against those that bring in such money in deceit of the people. In the thirteenth year of his reign he took upon him the title of France; and, after that, we have his groats very plentifully, bearing his head full-faced, crowned, and inscribed *Edward. D. Gra. Rex. Angl. & Franc. D. Hyb.* On the reverse, in a large circle, *Posui Deum Adjutorem Meum* (a motto continued by all his successors, down to the uniting of the kingdoms) and, in a lesser, *Civitas London.* Some have *Civitas Eboraci.* These are they which Bishop (12) Tunstal (too hastily) observed to be equivalent, in weight and fineness, to the old Roman Denarius; as his half groat was said to be to their Quinarius, and his penny to their Sestertius. And such numbers of them are still daily discovered, especially on the confines of the two kingdoms, as sufficiently shew the mistake of that observation that (13) his victories and designs, in France, and elsewhere, exhausted so much treasure, that little or none almost remained in the

(7) See J. Stow's Survey of Lond. chap. Tower and Chamberlain's Not. Angl. edit. 16. p. 11, 12. (8) Lowndes's Essay, p. 94, 95. (9) RR. D. archiep. Ebor. in Notis MSS. (10) Statute of York, 9 Ed. 3. (11) St. 18 Ed. 3. (12) In addit. ad Lib. de Arte Supputandi. (13) Reliq. Spelm. p. 207.

land. In his seventeenth year, by a (14) statute never printed, provision is made against the exportation of sterling money, and allowance given for the currency of such Flemish coins (*grosses ou autres*) as shall be of the like allay; and the year following, as if all the charter-mints in the kingdom were too few to answer the public occasions, it is (15) ordained that money shall be made wherever the king pleases. It may not perhaps be ungrateful to the reader to present him with the form of a writ upon one of his grants for the coinage of money, made before the enacting of that statute. It runs thus: (16) *Rex dilecto sibi Johanni de Flete custodi cambii nostri London. Salutem. Cum per cartam nostram concefferimus dilectis nobis in Christo---Abbati & monachis de Radyng, quod ipsi & successores in perpetuum habeant unum monetarium & unum cuneum apud dictum locum de Radyng ad monetam ibidem, viz. tam ad obolos & ferlingos, quam ad sterlingos, prout moris est, fabricandam & faciendam, prout in cartâ nostrâ prædictâ plenius continetur: Vobis mandamus quod tres cuneos de duro & competenti metallo, unum, viz. pro sterlingis, alium pro obolis, & tertium pro ferlingis, pro monetâ apud dictum locum de Radyng faciendâ, de impressione & circumscripturâ, quas dictus---Abbas vobis declarabit, sumptibus ipsius abbatis, fieri & fabricari faciatis indilatè, & eos ad scaccarium nostrum apud Westm. quamprimum poteritis mittatis, ita quod sint ibidem à die S. Martini prox. futuro in xv. dies, ad ultimum, præfato abbati ex causâ prædictâ liberand, T. J. de Shardiche apud Westm. xvii. die Nov. anno regni nostri xii^o.* Whence it should seem that either the abbots and other great men were only permitted to coin smaller pices, useful in common exchange, in like manner as our kings to this day are wont to give patents for the making of copper halfpence and farthings; whereas the sovereign still reserved the sole power of minting the larger money to himself, in his own immediate officers: Or else, that (in truth) there was not any greater piece coined here, until after the twelfth year of this king, than a penny. But to return. By another of his laws it is made high treason, (17) *Si home apport en cest roialme---la money appelle Lushburg*: Which is (18) explained to be meant of base money coined at Luxemburg, but resembling the true English sterling. In the same year, the (19) statute of purveyors takes notice of the golden coin of this kingdom; and provides, that it shall not be impaired in weight nor allay. It is most certain, that, even in the Saxon times, this metal was sometimes given in discharge of gross sums; as, not to mention other authorities, is sufficiently evident from that passage in the old book of Abingdon: (20) *Ulficus Spot, minister Ethelredi regis (A. D. 1004.) dedit dicto regi, pro conformatione donationis & constructionis abbatiæ de Burton, ccc. marcas auri, & unicuique episcopo v. marcas*: But we could never learn that this was paid any otherwise than by weight, and in bullion. The author of the Mirror des Justices, giving (1) an account of several constitutions made by some of our ancient kings, (before Edward the first) says, that they ordained, *Que nul roy de cest realm ne poet changer sa money, ne imparer, ne amender, ne auter money faire, que de ore ou de argent, sans l'assent de tous le counties*: Which words manifestly imply, that, in those days of yore, our fore-fathers had coined monies in gold as well as silver. But let the reader observe, that, in the English edition, it is said, that no king, &c. shall make any other money but of silver; and, indeed, the words *de ore ou* seem to be a marginal note of some novice in our history, and (though Sir Edward Coke (2) finds no fault in them) very unfairly crept into the text. Wherefore, for any thing that has yet appeared to the contrary, Edward the Third is justly reckoned the first of our monarchs that coined gold: And this he caused to be done in so beautiful a manner, that his rose noble has merited the esteem of a medal. Mr. Evelyn (3) has amply described this, and given a full account of the inscription (*Jesus autem transiens, &c.*) on the reverse. But (with submission) it is Edward the Fourth's that he gives, instead of Edward the Third's, whose pieces never stinted the French fleurs de lis to the precise number of three (for that was not done before Henry the Fifth's reign); nor had they a sun, but a cross only, on the reverse. About the same (4) time that these were first

(14) Coke's Instit. par. 3 cap. 31. p. 93. (15) St. 18. Ed. 3. cap. 6. (16) In regist. MS. Monast. de Reading, penes virum doctiss. nobisq. amiciss. T. Tanner. (17) Stat. 25 Ed. 3. cap. 3. (18) Coke's Instit. par. 2. p. 1. See also Chaucer's pref. to his Monk's Tale. (19) 25 Ed. 3. cap. 13. (20) Apud J. Seld. Jan. Angl. lib. 2 p. 91, 92. (1) Cap. 1. § 3. (2) Instit. par. 2. p. 76. (3) Numism. p. 85, 86. (4) Camden's Remains, ch. of Money. Stat. 18. Ed. 3. Mr. Lowndes's essay, p. 35. Evelyn's Numism. p. 4. Gloss. D. Du Fresne, in voce Florenus.

coined,

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coined, there were also coined pieces of six shillings of the same fine gold; which had the name of florences, from the Florentines, who (in the year 1252) had first minted such pieces: So that florenus was then a name which was generally used all Europe over, for the chief golden coin, as it is now for the best in silver. Our English florens did not differ much from some of the same king's rose nobles in weight, (there being fifty of the former, and forty-five of the latter, coined out of a pound of gold); and whether they differed at all in the impression and legend, I cannot tell: But I am sure the golden florene was also, at this time, as current and common beyond the seas as here, and indeed a foreign coin. Amongst other articles agreed on (in the year 1686) between Peter the First, king of Castile, and our valiant Prince Edward, it was provided, That the English army should be paid by the said king; and that, to this purpose, he should advance five hundred and fifty thousand florens. The words are, (5) *Cugni de florentia boni auri, & legitimi ponderis*: And we may as well affirm, that the French muttons (*multones* (6) *auri*) which were also current here at the same time, were of Edward the Third's own coining, as that King Peter's florens were so. The rose noble had the former part of its denomination from the rose incircling the king's arms, &c. and the latter, from the purity and excellence of its metal; and it was from this famous coin that every imaginary half-mark was afterwards called a noble, the most early use of the word in that sense being in the (7) French king's parole of ransom in the thirty-fourth year of this reign.

Rich-
ard II.

Richard the Second's rose nobles (if that in Speed may be called by that name; for it wants both the rose, and the constant legend of *Jesus autem, &c.*) gives his portraiture in a sedentary posture, with a sword in his right hand, and *Richard. d. gra. Anglie. Francie. rex. d. Aquit.* On the reverse, *Auxilium meum à Domino*. His crown here is fleuree, as on the coins of his predecessors, but has no rays betwixt the flowers. We ought, perhaps to read *Hyb.* instead of *Aquit.* Since it is hard to imagine why *Aquitaine* should be so much as mentioned after France: and *AGLIÆ* instead of *ANGLIÆ*, makes it probable, that this was rather coined by the third Richard (in whose reign that way of writing was grown fashionable) than by the second. In the rest of his coins (both of gold and silver) he exactly apes his grandfather: And it had been well if he had as exactly traced him in his other ways and methods of government. We have, in our (8) printed books, the title of one of his statute laws, wherein are given the values of all the then current coins of Scotland, as they were to pass in this realm; which, though omitted (as obsolete) by the men of law, ought nevertheless to be retrieved and preserved by our English historian. It may be had in Rastal's edition; and it provides, that the Scotch groat shall go for no more than twopence English; their half-groat for our penny; and their penny for our halfpenny, &c. Another (9) act of parliament in his reign forbids the melting down of groats, or half-groats, for common uses; and then, it seems, the Scotch money was found to be of so base a composition, that the farther currency of it in this kingdom was wholly prohibited.

Henry IV.

Henry the Fourth's laws concerning coinage respect only the silver money; requiring, That (10) all foreign money be sent out of the kingdom, or recoinced; That (11) a third of the bullion be coined in halfpence and farthings; and, That (12) galley halfpence be not payable, as formerly, in great deceit of the people. By the indenture of this third year, we find that he also contracted for the coinage of rose nobles in gold, of the same weight and fineness with those of Edward the Third; and his groats, half-groats, sterlings, and half-sterlings, (or mailles, as they were now called) were likewise of that king's standard. That which Speed gives for his half-groat, belongs rather to his son and successor; as we shall see anon.

Henry V.

Henry the Fifth was a prince of more than ordinary greatness of spirit; and it became such an one to assume, what was his undoubted right, and an (13) imperial crown. Yet neither he nor his son appear in that dress on their great seals; nor do this king's coins (as it is thought) carry so great a share of majesty. His gold coins were the rose noble, (14) half-noble, and farthing; and, it seems, they are so debased, that it was necessary to order that they should be (15) re-

(5) Tit. of Hon. p. 219. (6) Gloss. H. Spelm. and W. Kennet, in voc. multo. (7) Gloss. D. H. Spelm. in voce nobilis. (8) 14 Ric. 2. cap. 12. (9) Stat. 17 Ric. 2. cap. 1. (10) 4 Hen. 4. c. 6. (11) 4 Hen. 4. cap. 10. (12) 11 Hen. 4. cap. 5. & 13. cap. 6. (13) Tit. of Hon. par. 1. cap. 8. p. 134. (14) 9 Hen. 5. Stat. 3. cap. 7. Lowndes, p. 37. (15) 9 Hen. 5. stat. 2. cap. 11

coined

coined at the Tower, gratis. The description which (14) Mr. Evelyn gives of his Rose-Noble, must certainly belong to his son's Noble-Angel: but what he says of his Salus is true, and agreeable to what we have from (15) other hands. This Salus, as likewise his son's, had the angel saluting the blessed virgin, the one holding the arms of England, the other of France, with the king's title; and on the reverse, *Christus vincit. Christus regnat. Christus imperat.* Which we find, very little altered, upon some of the earliest pistoles of Lewis le Grand. The legend indeed belongs to France; and Du Fresne reckons the Salut amongst the proper coins of that country. His silver money was mostly, as the (16) statute directed, coined at Calais; though some of his pieces have *civitas London.* in the inner circle of the reverse. The abuses relating to the mints, are taken care of by such laws of his as make it (17) felony to make, coin, buy, bring in, or put in payment any Gally Half-Pence, Suskin or Dotkin; and treason (18) to clip, wash, or file the right sterling money. The reason for prohibiting those in the former of these constitutions, was, because they were (19) base, and not of the fineness of sterling: his right silver coins were groats, ninety in a pound Troy, half-groats, pence, half-pence or mails, and farthings. These are supposed to be (20) distinguished, chiefly from those of Henry the Fourth, by two little circles, or eylet-holes, which are pretty deeply impressed a little below the face, on each side of the neck; which are also answered by two more, amongst the Globuli on the reverse. There is also a difference in their weight; Henry the Fifth's groat weighing only two penny-weight, and sixteen grains; and they vary somewhat in the stops betwixt the words in the legend: otherwise they are exactly alike.

Henry the Sixth's large ryal, as we have it in Speed, gives him crowned with a crown imperial, seated on the throne, with a sceptre in the right hand, and globe in the left, inscribed *Henricus VI. Dei gra. Rex Angl. & Fran. Dns. Hib.* On the reverse the arms of France and England quarterly, and *Iesus autem transiens, &c.* In the first year of this reign, the rose nobles, half-nobles, and quarter-nobles, changed their name and value; being now called rials, half-rials, &c. and went at ten shillings, five shillings, and two and six-pence. Instead of the two former, were coined noble-angels, with Michael and the dragon, and angellets at six and eight-pence, and three and four-pence; there being 134 of the latter in a pound of fine gold. His salut was a French coin, and very much resembled the silver groat, which he likewise coined in that kingdom, saving that the groat wanted the angel and virgin over the shields, and instead of *Christus vincet &c.* had, *Sit nomen domini benedictum.* The mint was a while continued at Calais, where the (1) master was obliged to coin half-nobles and farthings of gold; with groats, half-groats, pence, half-pence, and farthings; that the "common people might have small gold, and white money, as they reasonably should need:" and yet, the very year before, it was (2) enacted, that the king's council might order the coining of money at York, and Bristol, or what other places they thought fit. Hereupon, several mints were accordingly erected in divers places, and particularly one at Dunwich, as some (3) pieces there coined, having *civitas Dunwic* on the reverse, do still testify. Care being thus taken to furnish every body with plenty of good money, it was made felony to (4) receive or pay Blanks; which were a sort of white money, coined by Henry the Fifth in France, after his victory at Agincourt; his style being then, *Rex Angliæ, Regens Hæres Franciæ.* Sir Edward Coke (5) says, these pieces were called Blanks or Whites, from their colour; because at the same time, that king coined also his salut of pure gold: but the Blanks, says he, were valued but at eight-pence; and, because of their baseness, were decried. By eight-pence, I suppose, he means two-thirds of this king's groat; which was his highest coin in silver, and for which they seem to have been first designed. But we are otherwise to understand Chancellor (6) Fortescue, who affirms, that, about the latter end of Henry the Sixth's reign, four French sols were valued at about eight-pence English. I know not upon what grounds Mr. Evelyn (7) asserts, that this king endeavoured to supply his extravagancies

(14) Numism. p. 86. (15) Coke's Instit. lib. 3. cap. 30. pag. 92. (16) 9 Hen. 5. Stat. 2. cap. 6. (17) 3 Hen. 5. cap. 1. (18) 3 Hen. 5. cap. 6. (19) Instit. par. 3. cap. 30. p. 92. (20) Ita RK. D. Archiep. Ebor. (1) 2 Hen. 6. cap. 6. & 12. (2) 1 Hen. 6. cap. 1. (3) Camd. Brit. in Suffolc. & J. Weever, Fun. Mon. p. 718, 720. (4) 2 Hen. 6. c. 9. (5) Instit. par. 3. cap. 30. p. 92. (6) De Laud. Leg. Angl. cap. 53. fol. 127. a. (7) Numism. p. 228.

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by the beggarly shift of alchymy, and other sophistications in his coin. It is agreed, that his money (7) first carried the arched or imperial crown; and it is observable, that they are generally said to be minted at London; whereas his father's and grandfather's are (as generally) owned, in the legends of their reverse, to be coined at Calais.

The first of Edward the Fourth's ordinances, that we meet with, relating to money, commands, that all (8) bullion of gold and silver, paid for merchandise at the staple, be coined at the mint of Calais; and the historian (9) pretends to inform us how that act was put in execution: "The king," he says, "caused a new coin to be made, whereby he gained much; for he made of an old noble a royal, which he commanded to go for ten shillings. Nevertheless, to the same royal was put eight-pence of alloy; and so it weighed the more by eight pence, being smitten with a new stamp. He likewise made half-angels of five shillings; and farthings of two and six-pence; angellets of six and eight-pence; and half-angellets of three and four-pence. He made silver money, of three-pence a groat; and so of other coins after that rate, to the great harm of the commons." This story, though very formally told, is not true: for Edward the Fourth was not the man that introduced this great alteration; since, as far as it appears by the (10) indentures, he only kept matters just as they were left by his predecessor. Nor was Calais the only mint in this king's reign; since it appears that he had groats coined, not only at London, but also, at York and Bristol. Some of these are in Mr. Thoresby's cabinet; and they have the initial letters E and B on the king's breast, as well as the names of those respective cities more at large on their reverses. The same author produces a record, whereby the unfortunate Lord Hastings is appointed master of the king's mints in England, Ireland and France; and he seems yet farther to have enhanced the value of all the pieces both of gold and silver. Out of a pound weight of gold he coined fifty nobles of eight shillings and four-pence; the gold being, as at this day, twenty-three carats, three grains and an half, fine: and of a pound of silver, as Henry the sixth had done before, he made an hundred and twelve groats and an half. So that now the groat weighed about six-pence of our present money; which is hardly half of what it did in the days of Edward the Third. This, well considered, may perhaps convince us that Edward the Fourth's groats are no such rarities as some have imagined: and it were indeed strange if they should be so, since we are sure this king coined a very great deal of money. We have plenty of two sorts of old Edward groats; which differ much in their weight, bulk, and inscription. Some, that are pretty large and thick, above three-penny weight, have the letter N. in the word Angl. Franc. and London, formed not much unlike to a Roman H; and these were undoubtedly coined by Edward the Third, who also styles himself, what the other omits, Dominus Hybernix. Others are less and thinner, of the fore-mentioned weight of a modern six-pence, and giving the letter N in this fashion R; and these are as certainly Edward the Fourth's, though Speed has unduly bestowed one of them upon Edward the Third. For a farther confirmation of this, there is one groat of the (11) lesser sort, of the same face and reverse with the rest, stamped at Waterford in Ireland; which, though it be a very fair one, wants eighteen grains of what even an Edward the Fourth's groat ought to weigh. Now it is impossible this should belong to Edward the Third, in whose time, as Sir (12) John Davis assures us, there was no mint in that city. Edward the Fourth, he says, had one there; as he had likewise another at Trim, a third at Galway, &c. And it was he, who, as the same learned judge observes, first raised the value of the Irish money a fourth part: so that whereas it was formerly equal in weight and value to the English, now an English three-pence went at four-pence, and nine-pence for a shilling, in Ireland. The custom was continued by his successors: inasmuch that we have nine-pences, as low as King James the First, that were coined for Irish shillings, and four-pence-half-pennies their half-shillings. That small coin which we have in Speed, cannot be above the value of one of his half-groats, if it do indeed at all belong to

(7) Tit of Hon. p. 135. (8) Stat. 3 Ed. 4. cap. 1. (9) Stow's Chron. p. 418, 419. (10) See an account of six of them in Mr. Lowndes's Essay, p. 40, 41. (11) Penes RR. D. Archiep. Ebor. (12) Reports, Case of mixed Money.

him;

him: for I very much doubt it, though the great (1) Selden looks upon the thing as certain and unquestionable. The crosses, instead of rays, betwixt every two of the flowers on its three crowns, will indeed sufficiently distinguish it from those of any of the three former Edwards; and so will the quartering of the French and English arms on the reverse. It is probable this is an Irish coin; and it is no great matter whether we bring it within the statute (2) of this reign, which prohibits all such to run in payments either in England or Wales: but, I think, it will not be hard to find it, though a great rarity at this day, among those groats which F. Moryson (3) tells us were common in the kingdom of Ireland about the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign: those were, 1. Broadfaced groats, minted for four-pence, but worth eight-pence. 2. Cross keel groats; stamped (markit) with the pope's triple crown. Dominus groats, coined by such of our kings as wrote themselves Domini Hiberniæ. 4. Rex groats; by Henry the Eighth, and Edward the Sixth, who only, before that time, had stiled themselves Reges Hiberniæ. 5. White groats; of so base an alloy, that an English shilling was worth nine of them.

PART
III.

Mr. Evelyn (4) tells us, that he had seen a compleat series of our ancient money down from the time of the Confessor; excepting only that of Richard the Third, which, he says, it has not been his hap to light upon. Surely he should also have excepted that of Edward the Fifth: unless we may say, that this unhappy prince survived his father too few weeks to be so much as reckoned amongst our English kings. In the Cottonian manuscript *Livre de monnoyes*, we have indeed both the groats and pennies *de Edouard cinquieme de ce nom, roy d'angleterre, seigneur d'Irlande, &c.* But by the very description, he gives of them, it is plain that author was mistaken. The groats must be those of Edward the Third; and the pennies appear to be the same with those already mentioned under Edward the Second.

There are some indentures, mentioned by Mr. Lowndes, that prove Richard the Third's contracting for the coinage of money, both in gold and silver, of the value and denomination with those of the first year of Henry the Sixth: and it is not improbable but Mr. Evelyn may have met with several of his groats, much lighter than those of Richard the Second, and inscribed with characters of the like shape with those of Henry the Sixth, and Edward the Fourth. One of these I am master of, which, with a moderate abatement, in proportion to its age, carries nearly two penny-weight and three grains, which was the exact standard of Richard the Third's groat; and there are several more of them in (5) other hands. In all these, as well as those of Edward the Fourth, the face-side wants the outer circle; the letters of the inscription, reaching to the very extremity of the coin, being generally imperfect: so that there was reason for the provision made by act of parliament, in the next reign, that the new money should have a "circle about the utmost parts, &c.

Richard
III.

Henry the Seventh's (6) current coins of gold, were his sovereign, half-sovereign, royal, half-royal, and quarter-royal, angel, and half-angel; and of silver, groats, half-groats, pennies, half-pence, and farthings. The portion of Margaret Queen of Scots was 30,000 angels nobles; *Unoquoque nobile valente viginti grossos, bonæ & legalis monetiæ Angliæ nunc cursum habentis in Angliæ.* Rymer, tom. xiii. p. 118. Those old pennies that bore divers spurs, or the mullet betwixt the bars of the cross, were to go only for half-pennies; and to avoid clipping for the future, the king, by advice of his council, caused new groats and two-pences to be coined with outer circles, and ordered that the whole scripture should be about every piece of gold. The standard for (7) silver continued the same as in some former reigns; and the counterfeiting of foreign money, current in this kingdom, was made (8) high treason. This last statute was fit to pass into a law in the reign of this wise and provident king, who is said to have left behind him no less than (9) five millions, and three hundred thousand pounds in ready money, and most of it in foreign coin. In the twentieth year of his reign there were some few (10) shillings coined; and those

Henry VII

(1) Tit of Hon. par. 1. cap. 8. p. 135. (2) 17 Ed. 4. cap. 1. (3) Itin. par. 1. lib. 3. cap. 6. (4) Bibl. Cott. Tiberius II. 1. (5) Penes RR. D. Archiep. Ebor. D. R. Thoresby, &c. (6) Stat. 19 Hen. 7. cap. 5. (7) 12 Hen. 7. cap. 5. (8) 4 Hen. 7. (9) Coke's Instit. par. 2. p. 576. (10) J. Stow's Survey of Lond. Ch. Tower, and Camd. Rem.

PART I. being only forty in a pound of silver, were fair and large pieces, a full third heavier than ours at this day. They are now choice rarities in our best furnished cabinets. Both his groats and two-pences bear his half-faced head crowned, and inscribed, Henricus VII. D. gra. Rex Angl. & Fran. and, on the reverse, his arms with *Posui Deum*, &c. He is likewise said to have (1) coined small pieces called Dandy-prats; but of what metal, value, or fashion, we are not informed.

Henry VIII.

The state of Henry the Eighth's money, was, like his mind and humour, very changeable and uncertain. In the beginning of his reign, his silver coins were as like his father's as was possible: the inscription (excepting the change of VII. into VIII.) the same; his image half-faced; the money good sterling, &c. And, some years after, good provision was made for the regulation of the mints; particular (2) care being taken, that all farthings, not heretofore distinguishable from half-pence, should have the portcuse on one side, and the rose with a cross on the other: nor are any other coins of silver there mentioned, as being then of known and common use, save only groats, half groats, pence, and half-pence. But, though the indentures that are left, are as silent in this matter as the act of parliament, we are sure there were some Testons coined, in his early and best days, of fine silver, and half-faced; whereof one (3) has *Civitas Eboraci* on the reverse, instead of the more ordinary *Posui Deum*, &c. And here, by the way, let it be observed, that even his lesser pieces, not minted at London, generally omit that inscription, and have only the name of the place, (as, *Civitas Cantor.* (4) *Turnaci*, &c.) where they were coined. His pence and half-pence give him seated in a throne, crowned, and holding a sceptre in his right hand; on the reverse, the arms of France and England quarterly. These, representing his majesty much after the same manner as Speed's golden coin had shewn us Henry the Sixth, tempted some to believe that they were also that king's money, and that, therefore, Henry the Seventh was not the first of our kings who set the arms on silver, but that conjecture is overthrown by some of them having Cardinal Wolsey's hat, and the initial letters of his name, T. W. on their reverse. In the twenty-second year of his reign, a commission was granted to this cardinal for the alteration of his coin; whereby great confusion (5) happened in the value of our money. Whether this grant was not designedly obtained by the cardinal's enemies, who sought his destruction, I shall not pretend to determine: but it is observable, that he died under an arrest, in November, that very year; and one of the (6) articles wherewith he stood charged, was, his placing the hat under the king's arms on the groats he coined at York. It is certain, that a good while before this, he had coined several groats both at York and Durham; as did likewise Archbishop Cranmer afterwards at Canterbury, Archbishop Lee at York, and Bishop Tunstall at Durham. And the practice was so far from being thought illegal, that when an act of parliament (7) prescribed to the royal mint in the Tower, special provision is made, that thereby no prejudice should accrue to the coiners of York, Durham and Canterbury. The archbishops of York always claimed it as their right, from time immemorial; and it has been accordingly allowed them, as appears by many repeated charters to that purpose. In the eighth year of Edward the First, there was a *Quo Warranto* brought against William Wickwain Archbishop of York, for coining of money there without the king's licence. To which he put in his answer, by his attorney, as follows; "That he and his predecessors had, from time immemorial, been seised *de duobus cuneis monetariis* at York." And, for greater evidence, he says, "That in the time of Henry the First, Odo Sheriff of Yorkshire hindered Gerrard then archbishop from holding pleas in his own court *de monetariis suis*, and passing judgment upon them." And that, upon Gerrard's complaint to the king, a writ was directed to the sheriff in these words, "*Volo & precipio, ut Gerardus archiepiscopus Ebor. in terris ecclesiarum suarum, & in omnibus terris archiepiscopatus Ebor. Placita sua in curia sua habeat de monetariis suis & de latronibus, & omnibus aliis, et omnes leges, & consuetudines suas de omnibus habeat, sicut et Thomas archiepiscopus melius habuit tempore patris vel fratris mei,*" &c. And he says farther, "That he and his pre-

(1) Camd. ibid. (2) Vid. Stat. 14 & 15 Hen. 8. cap. 12. (3) Penes RR. Archiep. Ebor. (4) Ibid. (5) Vaughan, of Coinage, p 112. (6) Instit. lib. 4. cap. 8. (7) Stat. 14 & 15 Hen. 8. cap. 12.

"deceffors

"decessors used to have a certain third mint [Cuneum] which the king now has in the city of York; and he prays that his right herein may be saved to him," &c. Which plea was allowed. Mr. Evelyn's (1) account of the alterations made by the cardinal, and other prelates, is a little darkly expressed. He seems to say, that their own faces were impressed upon the money they coined: which certainly is a mistake. In this they all agreed, that their metal was much coarser than had formerly been minted: but yet the grand debasement of all, was the king's own, after he had taken upon him the style of Rex Hiberniæ, and a little before his expensive and insignificant conquest of Bologne. This was the thirty-sixth year of his reign; when, having wasted the most immense treasure that ever any monarch of England was master of, he was at last reduced to such miserable straits, as to suffer Parson Brock to make him a (2) copper nose. It was now that his broad-faced shillings were coined, being large pieces of thrice the weight of such groats as were then made of the same metal. On these was the king's head, whence they had also the names of Testons, full-faced and crowned, with *Henricus 8. Dei Gra. Angl. Franc. & Hib. Rex*; and the reverse had a rose and crown between H. and R. crowned, with the common inscription, *Posui Deum Adjutorium*, (instead of the more usual *Adjutorem meum*.) Upon the first coining of these shillings, in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, his money had only a fifth part alloy; but, two years after, it was half copper; and, in his thirty-seventh year, it had only a third of silver (3). The scheme of his gold coins, as the indenture gives it, runs thus:

A^o 1 Hen. 8. a Pound of fine Gold made—

		£.	s.	d.
—	Sovereigns, 24,	at	01	02 06
—	Rials, 48,	- - -	00	11 03
—	Angels, 72	- - -	00	07 06
—	George-Nobles, 81,		00	06 08
—	Half-Angels, 144,		00	03 09
—	40 Penny Pieces, 162		00	03 04

A Pound of Crown-Gold made—

—	Crowns, 100 $\frac{1}{2}$,	at	00	05 00
—	Half-Crowns, 201,		00	02 06

These continued the Specie in that metal; though afterwards they were somewhat debased, and lowered in their value.

Edward the Sixth presently set himself to the remedying this unhappy (4) state of the coin; and that with an application wonderfully beyond what could have been expected from a prince of his tender years. Yet, such reformation as was necessary, was not to be wrought on a sudden; and therefore we may observe that the distemper was struggled with some years before it was perfectly subdued. There were two several sorts of Testons, no better than his father's in the intrinsic value of the metal, and much inferior in bulk, which were coined in his third and fifth years. Both these gave him half-faced, with his titles as on the purer money below: but they differed in the legends on the reverse; the one bearing *Timor Domini est fons vitæ*; MDXLVIII. and the other *Inimicos ejus induam confusione*. It was on the former of these that honest Bishop Latimer made his merry remark, that it was such a (5) "pretty little shilling," that he had like to have put it away for an old groat; and yet whatever were the silver, the inscribed sentence he reckons to be golden, and hopes it would be always "printed in the heart of the king," &c. In the latter end of his fifth year, both these and those of King Henry were cried down, first

(1) Numism. p. 12. (2) Camden's Remains. (3) Stow's Chron. p. 587. (4) See his Journal amongst Bishop Burnet's collection of records for the 2d vol. of his Hist. of the Reform. (5) Latimer's Sermons, fol. 30. a. and 44. b.

PART III. from twelve-pence to nine-pence, and, about a month after, to six-pence: and, at the same time, the following new coins were given in good ancient sterling standard.

Fine Gold,		Crown Gold,		Silver,	
	s.		s.		
Sovereign,	30	Sovereign,	20	Crown,	
Angel,	10	Half-Sovereign,	10	Half-Crown,	
Angelet,	5	Crown,	5	Shilling,	
		Half-Crown.		Six-pence.	

The four last differed mostly in size and weight; all of them having the king's titles thus, *Edwardus VI. D. G. Angliæ, Franc. & Hib. Rex.* and, on the reverse, the king's arms, with *Posui Deum*, &c. Only, the crown and half-crown gave him on horseback, subscribed 1551. whereas the shilling and six-pence (as in Speed) have no more than his head full-faced. &c. The finer sovereign had on its reverse, *Scutum fidei proteget eum*; and the coarser *Iesus autem transiens*, &c. At the same (1) time were coined small pieces of base and mixed metal; a penny with a double rose, half-penny with a single rose, and farthing with a portcuse; but the indenture makes these of the same fineness with the crown, &c.

Q. Mary. In the first year of Queen (2) Mary's reign, proclamation was made for the currency of these new coins; the sovereign (at 30 s.) and half-sovereign, angel (at 10 s.) and half-angel, in gold; and the groat, half-groat and penny, in silver. All base coins were ordered to go at the same rates that were set by King Edward. Of the gold coins I have only the last; whereon we have Michael and the dragon, with *Maria D. G. A. Fr. & Hib. Reg.* On the reverse, the queen's arms in a ship crested with a cross, a star; and the letter M. and inscribed *AD factum est istud.* Her sovereign, I suppose, is the same with what Mr. Evelyn (3) calls a ryal; which he says was scattered at her coronation; whereon was the queen, vested in her regalia, and enthroned, with *Maria D. G. Ang. Fra. & Hib. Regina.* MDLIII. About the arms on the reverse (placed in the center of a rose full blown) *AD factum est istud, & est mirabile in ocul. nris.* However, the engraver seems to have committed a mistake, in placing the sceptre in her left hand, and the globe or cross in her right. Her groat gives her head crowned and *Maria D. G. Ang. Fra. & Hib. Reg.* On the reverse, her arms with *Veritas temporis filia.* After her marriage the style was altered on her coin, as well as elsewhere. Speed gives us the draught of a very beautiful shilling, bearing the king and queen's heads, face to face, with a crown above, and the year of our Lord 1554. their titles *Philip. & Maria D. G. R. Ang. Fr. Neap. Pr. Hisp.* On the reverse the arms of Spain and England, in different shields, crowned and inscribed *Posuimus Deum Adjutorem nostrum.* Others were coined the year after, whereon the arms were quartered; and the style ran only *Philip & Maria D. G. Rex & Regina Angl.* The reason of which change was because Charles the Fifth had then resigned the kingdom of Spain to his son Philip; and therefore he was no longer *Princeps*, but *Rex Hispaniarum.* Their groats had only the queen's head crowned; but the legend named them both, as in the shilling last mentioned. Cambden (4) mentions their crown of gold, whereon was *Mundi salus unica*: But whether the pieces struck in remembrance of Wyat's (5) rebellion, were gold or silver, I know not.

Q. Elizabeth. The last year of Henry the Eighth brought greater corruptions in the money than could be removed in the two following reigns. Queen Mary, we see, went no farther in the redressing of this grievance, than her brother had gone before her; but Queen Elizabeth happily finished the work; insomuch that *Moneta ad suum valorem reducta* is very deservedly amongst the *Encomia* on her tomb at Westminster, and an (6) act of parliament very early witnessed for her, that by her great goodness new monies or coins were reduced to as much fineness as ever had been in any time of her noble progenitors. Her first business was to (7) mark all the base pieces with either a greyhound, portcuse, lion, harp, rose, or fleur de lis; and soon after followed her (8) crying down the finest testons from six-pence to four-pence half-penny, those of a second rate to

(1) Stow's Chron. p. 606. (2) Id. p. 616. (3) Numism. p. 91. (4) Remains, Chap. of Money, (5) See Mr. Evelyn's Numism. pag. 92. (6) St. 5 Eliz. cap. 11. (7) Camb. Remains. (8) Stow's Chron. p. 646.

two pence, and the rest to nothing. This was done in the latter end of her second year; but (so inconstant are the best directed human politicks) the very (9) next year following, the majority of her council affected and advised a fresh abasement of the coin. This was vehemently opposed by the wise and honest treasurer Burleigh, then secretary of state; who would never ~~give way~~ to any such resolution in his time. Hereupon, a proclamation (10) introduced the currency of new six-pences, groats, three-pences, two-pences, pence, penny half-pennies, and half-penny-farthings, all of pure silver; the first of these being of that beautiful coin which was continued for several years after, and whereof we have a fair draught in Speed's history. Afterwards we have (11) shillings and (and other larger pieces) of the same fineness; among which the portcluse-shilling is perhaps the most rare and remarkable. It bears the queen's arms crowned, as likewise the two initial letters of her name and title (*E. R.*) with Elizabeth *D. G. An. Ir. & Hib. Regina*: And, on the reverse, a crowned portcluse, inscribed *Posui Deum*, &c. Before the queen's titles we have here an annulet or O; whereas on others there is an A, and on some a dove, &c. The last of these has been thought to resemble a duck or drake; and the current tradition is, that these shillings were struck (medal-wise) in memory of the famous expedition of Sir Francis Drake, which was finished in her twenty-second year. In this flourishing condition was our English silver-money, during her long and prosperous reign; the inscriptions on every piece (from a crown, in her two last years, to three-pence) being the same. Some of her lesser coins had *Civitas London*, on the reverse; instead of the common *Posui Deum*, &c. on the larger. She caused indeed some Irish shillings, called harpers, from the arms of that kingdom stamped upon them, to be made of a baser kind than the English, so that they usually passed for nine-pence here: and towards the latter end of her reign, she paid her army there with yet much baser coin; having three (12) parts copper, and a fourth only silver. This our goldsmiths valued at no more than two-pence half-penny, though it was commanded by proclamation to pass at twelve-pence in that kingdom; designed for the speedy impoverishment and reduction of the rebels there. In the year 1600. (13) she contracted for the coining of angels, half-angels, pieces of an angel and half, and three angels, of the finest angel-gold; and, of a coarser crown-gold, pieces of twenty, ten, and five shillings. The former sort had *A Domino factum est istud*, & *est mirabile*, on their reverse; and the latter *scutum fidei protegit eam*. The indentures of that year, those, at least, that Mr. Lowndes met with, do not mention the pieces of angels and a half, nor three angels; but they reckon also, what my author omits, her quarter-angels at two shillings and six-pence. They speak likewise of crown-gold coined, the same year, into sovereigns of twenty shillings, half-sovereigns, crowns, and half-crowns. Others of them say, that, in her twenty-sixth year, she caused double nobles, the same, I suppose, with Edward the Sixth's finer sovereigns, and nobles, to be coined, of fine gold; whereof the former went at thirty shillings, and the latter at fifteen. The more ancient coins in gold, as well foreign as domestick, which went here in payments about the beginning and middle of her reign, are accounted for by (14) Sir Thomas Smith; who has left us a table for the ready distinguishing of them by their several weights: but, as now printed, it is far from being so exact as we could wish it. Before the union, there never was any brass or copper-money coined by any of the kings or queens of this nation; though most of the neighbouring princes and states had their half-pence and farthings, some time before the death of Queen Elizabeth, in one or both of those metals.

(9) Sir Rob. Cotton's Posthuma. pag. 179. (10) Stow, pag. 647. (11) Ann. 25, & 43. See the Indentures in Mr. Lowndes's Essay. (12) F. Moryson's Itin. Par. 1. lib. 3. cap. 6. (13) Id. Ibid, (14) Append. to his Life, by J. S. p. 137.

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T O T H E

A U T H O R S, B O O K S, &c.

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A
L E T T E R
TO THE
Reverend WHITE KENNET, D.D.
IN DEFENCE OF
THE ENGLISH HISTORICAL LIBRARY;
AGAINST
THE UNMANNERLY AND SLANDEROUS OBJECTIONS
OF
Mr. FRANCIS ATTERBURY, Preacher at the Rolls,
IN HIS
NEW THEORY OF THE RIGHTS, POWERS, AND
PRIVILEGES, OF AN ENGLISH CONVOCATION.
By W. NICOLSON, Archdeacon of Carlisle.

J. E. T. E. R.

W. H. K. N. E. T. D.

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L E T T E R

TO THE REVEREND

W H I T E K E N N E T, D. D. &c.

S I R,

YOU will be the only Person that will wonder at this unexpected address; since every other good member of our church must be truly sensible how far your late powerful defence of our establishment (against the pernicious tenets of some forward projectors) has merited a publick return of our thanks: and the kind concern you have been pleased to express for my particular share, in the common cause of our sufferings, obliges me to the most early acknowledgment. You have let the world know how unjust some of Mr. Atterbury's slanders are, and what dishonest care he has taken (in the second edition of his book) to palliate others; wherein even his own conscience had discovered the injuries he had done me. I have reason to believe that his former edition is in more hands than the latter, and therefore shall confine myself, in this Reply, to that; leaving his new insults to live or die, at the discretion of his readers.

The first Part of the English Historical Library met with an acceptance so far exceeding my hopes, that I hastily threw the rest of my notes together, in a full and confident assurance, that, whatever their fate might be amongst the wits and banterers of the age, the design would so far recommend itself to men of gravity and good learning, as to invite some of them to finish what I had so imperfectly begun: And therefore, to be accosted in such a blustering and surly manner, as I have been, by a Clergyman, a Preacher at the Rolls, and a Chaplain in Ordinary, was, I confess, very surprizing. I have often sensibly reflected on the unhappy coarseness of stile and behaviour, to which we Country Parsons, as they call us, are inevitably condemned: But, surely (thought I) the Divines at Court, all of them, to a man, are persons of a more polished and smooth demeanor. This, I now find, is a mistake; and it is indeed the greatest which Mr. Atterbury has discovered to me. I was also abundantly conscious (no man more!) of the many other inconvenient circumstances I laboured under; and, with as much modesty and humility as I am master of, begged the assistance of others, more fortunate and able than myself. Such helps, as I sought for, have been generously afforded me by several of the greatest eminence in our church and state; whose obliging encouragements have raised me above the impotent malice of any such pert and pedling retailer of another man's collections, as Mr. Atterbury has shewn himself to be. What he has handed out to the world, relating to me and my works, I shall examine in the same order he gives it; leaving the grosser blunders of his book to the due chastisement of those greater men, with whom he has done me the honour to bespatter me.

The first glance of favour that I have from him, is pretty early, towards the beginning of his preface; where he gives his reader a chronological account of the advances made towards the destruction of the established church, since the publishing of Dr. Wake's dangerous book. The Dissenting Ministers in London, as he proves from the authentick evidence of a notable letter,

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have had their General Meeting, and the Non-conformists in Dublin have opened their Synod with a sermon: Nay, and to complete our ruin, "A new definition of convocations has obtained; which, we are now told, are only Occasional Assemblies, &c." For a proof of this last (crowning) Mischief, he refers to my Historical Library. I have not been accustomed to herd with such companions as he there assigns me; yet, since he will have it so, let me reason the case a little with him, on the behalf of my new friends. He ought certainly to have registered the Dublin sermon in his appendix: For it must be a very sorry one, if it is not more edifying, and more to his purpose, than the Newbury letter. Nor has he dealt fairly with this Berkshire epistle, whereof he has printed a very faulty copy. I once saw a transcript of this famous record, in the hand of a very worthy Member of Parliament, in the County of Cumberland, to whom it was communicated by an eminent Divine of our Church, whose usual place of residence is in Berkshire, and not far from Newbury. His sending it thither was supposed to be with a design of having it considered in the approaching session, as a matter of terrible consequence; and therefore we may assure ourselves, all imaginable care was taken to have the wicked instrument most exactly copied. There the settled correspondence of the Dissenting Congregations was declared to be "For the advancement of the interest of religion, and Reformation of Manners;" the same good end, which some committees of ministers and gentlemen, in our own communion, have proposed to themselves: Whereas this printed letter sets up for *the Reformation of Ministers*; which looks like a plot of another fashion, and may end, the Lord knows where. So much in justice to my brethren of the separation: Let me now look to myself. If the reader happens to consult that part of my book to which he directs him, he will find that this *New Definition* is none of mine; but that it was drawn up by the late admirable Bishop Stillingfleet, to whose deep learning and exact judgment this Church stands eternally indebted. Hereby he will unluckily discover, that the definition is not so *New*, as Mr. A. (for some special purposes of his own) has represented it; and that a charge, given in 1696, could hardly be filched out of a book printed in 1697, and so much posted to the press, as (I am pretty well assured) that of Dr. Wake's was. But (besides this inconvenience) he will also presently consider, that the Bishop was one of that established reputation, that it was hazardous to attack him openly; at least, it was by no means adviseable to do it here in the beginning of his book, because the thwarting with so great a man, at the very entrance, might disgust his reader, and prejudice him against all that was to follow. For these weighty reasons, the whole load of his indignation (for the present) rests upon me; though, as soon as he shall, in four or five of his first chapters, let the world know what a mighty man he is at syllogism and dint of argument, his Lordship's friends shall find that his works will be considered as roughly (and with as little ceremony) as those of meaner men.

The next jerk he gives me, is (Pref. vii.) for relying too *implicitly* upon Spelman's Glossary, and on the credit of the posthumous part of that book, mistaking the third year of King James the First, for the seventh, in the momentous history of a dictionary. The error here is of no fatal consequence, that I know of; and I told the world, as he tells it after me, whence I had the account: But from hence to conclude that I *never saw any edition of Cowel's Interpreter*, is arguing according to his wonted exactness in logick. I might as well affirm that he never saw a Common Prayer Book, because (p. 275.) he cites the second Collect, in the service of the fifth of November, instead of the first. Such a trip as this I should willingly have over-looked and pardoned; but it is so parallel to that of mine, that he will forgive the taking this slight notice of it; especially since it may remind a man of his new and curious interpretation of the word *Clergy* in that prayer; which, he says, means the whole ecclesiastical state (both *upper* and *lower* house of convocation) then assembled in parliament. This is a notable remark indeed, and proves that the Conspirators villainously designed to blow up St. Paul's Church as well as St. Stephen's Chapel: A secret, not formerly discovered. He raises another special inference from the fore-mentioned mistaken date, which is, that I am *always an implicit transcriber*. I find, by his Errata, that the word *always* (when he speaks of my Lord of Sarum) signifies *often* and *sometimes*; and, for his own sake as well as mine, I would beg the benefit of that interpretation

pretation here; for otherwise the expression looks a little too hasty and round, to be consistent with that staunch gravity and veracity, which the world expects in a Church-Advocate and a Preacher. Now, admitting this signification of the word, I may as justly assert that Mr. Atterbury is *always* in an error; since it has been made very plain of late, that *sometimes*, and very often he is so. *Implicit* is his darling epithet. It is ever in readiness for any man that steps in his way; and I am content to take my share of it, where-ever he pleases to assign it me. I cannot so easily allow it upon some other occasions; as when he affirms that the Provincial (1) Synod of York is obliged *implicitly* to follow the determinations of that of Canterbury. The Author of *Antiquitates Britannicæ* (whom he acknowledges to have (2) *best understood our constitution*) tells us, That in the third year of King Henry the First's reign, the Clergy at York unanimously rejected Archbishop Anselm's Synodical Constitutions: And the issue is very remarkable; for hereupon (3) *statim sprete atque contemptæ fuerunt*. I could give some other instances, wherein it appears that we have not been *always implicit transcribers* of the copy set us by our brethren of Canterbury: But as I hope never to see any clashing betwixt the two Provinces for the future, so neither do I take any pleasure in recounting the disputes that have happened heretofore.

After these light skirmishes, out comes his declaration of war; which, to keep me in my calling, and to preserve it for a precedent to future generations, I shall here *implicitly transcribe*. "There is a third gentleman (Mr. Nicolson by name, says the margin) who in a late book of his has taken upon him to be a kind of Umpire in this controversy. By what secret motive he was invited to undertake this office, he best knows; sure I am it was not out of any peculiar skill or ability he had to discharge it. Since he has gone out of his way, to mix in a dispute that did not belong to him, he must excuse me, if I have not gone out of mine, to avoid seeing his mistakes; which I have taken notice of no otherwise, than as the course of my reflections, and the particular matter I was upon, led me to observe them: And even at this rate, the crop of errors was plentiful." This were a most terrible and astonishing charge, were there as much real truth in it, as there is seeming bravery: But, to my great comfort, it wholly wants that most formidable ingredient; for, first, I did not *take upon me to be an Umpire in the Controversy* having only given my reader the decision of it in the words of a most religious, learned, and venerable Father in God; (4) who (besides his other excellencies so well known) was a skilful Canonist, an able Civilian, and particularly knowing in the constitution of our Church. All that I ventured to advance of my own thoughts, was, That the "Controversy had been managed with somewhat of an unbecoming bitterness and zeal." And I wish that the Preacher had given me any reason to hope, that what followed would be in a better temper. Secondly, I was not under the influence of any such *secret motives* as he here uncharitably suggests. I thankfully adore the Divine Providence for giving me my lot in my native country; where, for twenty years past, I have lived in a (5) reputation, out of which he can never write me; and have contented myself with preferments of an humble and modest value, into which he will never desire to write himself. But, thirdly, Supposing I had been that bold Undertaker he speaks of, he can never be sure that I want either skill or ability to discharge the office, since I am much surer, that he is no such competent judge of my parts, temper and principles, as he pretends to be. No, No. The man that quotes Gervase of Dover in words at length, that thinks an Hired Clerk (though it signifies neither more nor less than a Court Chaplain) an odd expression in the Saxon Chronicle, &c. may brush up his eye-brows as high as he pleases; but he is not (at all) that sure man that he takes himself to be, in matters of English history and antiquities. And, fourthly, How is it (can you imagine, Sir) that I have *gone out of my way* in what I have written on this subject? Ought I not to have mentioned the Convocation amongst our other Ecclesiastical Courts? Are there no memoirs here that may be of any use to an English historian? If there be any such, (as, it is hoped, his immortal book will be an everlasting testi-

(1) Rights, &c. p. 46. 339. (2) Ibid. p. 342. (3) Antiquitat. Brit. Edit. Hanov. p. 119. (4) See the Narrative of the Proceedings in the late Lower House of Convoc. p. 39. (5) See Mr. A's Pref. towards the end.

mony that there are) I cannot see how I came to be beside my road, when I treated of the nature and constitution of this court. And, lastly, is he likewise *sure*, that he will keep *his* road better than I have done *mine*? will he never "take notice of my (supposed) mistakes any otherwise than as the course of his reflections, and the particular matter he is upon, leads him to observe them?" before he and I part, I shall convince him of the slackness of his memory in this point; and, in order to it, shall here briefly assure you, Sir, that after all the pains he has taken, both *in* his way and *out* of it, which truly I know not well how to distinguish, he has reaped no such *plentiful crop of errors* in my books, as he vainly imagines. For example:

Page 18. He leeringly produces a passage, wherein I maintain, that the convocations were heretofore "frequently inhibited, even in the very writs of summons, from decreeing any thing to the prejudice of the king or his realms." These indeed are my very words, and I do refer my reader, for a proof of them, to Dugdale's Summons in the reigns of Edward the First and his son; "where," says Mr. A. "there is not a word to this purpose, nor can there be; for Dugdale has no writs for convocations, but only for the parliament." To this I can as boldly reply, Sir William Dugdale, in his book of Summons, has a great many writs for convocations; and in several of these, within the reigns mentioned, there are such inhibitions as I speak of. To try this issue fairly, I must desire Mr. Atterbury to remember, that, from my great authority, I have told him that there are "some convocations that are called by the king's writ to the bishops as members of parliament;" which he is so far from reckoning a mistake, that he chiefly proves the right of all his own convocations to a stated time of sitting, from these very writs. Nay, he is so much in love with the clause of *præmunientes*, that he produces the opinions of council, to avouch that this alone is warrant enough for the members of our present convocations, to meet and assemble themselves at the opening of every new parliament; so that he must necessarily agree with me, that, though Dugdale has no provincial writs, yet he has given us good store of the other kind, which, upon his own principles, are as properly writs for the convocation as for the parliament. I must take a little more pains to clear his understanding in the other particular; because the inhibitions that are couched in many of these writs, are not so easily discoverable by a writer in so much heat and hurry as he seems to be. He must know then, that Edward the First was forced from his wars in France, by the treachery of Archbishop (1) Winchelsey; who, under the pretence of redressing grievances, and easing the country of their heavy taxes, had animated the populace against their sovereign: and some of our historians say, that at the same time this king took the advantage of something like a *præmunire*, into which the clergy had fallen by a too close adherence to the measures prescribed them by that archbishop. Take the account in the words of my author: (2) *Rex Edwardus fecit saisiri omnia temporalia clericorum, eximens eos a protectione sua, quod anno præcedenti nolent eum respicere de bonis suis contra Scotos; nam Robertus archiepiscopus de consensu cleri procuraverat a papa inhibitionem, ne quis clericorum regem respiceret de bonis suis, unde & plures prælatorum timore coacti protectionem regiam quaesiverunt.* The king, having the churchmen thus in the like condition, wherein they were afterwards caught by Henry the Eighth, thought it convenient to take this opportunity, as King Henry likewise did, of hampering them in their debates, and confining them to such matters as he thought proper to lay before them: whereupon, the year following, their writs of summons were altered; for whereas they formerly ran in general terms [*Super diversis & arduis negotiis vobiscum colloquium & tractum habere volumus*] the style was now a great deal more strict and limiting, (3) *propter quædam Specilia & ardua negotia—Vobiscum Speciale* (or sometimes *Specialiter*) *colloquium habere volumus.* Now, this gentleman's learned acquaintance in the inns of court will tell him, that the word *specially*, in our law proceedings, signifies all one as *particularly*, or, if he pleases, *individually*; and therefore the prince who calls upon his great council on some *special* occasion, or to advise with them *specially*, fore-closes their straying into debates of a foreign nature: and this, with his gracious allowance, I would make bold to call an *inhibition*; which is much more frequently to be found in the *belly of a convocation writ*, as

(1) Antiq. Brit. p. 204. (2) Th. Wikes, ad An. 1298. (3) Dugd. Summ. 27 Ed. 1. p. 24. 28 Ed. 1. p. 26. &c. and 1 Ed. 2 p. 57. 2 Ed. 2. p. 56.

he prettily words it, than he imagined. I confess the word *especially* occurs in the writs directed to the temporal lords of those times, as well as in these that summon the clergy: and I have great authorities for it, that this proves that *they* were likewise limited in their debates. I could here fill my margin with quotations: but I shall content myself with a single writer, who, for several reasons, ought to be had in great veneration by this *Preacher*. It is Dr. Peter Heylin, (1) of happy memory, who allows that the expression in the parliamentary writs [*ad tractand. super quibusdam arduis regni negotiis*] limits and restrains their debates to such particular cases as the king thinks fit to consult them upon. Thus, Sir, have I once more acquainted him whence I drew this *curious remark*, as he sportingly calls it: nor can I think there will be any occasion to alter one word in this passage, upon a second edition of my book, which his little splenetick reflections will never be able to prevent.

Page 31. He tells you, that I do "not seem to have considered that the mixed meetings held by the Saxon kings were stiled Synodi and Concilia," because, in my notes on Camden's Northumberland, I assert "the meeting at Twiford, in which St. Cuthbert was chosen bishop, to have been no Synod, but a Parliament." It is much I should *not consider* this, when I there particularly refer the reader to King Ælfred's translation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, wherein that meeting has no other name given it than *Sinob*. But though this was a proper name for it in the days of Bede, and his royal paraphrast, I think the word *parliament* suits better with the language of Mr. Camden's time and mine; and therefore I humbly offer it, as an amendment of my author's text, to put in a word of modern use, instead of one now obsolete, as to the true meaning and import there intended. I have many things to add to the short account which I give of this matter in my notes on the Britannia: I shall now only need to observe, that the original manuscript of the Legend of St. Cuthbert, an exact copy whereof I have, by the favour of the worthy and famous Mr. Evelyn, acquaints us that King Egfrid was at that time *attended both with the lords temporal and spiritual*: which, I presume, will go a great way towards the making it a *parliamentary* meeting. After all, let Sir Henry Spelman himself be my advocate in this cause: (2) *Licet enim, says he, Sínod & concilium sonat, & conventum tam seclarium quam ecclesiasticorum, & ipsarum etiam aliquando seminarum; obtinuit tamen usus vulgaris, cum apud recentiores, tum apud veteres, ut de ecclesiasticarum cemitiiis plerumque censeretur*

Page 148, 149. He observes that I follow Dr. Wake in the story of Henry the Eighth's correcting the articles. By *following* here he does not mean, as some of his readers may rashly suppose, that I take this upon the doctor's authority; but only that *my book* was penned, or published after *his*: which, for several reasons that might be alledged, is most demonstrably true. That his words are thus, and no otherwise to be expounded, is very plain; for the doctor, it seems, had his tale from my lord of Salisbury, and I have mine, as the crick himself confesses, from my Lord Herbert. Mr. Atterbury has transcribed my Lord Herbert's words, as I have done; and I cannot, for my life, see but that I have done it fairly, and that the authority in this case cited is to be depended on. He is indeed wonderfully well disposed towards the writing *animadversions* on my books, but his power is never answerable to his good will.

Page 179. How the word *defence* came to be printed in my book, instead of *doctrine*, I cannot tell: but I am very sure that the title of the book here mentioned stands right in my first collections, *A necessary doctrine*, &c. and I am very confident it was likewise so in that transcript of my papers which I sent to the bookseller. By his own accurate work it appears, that as great slips as this may escape, where authors are much nearer the press than I was. But the main of my crime is, that I have asserted that the king *drew up the articles* in this book, without *intimating my dislike of it*, or letting the world know that what he did in this matter, was at the previous permission of the clergy, by whom it was afterwards confirmed in convocation. The first branch of this charge is *false*; the second, *scandalous* and *saucy*; and the third *nonsense*. I say not a word of the king's *drawing up* these articles; observing only that he wrote *animadversions* upon them, which the Preacher calls *making some marginal amendments*; and if he is better

(1) Advertisements on Sanderfon's life of King James the First, p. 24. (2) Council. Tom. 1. p. 529.

pleased with that mode of expressing himself, he is welcome to let mine alone. What had I to do to *intimate any dislike* of the King's thus meddling in affairs of an ecclesiastical nature? If indeed I had *disliked* it, which I could see no cause for, it had been an impudent digression to have published such a sentiment. Yea, but (like an *unaccurate Historical Librarian*, as I am) I take no manner of notice of the King's doing all this *at the previous permission of the Clergy*. No indeed, Sir, I do not; nor can I yet imagine why I should: For (besides that the being thus minutely circumstantial is more the business of an *Historian* than an *Historical Librarian*) I cannot well apprehend how the Clergy's *humble submission of the book* (to speak in its own language) *to his Majesty's most excellent wisdom and exact judgment, to be recognized, overseen and corrected, &c.* is consistent with their authoritative *permission* of him to make his alterations.

Page 214. He resumes the debate about the *new definition* of a Convocation, and peevishly remarks, that I am only a *little* author that has copied this out of a *great one*. I very heartily acknowledge myself to be extremely *little*, and even of no consideration, when compared with so truly *great* a man as the late learned Bishop Stillingfleet: But the *greater* he was, and the *less* I am, the weightier must the reasons be that induce me tacitly to submit to his judgment and determination of the controversy now before us. I also thought it most agreeable to the nature of the best and purest General Councils, which (as is observed by (1) Richerius) dispatched their debates most readily and peaceably, whilst they continued under the direction of the civil powers. But our Animadverter is of a less pliable temper; and therefore, *let the definition come from what hand it will, he must be bold to say that it is unskilfully drawn*. To the no small satisfaction of his adversaries, his *skill* is not proportionable to his *boldness*: For though he has courage enough to say any thing that comes in his head, he commonly wants the art of *proving* what he confidently and bravely asserts. Well; but what is that exact and logical definition which he will oblige us with, in lieu of this clumsy one of the Bishop's? Why, it is this: *A Convocation is a stated Provincial Synod, attendant on a Parliament*; and by the commentaries he gives on it in the other parts of his book, that venerable assembly appears (all over) in such a disguise as I should never have known it in. I shall not here nicely examine how *skilfully* or *unskilfully* this *newest definition* is drawn; but, leaving that point to be canvassed by his *principal* antagonist, shall only freely declare that I am still for abiding by my Lord of Worcester's, which I take to be both *older* and *better*. I am sensible this is a sure way to continue under the Preacher's displeasure, he having (*ex mero motu*) let mankind know that he *cannot, for his heart, like* such as are of that persuasion: *For he remembers well that those were thought thoroughly honest by neither side, who were for Occasional Communion*. What a strenuous and invincible *For* have we here? What (in the name of goodness!) have the *Occasional Communions* of Dissenters to do with the *Occasional Meetings* of the established Clergy? Must every *occasional* man and thing be reprobated? I may possibly as little approve of those *Occasional Communions* as himself; and yet I cannot, for *my heart*, dislike *occasional* eating and drinking, when I am hungry and thirsty, without waiting for the *stated* times of dinner and supper.

Page 274. He abuses Sir Henry Spelman, his reader, and me, in putting the words [*coram Episcopo & in Synodali Conventu*] together; as if the *Synodalis Conventus* (in the cited part of the Glossary) were only to be understood of the county court, or some such other little mixed assembly, where the Bishops sometimes sat: Whereas Sir Henry, having first mentioned the ratifying of grants *coram Domino Manerii, coram Domino Hundredi, and coram Vice-Comite*, presently adds—*Solebant praterea, in conferendis prædiis Ecclesiæ, chartam sæpius ad Altare, &c. sæpius utique in Conventu Synodali ratam facere*; which must necessarily be understood of so many several courts, wherein these matters were transacted, and after the two jurisdictions were completely separated: For the learned author manifestly distinguishes what was done *coram Synodali Conventu*, from what was acted *coram Rege & Paribus Regni, &c.*

Page 291, 292, &c. For four pages together, he is in great fury with me for carrying the jurisdiction of English Archdeacons no higher than the Conquest; which is a fault, whereof

(1) Hist. Concil. Gen. Lib. 1. Cap. Sect. 17.

(after all the correction that he has given me) I do not yet find any occasion to repent. I cite a good authority, asserting that it is no elder; and he saucily observes that the learned Bishop (to whom I appeal) published this *in favour to his one order*, adding also (very constantly, and like himself) that it was a *slip of his memory*. But—Are his Saxon testimonies, in this case, preferable to that of my *partial* and *crazed* Bishop? I trows not. There is not a word of these Ecclesiastical Judges, or their Courts, in all Lambard's laws; nor even in those of Edward the Confessor, confirmed by the Conqueror. Nor is it possible there should be; for we know very well, that, throughout the Saxon times, the Bishops (1) sat personally in the Court, with the Sheriff and other great men of their Dioceses; they (2) visited yearly in their own persons, and never (as far as I could yet learn) acted by any sort of deputies or officials. Mr. Atterbury indeed produces a few insignificant and counterfeit records, some of which seem to come up to his point; and, to multiply his witnesses into a fairer appearance of strength in their numbers, he refers his reader to the *Decem Scriptores*, and Spelman's Councils, for one and the same testimony. Spelman says, he met with several copies of that instrument, for which (as if it were some new matter) the learned Preacher will needs send us to the *evidences of Canterbury*, or *Dover*; and he gives us one of them, wherein the pretended Archdeacon (Wilfrid) is modestly placed in the rear of the subscribing Bishops; whereas, in the imperinent evidences of this great *patron of our synodal church*, he takes his place in the very middle (3) of the prelates; a freedom which some late writers would persuade us to believe, that even the Archdeacons of our own age have a title to. This venerable decree is said to be enacted at Beaconceld, in the year 798, but we meet with it (4) afterwards in a finer form at Cloveshoe; where the ingenious Monk, who new modelled it, has set the Archbishop and his suffragans in their proper order; assigning each of them a train of Abbats and Priests, who are supposed (forsooth) to attend them to the synod from their respective dioceses. In the close of some of these lists we have here and there an humble Deacon; but because it was fit that the Metropolitans should outshine the rest, the courtly compiler of his famous *evidence* has kindly dubbed his an Archdeacon; and it was in his power to have likewise surrounded him with Arch-Abbats and Arch-Priests. Sir Henry Spelman was wiser than to draw any such conclusions as Mr. Atterbury has done, from any canons in either of these councils; and he would (especially) have been ashamed to have produced these ill-contrived decrees (wherein we have the subscriptions of so many Bishops, who, we are sure, were not contemporaries) as authentic evidence. The credit of the Northymbrian Presbyters runs as low. The learned (5) publisher of their laws confesses, they are of a stricter kind than were in force any where else in England, at that time; and that he cannot tell who compiled them. He thinks it indeed not altogether unlikely that they might be drawn up by Abp. Oswald, *qui, pro severitate*, says he, *qua in Romanis efferbuit canonibus observandis, istas noviter censeatur induxisse*: And as to any other constitutions of St. Dunstan and St. Oswald, that are or can be alledged in this case, I shall only observe that they were too zealous (6) attempters of bringing in the Roman discipline into the English church; and that therefore they (or their worshipers, the Monks) framed their canons in such a manner as they desired to have them obeyed, and not as they were (in truth) submitted to. It was great goodness in the Preacher, not to produce Abp. Egbert's collections (which he calls (7) *English Constitutions, made in the middle of the eighth century*) to prove the yet (8) greater antiquity of our archidiaconal jurisdiction. Did he know (it is verily believed he did not) that some of these were of a (9) later date than is pretended? And does he not know that the Northymbrian canons are likewise younger than they seem to be, and borrowed from abroad, being only dressed up (*à la mode d' Anglois*) with Saxon penalties and mulcts? If he does not, let him have a little patience, till I am at leisure to give him the remainder of my insipid notes on Northumberland; and I dare engage he will be prevailed on to believe that both of them are of an equal authority. I am still of opinion (with humble submission, Sir, to your-

(1) Vid. LL. Hen. 1. cap. 7. (2) Constit. Odoni Archiep. apud Spelm. Concil. Tom. 1. p. 416. (3) Conf. Spelm. Tom. 1. p. 318. cum Evident. Cant. Col. 2212. (4) Spelm. Tom. 1. p. 325. (5) Ibid p. 502. (6) Vid. Spelm. Concil. Tom. 1. p. 502. C. H. Whart. Not. in Osbern. A. S. Vol. 2. p. 111. (7) Rights, &c. p. 5. (8) Vid. Excerpt. Egbert. 105. (9) See Burnet's Hist. of Rights of Princes, &c. p. 140.

self and other better judges than I am) that no Archdeacon ever exercised any jurisdiction in England, till some time after the Conquest; that is, till the canon law was established here. That and the feudal law are about the same age with us; and as this made great changes in the civil government, so did the other in the ecclesiastical. The first institution possibly of an Archdeacon, in the diocese of Canterbury, is recorded in an old instrument of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, where we are told of Archbishop Lanfranc's refusal to consecrate a new Bishop of St Martin's (in the suburbs of Canterbury) (1) *aicens quod in una Civitate duo Episcopi minime esse deberent, &c. Novus enim homo, & necdum Consuetudinem Patriæ vel Dignitatem Dorobornensis Ecclesiæ edoctus, antiquum antecessorum suorum morem in hac parte sequi supersedit; ipsum igitur non subrogavit, sed loco Episcopi quendam Clericum suum Archidiaconum ordinavit, quod se fecisse ante mortem suam vehementer indoluit. Archidiaconus ergo constitutus curam super Clericos Archiepiscopi intendebat, &c.* Thomas, the first Norman Archbishop of York, was the man who divided that diocese into (2) archdeaconries; and Durandus, in his time, is the first Archdeacon of York that I ever heard of. There may be forty old copies of the Conqueror's order against the Bishops mixing jurisdiction with the Sheriffs, which I have not seen, since in all ages, from that time to this, it has been a pretty common practice to transcribe those who had transcribed others: But neither will this so effectually prove his point, as our confident patcher-up of evidence imagines. If it be true that King William, in the eighteenth year of his reign, decreed that *no Archdeacon should hereafter hold any pleas in the Hundred Court*, it does not thence follow that the Archdeacons exercised jurisdiction in those courts before the Conqueror came in; because, in less time than eighteen years, many grievances have been known to have had both their rise and redress. By all that he has said of this matter, I have not one spark of light more than I had before; for, so effectually do the laws of (3) Henry the First contradict all that is pretended to be enacted by his father in this particular, that he must be a very young antiquary (and as young a logician) who believes, that any certain conclusion can be drawn from such perplexed principles. To his railing accusation in this place (that I have *liberally given up the general rights of the church, as well as the particular advantages of my own office and authority*) I do not think it becomes me to make any other reply than that Mr. Atterbury does not know me. I have had the honour to serve in Convocation, even since the second edition of his Reforming Book, in a triple capacity; having had (besides the powers which the Archdeaconry gives me) one proxy from the Bishop of the Diocese, and another from the Chapter: And I am well assured that his Lordship and my reverend brethren would have been the last men living who would have thus entrusted me, had they entertained any such hard thoughts of me as this gentleman is inclined to do. My constant adherence to the doctrine, discipline and friends of the established Church, has actually brought upon me those (4) *menaces* and oppressions of great men which Mr. Atterbury has only seen in a dream, and whose very shadows have made him tremble.

Page 313. He is unaccountably in wrath with me, for endeavouring to support his own opinion, about the antiquity of the Commons in Parliament; because I do not do it with that convincing and irresistible force of argument which he has done. In the first place, I meanly fetch a proof out of a *dictionary*; and so, I find, a friend of his (about four or five years ago) proved the (5) rights of a Convocation out of Blount and Minshew; so that I might hope to outlive this crime, if there were no heavier in the charge: But, to my sorrow and shame, the whole story is an impertinence, and is nothing in the world to the purpose for which I produce it: 'Tis *frivolous, and not worth the mentioning*. To state this question as he would have it, he omits the Saxon words, [*thurg thæt Loandes Folk*] as I had given them out of the original, and takes only Mr. Somner's translation [*Electi a Gentis Plebe*] to descant upon. He has not, he says, any skill in the Saxon tongue; and yet he must *beg leave to say, that either the original is faulty, or the translation not proper*. It is an extraordinary piece of courage (let me tell him) to say that Mr. Somner has not translated the Saxon words, in the original records, as he ought to have done;

(1) *Monast. Angl. Tom. 1. p. 26.* (2) *Vid. Tho. Stubbes, Act. Pontif. Ebor. Coll. 1707, 1708.* (3) *Cap. 7. De Generalibus placitis, &c.* (4) See the Pref. to his second edit. (5) *Letter to a Convocation Man, p. 39.*

and it is especially so in one who professes himself to have *no skill in the tongue*. But—We are to know he *does this upon very good grounds, because it differs from the translation which the parliament itself made of this record*; for there the words are *par la Commune de nostre Reaume*; and *la Commune* (he is as sure as may be) means the *Baronage of England*. I may possibly have as little skill in the French tongue, as he has in the Saxon; and yet I must also *beg leave to say*, that his translation seems to me much more strained and improper than Mr. Somner's. I have, in my time, spelled over a great many transcripts of French records, and some originals; and in all of them, *la Commune* seems to signify the *Commons*, in the modern sense of the word. I shall give an instance or two, which (on more accounts than one) are richly worth Mr. Atterbury's consideration. In the old year-books (1), *fuit dit que le Roy fist les leis per assent des Peres, & de la Commune, & non pas les Peres, & la Commune*. In the ancient form of swearing the Kings of this realm, this question (amongst others) is recorded: *Sire, grantes vous a tener & garder les Leis & Customes Naturelles, les quels la Commune de vostre Royaume aur' esue, & les defenderer & efforcier a l' Honeur de Dieu & vostre poiare*; which was long since thus translated into Latin: (2) *Concedis justas leges & consuetudines esse tenendas, & promittis per te esse protegendas, & ad honorem Dei corroborandas, quas Vulgus elegerit*. I dare say, this translator meant the same thing by his *Vulgus*, which Mr. Somner did by his *Gentis plebs*; and both of them would have construed the word *La Commune* (in the French copy of the charter now before us) just as the latter has done *that Loandes-folk*. I have another reason which prevails with me to believe that this charter was not made (as he would have it) in favour only of the *council of twenty-four*, indifferently chosen by the King and (this gentleman's *La Commune*) the Peers of the Realm; which is this: I see the Bishop of Worcester, the Earls of Leicester, Gloucester, Warwick, &c. (who were (3) all members of that council) are named as (4) witnesses to it; and, in my poor judgment, it looks a little incongruous, that a grant should be attested by those very persons to whom it is made. For these reasons I am yet of opinion, that this same Saxon record is faultless, both in the original and translation; that it was given and granted to the use and behoof of those members of parliament, who were chosen by the *Commons of England*; and that it as undeniably proves them to be of a more ancient standing than the 49th of Henry the Third, as any argument which Mr. Atterbury has brought on the same side.

Page 412, 413. He calls Dr. Wake to an account, for rejecting the authority whereon the writer of the *Letter to a Convocation-man* founded his doctrine, That a Convocation was called *Church-gemot*: And, in the end of that learned digression, he is pleased to take notice, that the doctor's assertion (that one *will be hard put to it to bring any author, elder than Sir Edward Coke*, for this opinion) *looks like one of mine*. I do not think myself able (whatever hard thoughts he may have of my *assuming* disposition) to *impart* any thing to Dr. Wake on this subject, which may be new to him: But I must freely own that this great master of *modesty* and *good manners* has, for once, fortunately enough guessed at my sentiments. I should never have boggled at the doctor's reckoning Sir Edward Coke an *elder author* than Sir Henry Spelman, because I am pretty sure he is so: Nor can I imagine, that, even in the fourth part of his *Institutes*, he made any of his collections out of Sir Henry's Glossary; since in 1626, when the first part of the Glossary was printed, Sir Edward was wholly taken up with the fitting out some of his other books to the press. He did not live to do the like for this: And, had he taken his remark from the Glossary, and not from Henry the First's MS. laws themselves, he would honestly have owned it. However, it seems, both these learned knights had seen a copy, or copies, of those laws which favoured that opinion of theirs; and, with all due respect and deference to their great judgment, Dr. Wake and I may venture to say, that the reading was not genuine: For since their deaths, Sir Roger Twisden (and not Mr. Wheloc, as our spruce adversary is pleased to affirm) has published King Henry's laws, from the most authentic manuscript in the Exchequer, compared with another in his own hand, and a third borrowed from Mr. Selden. In all these three the word is

(1) 22 Ed. 3. (2) Vid. Decem Script. Col. 2746. (3) Vid. Annal. Burton. p. 412. (4) *E coste chose fu fite devant Boniface Archievescopo Cant. Waltero de Cantelupo Episcopo Wigorn, Simone de Munfurd Comite Leycest. Ricardo de Clare Comite Gloucestræ, &c. Ibid. p. 418.*

Scyremot, and not (as they read it) *Chirgemot* or *Chirchgemot*: and the former appears to be the true reading, from the very title of that chapter, (1) *De Generalibus Placitis Comitatum, quomodo & quando fieri deberent*.

Page 415. *Skill in Saxon*, he is resolved, should be *once again his theme*, though he has before truly told us, that it is *not his province*. But his whole business, from the beginning to the end of his book, is meddling with what he does *not understand*. Here he is mightily offended at my "not being satisfied with the opinion of our English antiquaries and historians, who supposed that Laga (in Westsexena-Laga, Myrcena-Laga and Dane-Laga) signified law, whereas it signifies a Country or District." And why may not I, as well as Mr. A. be sometimes *dissatisfied* with the opinions of better men than myself? this observation of mine has had the good luck to be approved by a very (2) learned person, who, by the joint consent of all our modern antiquaries, understands the Saxon language the best of any man now living. But such authorities will do nothing with this hero; and therefore I shall endeavour otherwise to convince him out of his own (I mean his friend's) collections that I am not mistaken in this conjecture. The first proof he brings against me, is from Henry the First's *enlargement of the confessor's laws*; and I shall here only beg that the *text* may be admitted for as authentic evidence as the *paraphrase*. We have indeed lost the Saxon copy of the confessor's laws; but by the earliest translation we have of them in the Latin and French, we may probably enough guess how they were worded in the matter now under debate. In Mr. Selden's edition of them, it is true, the French words *Danelae*, *Merchenelae* and *Westsexlae*, are rendered by *Lex Danorum*, &c. But this translation, in many places, appears to be forced and unnatural. I shall not trouble you with more than one instance. In the French we read, (3) *Que en Danelae fruisse la pais le roi*; which is thus nonsensically rendered, *Qui in Danorum lege violaverit pacem regis*; whereas, if we will have it intelligible, it must run, *Qui in provincia Danorum violaverit*, &c. This is more plain yet from a worse (4) blunder in the Latin translation, published at Cambridge; where we have *erat autem lex Danorum, Norfolk, Suffolk & Cantabrigesbire*. Would not any man, of a moderate talent in thinking, fancy, even though the idiom of the Saxon language disallowed it, that the word *provincia* would do better here than *lex*: And yet this is all the foundation there is for what Mr. Atterbury brings out of the abbot of Jervaulx, who, (*understanding both our* (5) *Saxon tongue and antiquities perfectly well*) gravely assures us, that Gildas the (6) Britain translated the Marchenolaga into Latin; which I wonder our learned author should overlook. But if *the abbot's skill shall be doubted*, yet *sure Gervase of Tilbury's cannot*; and a charter of Henry the First must be admitted, as what *will sufficiently clear* the point. It must be a great deal (more, I believe, than he has to say) that is *sufficient* with me: for I am strangely hardened and impenitent in this matter, and not to be wrought off from any of my opinions, by such arguments as I mostly meet with in his book. I cannot easily be persuaded that the courtiers and ministers of state, in the reigns next after the conquest, did so perfectly understand the propriety of the Saxon language, as he fancies; and I will give him one authority, of the many I could produce, to prove that my jealousy is not groundless. In one copy of the conqueror's laws we have this admirable etymology of the Saxon word *Greve*: (7) *Videtur etiam quibusdam Greve vocabulum nomen esse compositum ex anglico Grith & Væ Latino. Grith enim pax est, Væ miseria, ipso domino attestante, qui dicit, Væ tibi, Bethsaida, Væ tibi, Corozaim. Greve igitur ideo dicitur, quod jure debebat Grith, id est, pacem ex illis facere, qui patriæ inferunt Væ id est, Miseriam vel Malum*. Who he was that penned this gloss, I know not; but he seems to me to be about

(1) LL. Hen. I. Cap. 7. Edit. Twiss. p. 180. (2) Dr. G. Hickes. (3) Cap. 3. Edit. Twiss. p. 159. Vid. etiam Cap. 5. ibid. & Hist. Ingulf. Edit. Oxon. p. 88. (4) LL. Ed. Confes. Edit. Cantab. p. 149. Vid. & Reliq. Spelm. p. 49. where it appears that the learned Author, before his death, was pretty much of my opinion. LL. Ed. & Guth. cap. 7. *Dænalaga* signifies the same as *mid Denum* in the other chapters of those laws. LL. Canut. R. *Englælagæ* is manifestly the English Territory, and *Danelaga* the Danish: For as in Chap. 12. it is on *Westaxon*, so in the 14th it is on *Denelaga*, and in the 13th again on *Myrcan*. The word *Lag* is frequently met with in the like composition with the proper names of countries, in the old Islandish, Danish and Swedish writers; which if Sir H. Spelman had observed, he had never misinterpreted these words as well as *Oswaldeslaw*, &c. Vid. Concil. Brit. Tom. 1. p. 432. & Monast. Angl. Tom. 1. p. 120. (5) Take Mr. A's word for it, Rights, &c. p. 416. (6) Decem Script. Col. 956. (7) Lambard. Archaion. p. 134.

he same pitch of knowledge, in our Saxon antiquities, with Gervase of Tilbury, and a later writer. To conclude this head: Upon the nicest search that I can make, I do not find that ever the word *Laga* (in composition with *Dæna*, *Myrcena* or *Westsexena*, in any of our Saxon remains) can be otherwise rightly translated than by a Province or Country: So that I must here venture to repeat my old assertion, that I am "Not satisfied with the opinion of those that maintain, that there were in this kingdom, before the Conquest, three such codes or digests of laws as Mr. Atterbury contends for." The world may possibly hereafter be told (for such (1) *lengths some men will go to serve an ill cause!*) that, *at the moment I publish this*, I have *more than one* volume of such laws in my own possession: And I know not how otherwise to guard against a practice of this kind, than by averring, that I am *wholly a stranger to them*; and am far from being *convinced* that there is *ground to believe* any such extraordinary reports.

Page 432. He brings me over the coals, in a bewitched sort of a rage, and beyond the transports of his former fits. He pronounces me a *false, rude and rash* writer, and amongst other hard names calls me a *Member of Convocation, who knows as little* of the constitution of that body, as Dr. Wake himself does. I cannot see how, upon his own principles, he could ever think me a *Member of Convocation*, since he appropriates his Parliamentary Synod to the Province of Canterbury. That *I know as little of these things as Dr. Wake does*, I shall willingly allow to be a great truth: But I am loth to believe that he has drawn my picture so exactly true in the following parts of that page. When I say that the King's Writs commanded the bishops to attend, *accompanied with the priors, archdeacons and proctors of the clergy*, he says, I would endeavour to persuade the world, that *all the priors were summoned, and no deans*. Not I; believe me, Sir, I had no such thoughts. I know not how the *deans* came to be omitted in my List: But, in good truth, I meant them no more harm than he himself did, when (p. 219.) he likewise forgot them in his explication of the *Cleri Majores*, where he only reckons abbats, priors (whether *all the priors* or no, he best knows) and archdeacons. *But how*, says our good-natured friend, *can we expect a true account of writs from him who gives so false an one of the books they are contained in?* The assign'd reason for this heavy charge is, because I affirm that (in Dugdale's Book of Summons) *we shall find like mandates for the clergy and commons as for the nobility*; which, as far as my poor apprehension reaches, is most literally true. Had I said, there is an equal number of precedents in each kind, it had been indeed a *false* account; but when I only assert that the mandates for the clergy and commons are *like* those for the nobility, (calling them in *like manner* to the parliament, as the others do the lords temporal) I cannot possibly discover any error I am in. *Two writs*, he acknowledges, *there are in it for the commons*; but (as he goes on, very surprizingly) *not one for the clergy, properly so called, that is, for the whole body of them*. This gentleman's brains and mine are not figured alike. If *totus clerus* be Latin for the *clergy properly so called*, or (as he explains himself) *the whole body of them*, there are certainly such mandates as I have mentioned, and such as he denies to be there. If he means (as I cannot imagine what else he can mean) that the *whole body of the clergy* is not called, because some of them are permitted to send up their representatives, he might as well have told me that neither is there so much as one writ for the *commons properly so called*, since every individual freeholder and innkeeper (in the several shires, cities and boroughs) is not particularly summoned. One that writes at this rate, will never persuade me to believe that he does *not give his characters* (as he disputes) *at random*.

Page 447. I had said, out of the late printed catalogue of the Cotton manuscripts, that a journal of the transactions of *both houses* of parliament (from the beginning of Henry the Eighth's reign) was drawn up by R. Bowyer, which is still extant; which is certainly true: And he pretends to contradict this by affirming, that we have no *Journals for the Commons* (meaning only *as separate and distinct* from those of the House of Lords) higher than the first of Edward the Sixth; which, for any thing I know, may be as true: But it is as little to his malicious purpose as the rest of his impertinencies.

(1) See the Postscript to a Second Letter about the Execution of the Parliament-Writ for the ensuing Convocation.
I have

A LETTER TO DR. W. KENNET.

I have now, Sir, done (for ever, I hope) with Mr. Atterbur'y objections. They from whom I look for such future assistances, as will enable me to perfect the work I have undertaken, are men of another sort of temper, and will give me their instructions in another manner. Sensible of the common infirmities of human nature, they will meekly and compassionately reprove those mistakes in me to which they sometimes feel themselves as liable as I am: An obliging sort of treatment, which (I think myself engaged to own) I have had from Mr. Strype; whose Memoirs of Archbishop Cranmer have been unfairly represented, my thoughts and pen unwarily running into a character which properly belonged to the (1) life of another metropolitan, published about the same time.

I must now turn my face towards Scotland; where (by the way) the man that should dare to publish such a new and false exposition of a statute-law, as Mr. Atterbury has ventured to give us of the 25 Hen. 8. would immediately be adjudged guilty of *leseing making*; and I need not inform so knowing a person as he pretends to be, what would follow upon such a sentence. The laws of England are perhaps a little better humoured; but neither will they long endure such a load of jest and poetry as this merry *Preacher* seems to be bringing upon them. But, leaving the laws to shift for themselves; since he has (in a most familiar manner) accused me of taking things wholly upon trust in my English Library, I cannot, Sir, but think myself concerned to let you and others know, that there are very few books, either in print or manuscript, records, medals or coins, whereof any particular account will be given in the *Scottish Historical Library*, now going to the press, which I have not seen (as we Englishmen use to express it) with my own eyes. A very few, I say, they are, which have been only described to me by others; and you will be satisfied that herein I have depended upon much better judgments than my own, when I tell you that my enquiries at Sir John Cotton's Library were answered by Dr. Thomas Smith; at my Lord Longuevil's, by Mr. Wotton; at Lambeth, by Mr. Gibson, &c. The first of these affords the greatest plenty of collections, towards the finishing of the Scottish history, of any one place, either in England, or elsewhere. The most learned and renowned founder of it was descended from the Royal (2) Family of the Bruces; which he justly valued in himself, and which was likewise ever acknowledged by King James the Sixth, who always called him cousin. Under his picture before the catalogue of his books, as in many of the books themselves, his name is Rob. Cottonus Bruceus. In Scotland I had every thing laid before me that I could either inquire or wish for. The honourable Society of the College of justice were so obliging as to allow me an access to their rich treasury of manuscripts, at all hours, ordinary and extraordinary; and the most eminently learned Sir Alexander Seton of Pitmedden (a late lord of the session) kindly imparted to me some of his own choice notes on the law-writers of that kingdom. What coins were wanting in my Lord Archbishop of York's collection, were supplied by the industrious Mr. James Sutherland; whose complete cabinet was always open to me, and whose kind services to the publick (as well as his private favours to me) will appear in several chapters of that book. Above all, my best acknowledgments are ever due to Sir Robert Sibbald, Knight, and Doctor of Physic, who with an unspeakable generosity and frankness of temper, communicated to me all his own collections, which any way respected the subject-matter of my book, and pointed out to me many other useful helps, in the hands of my worthy friend Mr. Robert Wudrou, keeper of the library of Glasgow, and others. By the assistance of such excellent persons as these, I am now enabled to furnish the publick with (at least) the first lineaments of a Scotch Historical Library; which I shall give in the following method; Chap. 1. Of the writers on the general and special Geography, Natural History, and State-Government of the Kingdom of Scotland. 2. Of the general Historians of that Nation. 3. Writers of the Lives of their particular Kings. 4. Ecclesiastical Historians, general. 5. Histories, &c. of their Bishopricks, Monasteries and Universities. 6. Biographers. 7. Law-Books and Records. 8. Medals and Coins.

(1) B. Hacker's Life of Abp. Williams. (2) Vid. Dr. Rob. Cotton. Vitam, à D. Tho. Smith. Catal. MSS. præfix. p. IV. & Ep. Ded. ad Camdeni Epist. ab eodem Edit.

I need not, Sir, acquaint you what a toil and expence the very collecting of those materials has brought upon me; nor how much trouble I have had in the composure: And it is but a discouraging prospect (after all) to see so many men of gravity and good learning, to whom I thought my labours might have been chiefly useful, caressing an empty misrepresenter of our antiquities, Histories and records, and patronizing an ambitious wretch in his insolent attempts against our ancient and apostolical church-government. This is doubtless a pleasing and sportful entertainment to such as have long desired to see us magnifying our ecclesiastical liberties, and renouncing our obedience to the king, in order to a yet farther impopriation of our revenues:

* *Neque aliud sane* (says one of the many good authors quoted for Mr. Atterbury) *magis in hac tam bene constituta ecclesia Anglicana timendum atque cavendum est, quam ne clerus nunc, cum maxime in verbo & veritate laboret, summaque observantia principi pareat, profusorum atque decoetorum prædæ ac direptioni proponatur, & imperitorum convitiis atque contumeliis proscindatur, populoque fiat ludibrio & contemptui, Quod si contingat, gravius Dei flagellum, multoque atrociora tempora expectanda sunt, quam illa mariana fuerunt.* That God (in his mercy) may avert the evil of this prediction, is the hearty prayer of

* Antiq.
Brit. p.
358.

S I R,

Your most obliged,

And affectionate Brother,

W. NICOLSON.

A LETTER TO THE HONORABLE

MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
IN ANSWER TO A RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE HOUSE
ON THE 14TH DAY OF JANUARY 1864

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HUGH EARL OF MARCHEMONT

AND HIS LORDSHIP'S SECRETARY

THE LORDS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL

AND THE HONOURABLE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED

THE PETITION OF

THE LORDS OF THE COMMONS

IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED

SHETHING

THAT

THEY HAVE

THE HONOUR OF THE HOUSE

AND THE COMMONS

IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HUGH, EARL OF MARCHMONT,

VISCOUNT BLASSONBOURN,

LORD POLWARTH OF POLWARTH, REDBRAES, AND GREENLAW

IN THE COUNTY OF BERWICK, AND BARONET.

ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL,

KEEPER OF THE GREAT SEAL OF SCOTLAND,

AND

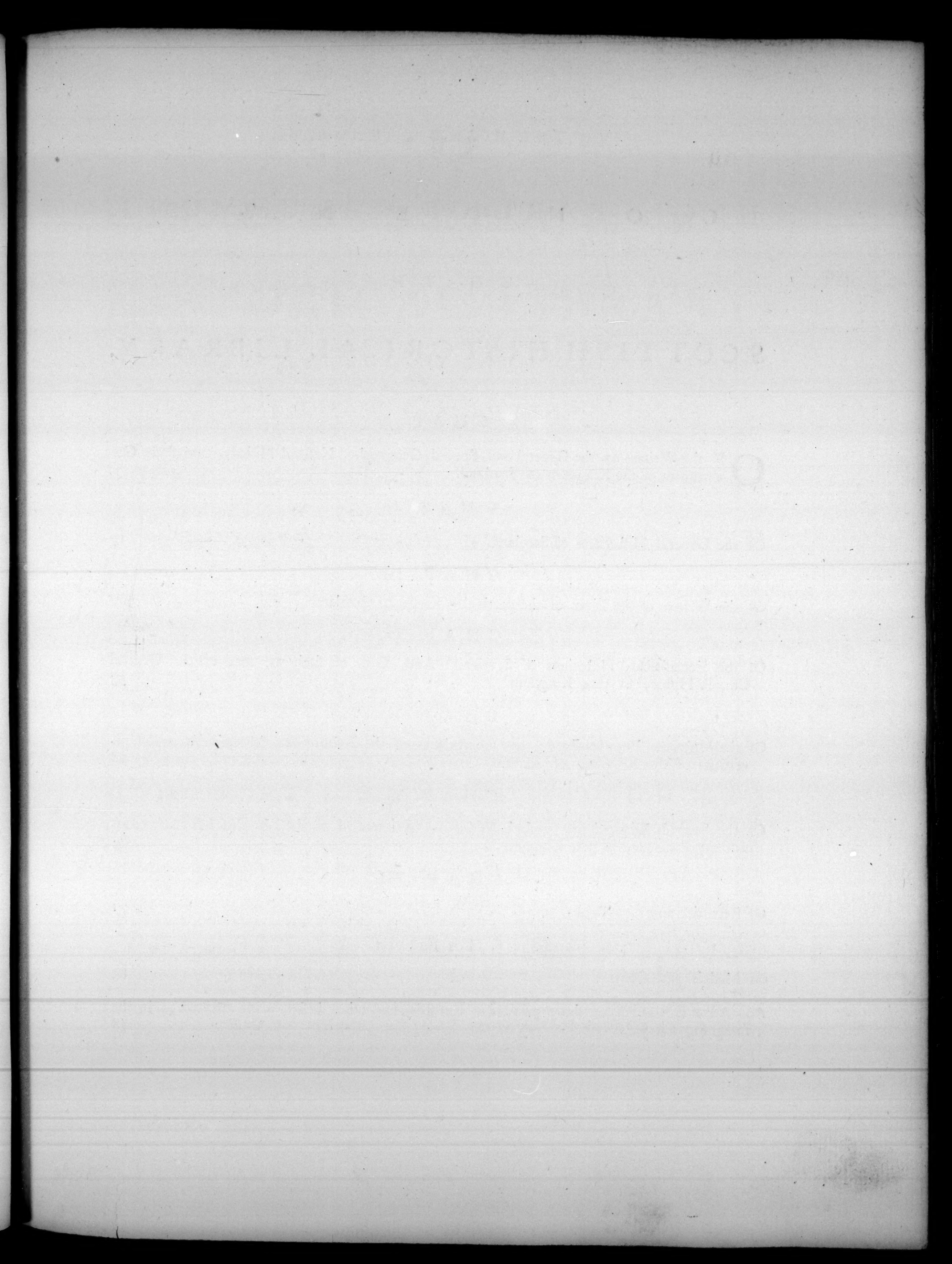
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P A R T II.

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*Of the Writers on the General and Special Geography, Natural History,
and State-Government of the Kingdom of SCOTLAND.*

TACITUS, in his Life of Agricola, is so (more than ordinary) particular in the account he gives of Caledonia, which is supposed to be that whole country which now bears the name of Scotland, that some have admired why so few of the learned men of that nation have given us their commentaries on this part of his history. The only person who has published any thing of this kind is, W. Barclay, Doctor of Laws; one that was so great a master of critical learning, and the Latin tongue, that J. Lipsius (whose scholar he was) declared he would leave him his own pen for a legacy, as the fittest man on earth to bear it after him. His book carries the title of (1) *Gulielmi Barclaii ex vita Julii Agricolæ, Auctore Genero, Præmetia*; and is highly extolled by some poetical elogia prefixed to it. His countryman, Dempster, is not so much taken with it; (2) *Commentarius*, says he, *in vitam Julii Agricolæ non placet mihi, nec tanto ingenio dignus videtur*. He seems to have expected greater accuracy in a native of Scotland, than is to be found in this piece; whereas Barclay's living mostly abroad, and his being a professor in a foreign university, will render him the more excusable. Of late years far greater discoveries have been made, by such as have curiously enquired after the antiquities of that kingdom; and several monuments and inscriptions are daily found, which exceedingly illustrate the heretofore dark passages in this and other Roman histories. By these helps, Sir Robert Sibbald has given a deal of new light to this before us, in a large (3) treatise of his own composition, which he calls *Cornelii Taciti BRITANNIA*; five *Commentarius in ea quæ à Tacito in suis Scriptis de Britannia & Britannicis Insulis adducuntur*. The titles of the books and chapters, into which this book is divided, are these:

Lib. I. § 1. *Præfationem habet & Capitula sequentia*. Cap. 1. *De Nominibus Britanniarum*. 2. *De Descriptione Insularum*. [Ubi Art. 1. *De Situ Insularum*. 2. *De Formâ Insularum*. 3. *De Ejus Quantitate*.] 3. *De Hibernia*. [Art. 1. *De Hiberniæ Descriptione*. 2. *A Quibus Hibernia detecta & plantata*. 3. *Quòd Romani non fuerint in Hibernia*.] 4. *De Utrâq; Monâ*. [Art. 1. *De Monâ Taciti*. 2. *De Monâ Julii Cæsaris*.] 5. *De Æbudis*. 6. *De Orcadibus*. 7. *De Thule*. [Art. 1. *De Thule in genere*. 2. *Quòd Phœnices in Thule fuerint*. 3. *Quòd Thule*

(1) 8vo. ad V. Ampliff. Jac. Aug. Thuanum. (2) Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. p. 120. (3) MS. p. Auctorem.

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Insula fuerit versus Septentrionem. 4. Thulen Occiduam dici. 5. Quod Thule fuerit una ex Britannicis Insulis. 6. Thulen nunc unam nunc aliam Insulam fuisse, semper eam quæ habebatur remotissima. 7. Ostenditur Phœnices à Gadibus versus Occidentem Aëstivum navigantes primùm Thulen detexisse. 8. Quòd Hibernia à Phœnicibus detecta prima Thule fuerit. 9. Britannia Partem Borealem Thulen quoq; fuisse dictam.] 8. Quòd Borealis Insulæ Pars, quæ intercurrentibus Aëstuariis velut Insula à reliquâ Britannia semota, Romanorum Thule fuerit. [Art. 1. Thulen Insulam fuisse in quâ populi culti fuerint. 2. A Romanis ingressa est. 3. Prope Caledonios à Statio & Silio ponitur. 4. A Romanis Memorata. 5. Quænam sit Regio quæ Jerne glacialis Claudiani. 6. Juverna Juvenalis est Eadem. 7. Ea etiam dicta est Hibernia. 8. Britannia Thule dicta est. 9. Thule Gordonii. 10. Thule Taciti. 11. Origo Nominis Scotiæ.] 9. De qualitate Soli Britannici.

§ 2. De Populis Britannia, eorumq; moribus. Cap. 1. De Divisione Britannia. 2. De Populis Britannia quorum mentio fit apud Cæsarem. 3. — Quorum mentio fit apud Tacitum. 4. — apud Ptolemæum. 5. — apud alios Historicos. 6. De moribus Britannorum.

§ 3. De Origine Gentium Britannicarum, ex Tacito. Cap. 1. De Origine Silurum. 2. — Caledoniorum. 3. — Eorum qui Gallis sunt proximi.

Lib. II. De eâ parte Britannia quæ ultra muros est, & de rebus in eâ ab Agricola gestis. Dissertatio de Caledonia, rebûsq; in eâ gestis à Clarissimis Ducibus Romanis: 1. Julio Agricola Proprætor. 2. Septimio Severo Imperatore. 3. Theodosio Comite Proprætor. Cap. 1. Quid sit Caledonia. 2. De Divisione Caledonia. 3. Quòd Caledonia prius habitata fuerit quam Meridionalis Insulæ pars. 4. De Populis Caledonia in Genere. 5. De Valentiâ, Caledonia parte intra duos muros. 6. De loco ubi Scoticus Murus extructus fuit. 7. De variis Muri Scotici Constructionibus. [Art. 1. An Hadrianus Imperator hic suum Murum construxerit? 2. Quòd Lollius Urbicus in hoc loco (inter Glottæ & Bodotriæ Aëstuarium) Murum suum duxerit. 3. An Ulpianus Marcellinus, sub Commodò Imperatore, hoc quoq; in loco Murum extruxerit. 4. Quo in loco Septimius Severus suum Murum perduxerit.

This very learned antiquary had observed, that there was little in Sir H. Savil's short notes that relates to what was done in this part of the Island; and therefore he resolved to write a full and just treatise upon all that concerned great Britain in this or any other of that historian's works. What exactness the reader is to hope for, in the performance of this useful work, may be best learned from this short draught of its chapters; as well as from what the author himself says of it in his preface: *Cum ego maximam partem earum regionum quas Tacitus in Scotia describit ipse peragraverim, & castra Romana, prætenturas, lapides, inscriptos, & numismata in iis inventa inspexerim, operæ pretium censui, in ea ejus loca quæ res gestas in Scotia attinent, commentarium scribere; in quo mentem authoris non ex aliorum præjudiciis, sed ex iis quæ supersunt vestigiis & indiciis explicare conabor, & non parum lucis inde historiae nostræ inferam. Et sanè, ex omnibus scriptoribus Romanis, qui de rebus nostris agunt, is mihi præferendus maximè videtur; ut qui summi judicii scriptor sit, in rebus agendis versatissimus, &c. A quo ergo, inter ejus ævi viros, si non ab eo, certa, de rebus eo tempore peractis, relatio expectanda est? Ignosci autem mihi vellem, si à doctorum quorundam sententia in hisce commentariis recedam: Omni enim præjudicio remoto, consideratis locorum circumstantiis, ea commemorabo quæ apertissimè se offerant ex authoris verbis, & monumentis antiquis, quæ Agricolaë progressum rectè ab austro ad boream designant; & qui Vias Militares per Silvas & per Paludes excitandas haberet, quarum vestigia etiamnum apparent.*

Ptolemy.

Every body, I suppose, is at liberty to believe or reject (as he sees cause) what Hector Boethius says of the first original of Ptolemy's geography. He tells us, (4) that it was begun by some mathematical gentlemen, sent purposely abroad by King Ptolemy Philadelphus; who having been regaled by King Reutha, as his own countrymen and kindred, and having narrowly inspected all the corners of the Scotch and Pictish territories, returned back to Egypt wonderfully pleased with their finding a northern kingdom of the same language, manners, and government, with their

own. Out of these observations, says he, King Ptolemy himself drew up part of a large volume of cosmography; which (some centuries afterwards, in the Emperor Adrian's time) was completed by his namesake of Alexandria. But—However we came by it, the famous Sir Robert Gordon of Straloch (5) observes, that the account which this old geographer gives of the ancient state of Scotland is very just and true; provided that what he places to the east be turned northward; which was, before him noted by Mercator. Mr. David Buchanan, in his preface to Knox's History, explains some of Ptolemy's old names of places; fetching many of them from the Hebrew, as (6) R. Maule more probably does from the Celtic. Sir Robert Sibbald has likewise written (7) *Conjectanea in eam tabulæ Ptolemaicæ partem que Septentrionalem insulæ plagem describit.*

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The late learned lawyer and antiquary, Sir John Cunningham, wrote some notes on that part of Antonine's Itinerary which respects Scotland; and these are probably still in being, amongst his papers in the hand of his son Sir William; but I know not of any that has particularly considered what Nennius has left on this subject; and yet he treats pretty fully (8) *de adventu Piotorum in Britanniam*, affirming that they first took possession of the isles of Orkney, and afterwards *ex Insulis affinitimis vastaverunt non modicas & multas Regiones*. In the four following books he brings the Scots from Spain to Ireland; and in the main, gives the same account of the original of the nation which has been transcribed by most of the modern Scottish writers. The like respect is owing to Bede's history (9) *qui multa de Scotis & Piëtis (que illorum gloriam illustrant maximè) intexuit.* There is a choice manuscript of this history at (10) Edinburgh; which seems to be about five hundred years old.

Other old
geogra-
phers.

Most of the Scotch historians, which are already published, have prefixed short geographical descriptions of the kingdom to their histories; that being a method which has been thought natural and convenient by the like writers of other nations. (11) H. Boethius's is the largest; and he takes occasion to let his reader know, that he was singularly addicted to the study of natural history, and much delighted with such physical curiosities as were most extraordinary and surprizing. His correspondents, he assures us, were persons of eminent learning in several parts of the nation; among whom was Edward, Bishop of Orkney, who furnished him with a faithful account of the healthy and vigorous constitution of the inhabitants of those isles. The rest did not (all of them at least) deal so fairly by him; several of them having most certainly imposed upon his good nature and easy faith. It is a terrible story which Sir Duncan Campbell told him of the monstrous (goose-footed) otter of the loch Garloil; which struck down great oaks with its steer, and yet the fishermen escaped its fury by climbing into trees. The sea-monks at the isle of Bass, and Ja. Ogilby's wild men of Norway (who could pull up the tallest fir, with as much ease as an ordinary body can root up a turnip) are proper companions for these; and the credibility of the three parallel stories must rest upon the reporters; but the author himself is only answerable for the account which (amongst others) he gives of the clack-geese or barnacle, which he affirms upon his own word; since what he pretends to have frequently observed (of a perfect bird, feathers and all, being formed in these shells) is extremely dissonant from what the naturalists of our days have taught from as nice and credible experiments. He is more authentick in what he reports of the goustards (or bustards, as we Englishmen call them) in the county of Merse, and the salmon at Aberdeen; and, above all, he is to be applauded for what he hints of the purple fish, reckoning it amongst the *Conchæ intortæ*. This shews that he rightly understood (12) Bede, who has somewhat to the same purpose; and that Mr. Cole's (13) discovery of this very fish ought not to be reckoned among such as had not formerly been published by any author. He does not appear to have been quite so happy in the use he made of the same ancient historian (and some others) in matters of antiquity; or else, he would hardly have placed the Brigantes in Galloway, the Silures in Carict, and the Deiri in Merse and Lowthian. His description, as well as his history,

H. Boe-
thius.

(5) Theatr. Scot. pag. 9. (6) In Taclatu MS. de Antiquitate Gentis Scot. (7) MS. p. Auctorem. (8) Lib. 1. cap. 5. (9) Leil. Hist. Scot. Lib. 4. p. 158. (10) In Bibl. Col. Jurid. (11) Fol. Paris. 1574. (12) Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 1. (13) Vid. Philosoph. Transact. Vol. 15. Numb. 178. Pag. 1278.

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was translated into the Scotch language by (19) J. Bellenden, whose work was hastily put into English by (20) Will. Harrison. Neither of these have exactly kept to their text; the former abridging the original, and the latter new-modelling even the translation. In the conclusion of the thirteenth chapter, he writes thus: "Hitherto have I translated Hector's Description of Scotland out of the Scottish into the English tongue, being not a little aided therein by the Latin; from whence the translator sometimes swerveth not a little, as I have done also from him, now and then following the Latin, and now and then gathering such sense out of both as most did stand with my purposed brevity. Now will I set down the description of an ancient Pict, as I have gathered it out of Herodian and others, and then I will give over, not only to write more at this present, but for ever hereafter of historical matters; sith I see that this honest kind of recreation is denied me, and all time spent about the same in these days utterly condemned as vain, and favouring of negligence and heathenish impiety."

J. Lesley. Bishop Lesley, in his (1) description as well as his history, writes like a person of quality and business, and one that understood the world and himself too well to be swayed by his own passions, or the groundless reports of others: yet, in the account of the Bass and its soland-geese, he keeps too close to Boethius's track; as he does likewise in that of the amphibious production of the barnacle, which he confirms both by his own testimony, and that of Dr. Allan, who was afterwards cardinal. He corrects him indeed in his making Arran and Boot one island; and he wisely omits several of his romantic stories of miracles and monsters, both at sea and land. Amongst the extraordinary fowl of the country, he has good observations on the falcon, heath-cock and capercalze; as likewise on the whales, herring and salmon, among their fish. For the last of these, he thinks the plenty of them in the rivers of Dee and Spey may put-do that of any others in the whole world; himself having known above three hundred of the larger sort, taken at one draught of a net. The moss-wood of Fife he believes to have been buried there at the universal deluge. Having finished his geographical description, he proceeds, in the first book of his history, to give a short view of the state of the kingdom; in the manners, laws and government of the people. He reckons up several customs wherein the highlanders have ever differed from the other Scots; compares the ancient state of the clergy and nobility with the present; enquires into the reasons prevailing with so many of the commonalty to exercise trades and soldiery in foreign countries; and concludes with a short enumeration of the great offices in the king's household and court of judicature.

G. Buchanan.

G. Buchanan, who justly (2) condemns Hector's rashness and credulity, was better acquainted with the Greek and Roman writers, and therefore discourses far more sensibly of the ancient names of men and places. He is indeed singular in his opinion about the name of Albion, the placing of Severus's wall, and some other matters; and we ought to acknowledge that he always writes with such an air of eloquence and learning, that it is hard to contradict even where we cannot believe him. He is so intemperately hot upon Humph. Lhuid and his Prydania, that he appears to an unprejudiced English reader to have more Welsh blood in him than he is aware of; proving unadvisedly, what he will not allow his antagonist to have done, that the ancient Britains and Scots are of one family and kindred. He is much larger in what he writes of the Hebrides, than in any other description he gives; confessing himself herein chiefly instructed by Donald Monro, who, he says, viewed those islands, and was a person of good industry, as well as great piety and learning.

Camden.

There is a new and noble (3) edition of our Camden's Description of Scotland, published by the honourable and learned Sir James Dalrymple, second son to the late Lord Viscount Stair, baronet, and clerk of his majesty's council, parliament and sessions; who has added a supplement, throughout the whole, of such of the nobility of that kingdom as have either succeeded to their noble ancestors, mentioned by Camden himself, or have been since called to their honour, by later creations. Several other good remarks, and corrections of the text,

(19) AD. of Murray, A. D. 1536. (20) Printed in the 1st Vol. of Holinshed's Chron. (1) 4to. Romæ, 1578. (2) Rer. Scot. lib. 1. p. m. 13. (3) 8vo. Edinb. 1695.

are occasionally intermixed; and, in the end of the book, we have useful lists of the present PART II.
 peers and other members of parliament, abbacies, priories, provincial assemblies, &c. Our great English antiquary has had much severer treatment from some other gentlemen of the neighbouring kingdom. D. Hume, who has surnamed himself Theagrus, from the place of his habitation, wrote a treatise, which he called (4) *Camdenia*; a title which he thus explains, *id est, examen nonnullorum à Gulielmo Camdeno in Britannia sua positorum præcipue quæ ad irrisionem Scoticæ gentis pertinent, & eorum & Pictorum falsam originem*. The book is divided into seven chapters; namely, 1. *Incolæ*. 2. *De Nomine Britannia & Albio*. 3. *Picti*. i. *Non probabiliter dici, nec ullo argumento satis efficaci confirmari, Pictos Britones fuisse*. 4. *Scoti*. i. *Scotorum Originem ad Scythas à Camdeno frustra relegari. Buchananum melius vidisse*. 5. *De Tempore quo in Britanniam Scoti venerunt*. 6. *De Convitiis*. 7. *Odia & Convitia utrinque rejicienda*. This is written with a spirit and elegance becoming the ingenious author; as is also W. Drummond's (5) *Nuntius Scoto-Britannus*, which is only a fragment of observations on some of the same writer's discourses on this part of Great Britain: but the last mentioned gentleman wrote another piece, which was more plainly levelled against our antiquary, which he called (6) *A Pair of Spectacles for Camden*; wherein he occasionally illustrates several passages in the old geographers, and particularly, gives reasons for his reading of *Scottedeni* instead of *Ptolemy's Ottadeni*. I have likewise seen an abstract of a book on the same subject, by Master Tho. Craig, the great civilian, entitled, *De Scotorum Origine*; but where the book itself may be had I know not.

There are others, of a less figure and later time, who have left a great variety of treatises and discourses on the description and antiquities of their country. I have not seen And. Melvin's (7) *Fragmentum de Origine Gentis Scotorum*: nor will the character which a modern (8) writer gives of the author, tempt any man to enquire after it. Two copies I have seen, of the author's own penning, of R. Maule's tract, *De Antiquitate Gentis Scotorum*; which he says was written, *Contra Anglorum Calumnias & Mendacia*, which I shall not pretend to translate. It is a continued discourse, without any division of chapters or sections; and is written in a tolerable pure Latin style. This gentleman, whom we shall meet with again, several times hereafter, was a cadet of the right honourable family of Panmure, and sometimes commissary of St. Andrews; which place he quitted upon the restoration of episcopacy by King James the Sixth, being a person of G. Buchanan's principles in matters of religion and policy. David Buchanan, besides what he has published in his Preface to Knox's Ecclesiastical history, wrote several short discourses concerning the antiquities and chorography of Scotland; which, in bundles of loose papers, Latin and English, are still in safe custody. Dr. Chr. Irwin's small (9) *Index Locorum, Nominum Propriorum, Gentilitium, Vocumque difficiliorum quæ in Latinis Scotorum Historiis occurrunt*, is an useful piece; and well deserves a new impression. Foreigners that have engaged on this head, are chiefly Petruccio Ubaldino, in his (10) *Descrit. del Regno di Scotia*; and Monsieur Nicholas D'Arseville in his (11) *Description de L'Isle & Royaume d'Ecosse & les Hebrides & Orchades*; to whom we may add the discourses of the late noble Du Fresne: but these, generally transcribing from the natives, will not be so considerable as those already mentioned.

The *Theatrum Scotiæ*, in (12) *Bleau's Atlas*, deserves to be separately remembered. This was mostly compiled by the excellent Sir Robert Gordon of Straloch, at the request of the fore-mentioned great undertaker of that general body of geography; but first begun at the expence of Sir John Scot of Scots-Tarvet, director of the chancery; who encouraged Timothy Pont, as shall be observed anon, in the survey of the whole kingdom. After Pont's death, his maps and papers were sent to Gordon; who, with his son James, surveyed several parts of the nation not meddled with before. Sir John procured also for them an order of the general assembly, directing such ministers as they desired, to be aiding to them in the accounts of their

(4) MS. p. D. R. S. & alios. (5) p. Eund. D. R. S. (6) p. D. Guil. Drummond, dicti Guil. fil. (7) 8vo. Amstel. 1602. (8) Fundam. Chart. of Presbyt. page 217. (9) 8vo. Edinb. 1664. (10) 8vo. Antwerp, 1586. (11) MS. p. D. R. S. (12) Fol. Amstel. 1662.

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respective shires: and from hence it was that they were furnished with materials for those admirable descriptions, which are now printed with the forty-six maps of that noble work. There are not, indeed, so many of them of Straloch's own composure as we could wish there were; that learned and loyal person having been a good while incapacitated, for the due carrying on of his undertaking, by the iniquity of the times. Upon which, he devolved it on D. Buchanan, who had revised a great deal of the first projected draughts: but his life ended before the troubles, and he only finished a very few of the county-descriptions. Soon after, Gordon was much abused, in the edition of 1655, by the publisher, who dedicated the book to Oliver Cromwell, instead of King Charles the Second, omitted some of his best descriptions, particularly those of Aberdeenshire and Bamf; and prefaced the whole with G. Buchanan's seditious dialogue *De Jure Regni*. Before the maps, are nineteen discourses relating to the general state of the kingdom; whereof these are the titles: 1. *Andreas Melvini Scotiae Typographia*. It is Buchanan's prose turned into elegant verse. 2. *Catalogus Regum Scotiae ex Hectore Boethio, & Georgio Buchanano*. 3. *Adnotata ad Scotorum Antiquitatem, eorumque in Britanniam ex Hibernia alterum Trajectum, Duce Reuthero; Auctore Roberto Gordonio*. 4. *Adnotata ad Prætenturas quæ Scotos & Pictos à Provincialibus distinguebant*. 5. *Rob. Gordonii de Thule Insulâ Dissertatio*. 6. *Ad veteris Scotiae Tabulam Adnotata*. 7. *Brevissima Regni Scotiae Descriptio, ex libro primo Geo. Buchanani sumpta*. 8. *Tractatus Roberti Sirachani de Provinciis & Regionibus Germaniæ Scotorum Opera ad fidem Christianam Conversis*. 9. *De Monasteriis Scotorum in Germaniâ*. 10. *Regni Scotiae Descriptio*. 11. *Ordines Scotiae*. 12. *Fora Justitiæ, sive Tribunalia*. 13. *Parliamentum*. 14. *Concilium Secretum*. 15. *Collegium Justitiæ, vulgo The Session*. 16. *Scaccarii Concilium*. 17. *Justitiæ Forum*. 18. *Commissariatus*. 19. *Ecclesiastica Gubernatio*. Some of Straloch's lesser composures in Latin, touching the antiquities of his native country, were generously and wisely deposited, by his fore-mentioned worthy son, Mr. James Gordon, Minister of Rothway, in the hand of Sir Robert Sibbald; who as generously communicated to me these following: 1. *Annotata ex Bedæ Historiâ, quæ nostras [i. e. Scoticas] Antiquitates tangunt*. 2. *De Origine Linguae Saxonicae apud Scotos*. 3. *De Origine Gentis quædam*. 4. *Infrequentia Incolarum ratio*. A great many more short descriptions, observations, traditional reports, &c. were sent to the said Sir Robert, from most of the counties in Scotland, in answer to such queries as he had transmitted to the learned men of those parts: and these are still in the possession of that most accomplished person; by whom the world, if it deserve it, is like to be obliged, ere long, with whatever is truly valuable in all of them. Some of the most considerable are these: 1. A Description of the Bailiwick of Carrick, by Mr. Abercromby, minister at Maybore. 2. A Note of Remarkables in the Sherifffdom of Mernis, with a more particular Description of the Parish of Dunotter; by Mr. John Keith, minister there. 3. A Brief Description of the Upper Part of the Sherifffdom of Niddisdale; by Mr. Thomas Black, minister at Penpont. 4. Berwickshire, or the Merse; by Mr. Elliott, and Mr. Veach, ministers there. 5. The shire of Renfrew; by Mr. William Dunlopp, late principal of the college of Glasgow: more complete than two old ones of the same place, by Shaw of Greenock, and Montgomery of Wetlands. 6. Answers to Queries about Cathness; by Mr. William Geddes, minister at Wick, and Mr. W. Dundas, Advocate. 7. Notes on several parts of the Highlands, by a Native. 8. An Account from Orkney, by Mr. James Wallace, larger than what has been printed by his Son. 9. The Stewartie of Anandale; with a Map of the Country, by Mr. Johnston, a minister there. 10. Shire of Drumfries, by Mr. Archibald, with his Account of the natural Products of Galloway and Drumfrieshire. 11. Shire of Forfar; by Mr. Augherloney, an ingenious gentleman of that country. 12. The isles of Terry, Conna, Colle, and Columbkil; by Mr. Frazer, dean of the isles. 13. Ettrick-Forest; by Mr. Elliot, minister there. 14. Teviotdale and Roxburgh; by the right honourable the Lord Jedburgh: as also by Sir William Scot of Harden, and Mr. Andrew Carr of Sinless. 15. Sutherland; by Mr. Douglass, Chaplain to the Earl of Sutherland. 16. Tweedale; by Dr. Pennycook, and Mr. Forbes. 17. Sherifffdom of Selkirk; by W. Elliot of Stobbes, and Walt. Scott of Orchilton. 18. Sherifffdom

18. Sheriffdom of Wigtoun, drawn long since by Sir Andrew Agnew of Lachnaw, and David Dunbar of Baldoon. 19. Sheriffdom of Lanerk; by Sir William Bailie of Lamentoun, and his namesake of Carphin. 20. Strathern and Stormont; by Mr. John Adair. To these let me subjoin one printed piece, J. Marr's (1) Navigation in Coasting, or the Seaman's Instructor; wherein are three chapters that specially belong to the hydography of Scotland: as, chapter xviii. What moon makes full sea in several places in the north seas. Chap. xix. The courses and distances along most of the shores there. Chapter xx. The latitude of several places in the said seas.

And here I ought not to forget the particular service of Mr. John Adair, who well deserves the title of hydographer royal of the kingdom of Scotland; as will be abundantly shewn by his Description of the Sea-Coasts and Islands of Scotland, with large and exact Maps for the Use of the Seamen. The former part of this accurate and useful work, is already finished; giving draughts and descriptions of the whole eastern coast, from the borders northward to Buchquhaness: as also Holy-Island, Farn-Islands, and the dangerous rock called the Scarr-Heads, on the coast of England. In this there are five maps or charts, 1. Holy-Island, &c. from Sunderland to S. Abb's Head. 2. The frith of Forth; from S. Abb's Head to Fifeness. 3. Tay, river and frith; from Fifeness to Red-Head. 4. The town and water of Montross. 5. From Red-Head to Aberdeen. In the second part he designs us an instructive journal of a voyage which he made to the north and west islands in the year 1698, together with an historical and mathematical account of their famous Roman wall. Several of the maps intended for this are now ready for engraving, and the rest in a good forwardness. There is also in the neighbourhood a Villareoticum, in imitation of Sir H. Spelman's Anglicum, lately drawn up by Mr. Andrew Symson, a learned episcopal divine, now residing at Edinburgh; who has also collected an account of the patrons of all the parochial benefices, and will shortly, I hope, oblige the public with both.

Among the anonymous describers of this kingdom, or its state at large, we may reckon the unknown author of the Liber de Divisione Scotiæ, quoted by (2) Camden, and said to be then in the possession of the Lord Treasurer Burleigh; which should seem to have been of some value with him, since more than once he refers his reader to the same (3) old little Book of the Division of Albany. To which we may add, 1. The General State of the Scotch Commonwealth, with the Causes of their often Mutinies and other Discords, &c. amongst (4) Mr. Ashmole's manuscripts. 2. An (5) English Description of Scotland, in the same place. 3. Mirabilia Scotiæ; amongst (6) Bryan Twyne's. 4. A large volume concerning the Discipline of the Church of Scotland, intermixed with occurrences and practices in the same realm, in my Lord (7) Longueville's library.

In Mr. Selden's rich collection of manuscripts there is one printed book; which, for its antiquity and rarity, was doubtless thought, and is still believed, to be as valuable as most of its neighbours. It is J. Harding's Itinerary and (8) Map of Scotland, with his English Chronicle; London, printed by Wynkin Worde, at the sign of the Sun in Fleet-street: and I dare say that Sir H. Savil, whatever low thoughts he might, in the main, have had of (9) this printer and Badius Ascensius, would highly have esteemed this book. Here is a sure proof that the map of Scotland, which Bishop Lesley caused to be drawn for the service of his history, was not, as is generally believed, the first of its kind; though perhaps it may still be reckoned in the second place. The next, after the bishop's was published, was an hydrographical chart of the sea-coasts and isles of Scotland, drawn from the account of King James the Fifth's Navigation: and this was done by the French king's cosmographer, in the year 1583. [Mr. Adair drew it anew A. D. 1688.] A map of the borders of the two kingdoms (taking in several whole counties in both) was made upon the accession of King James the Sixth to the

(1) 8vo. Aberd. 1683. (2) Camd. Brit. N. E. p. 898. (3) Ibid. p. 932. (4) Vid. Catalog. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 1. Par. 1. Num. 7877. (5) Ibid. Num. 8294. (6) Ibid. Par. 2. Num. 1730. (7) Catal. Oxon. Tom. 2. Par. 1. Num. 5370. (8) Ibid. Tom. 1. Par. 1. Num. 3356. (9) See his Comment. on the Life of Julius Agricola, p. 225.

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crown of England; and soon after came out Speed's and Camden's. The first county-maps, which were taken with any fidelity and exactness, were those by Timothy Pont. This industrious person was son of an eminent clergyman and lawyer, Mr. Robert Pont; of whom we shall have occasion to say more hereafter. He was by nature and education a complete mathematician, and the first projector of a Scotch Atlas. To that great purpose, he personally surveyed all the several counties and isles of the kingdom; took draughts of them upon the spot, and added such cursory observations on the monuments of antiquity, and other curiosities, as were proper for the furnishing out of suitable descriptions. He was unhappily surprised by death, to the most inestimable loss of his country, when he had well-nigh finished his papers; most of which were fortunately retrieved by his patron Sir John Scot, and disposed of in such a manner as has been already reported. There are some other remains of this learned and good man, on the history of Agricola's Vallum, or Graham's Dike, as are well worth the preserving. Of late, Sir R. Sibbald has been at the charge of cutting several new maps, for the service of those, who shall have the perusal and benefit of the many works which he has now in readiness for the press: and eight or ten of these are done by Mr. Adair, an artist who can never be too often mentioned. With these, we must also remember the new (1) *Theatrum Scotiæ*, projected by Captain John Slezer, surveyor of his majesty's stores and magazines in the kingdom of Scotland; wherein we have the prospects of the king's castles and palaces, with the most considerable towns, colleges, &c. all curiously engraven on copper-plates. The annexed descriptions were written in Latin, in which language the undertaker promised to publish them: but, without the author's privity, or any notice taken of him, they were afterwards unaccurately translated into English, and so sent abroad with all their faults.

Natural
History.

The natural history of Scotland has been chiefly cultivated (begun, I might say, and founded) by Sir Andrew Balfour, and Sir Robert Sibbald, doctors of physick; two of the greatest ornaments of their country and profession which this age has produced. To the former we are indebted for several useful discoveries in botany, (2) minerals, &c. the observing of the supposed pigmy bones, in the western isles, to be indeed bones of birds, and the *concha anatifera* to belong likewise to another tribe than had been commonly supposed. He left a noble collection of natural and artificial curiosities; which may be seen in the repository of them at Edinburgh, justly bearing the name of *Musæum Balfourianum*: to which, how considerable an addition has been made by the founder's most intimate friend, kinsman and colleague, the reader will best learn from the published account itself. It carries the title of (3) *Auctarium Musæi Balfouriani è Musæo Sibbaldiano*; and affords a good view of the rarities of Scotland, in matters of nature, art and antiquities, as well as those of foreign countries. But Sir Robert has given us a much more ample testimony of his intimate acquaintance with the natural products of his own country, in the famous work which he has published on that subject; whereof I shall not pretend to say more than that it fully answers its following title: (4) *SCOTIA ILLUSTRATA, Sive Prodomus Historiæ Naturalis, in quo Regionis Natura, Incolarum Ingenia & Mores, Morbi iisque medendi Methodus & Medicina Indigena, accuratè explicantur: & multiplices Naturæ partus in triplice ejus Regno, Vegetabili, scilicet, Animali & Minerali, per hancce Borealem magnæ Britanniæ partem, quæ, Antiquissimum Scotiæ Regnum constituit, undequaque diffusi, nunc primum in usum eruuntur, & varii eorum usus, Medici præsertim & Mechanici, quos ad Vitæ cum Necessitatem tum Commoditatem præstant, cunctis perspicuè exponuntur*. The indefatigable author, to whose successful pains Scotland is already infinitely indebted, is preparing a second edition of this book; wherein some additional discoveries will be made in almost every several chapter of the whole. To the Prodomus is prefixed his *Nuncius Scoto-Britannus*; which gives a compendious view of the great design he had formed of a perfect Scotch Atlas, wherein we should have had all that related to the ancient and present state of the kingdom. What belonged to the former of these, was intended to be given us in Latin, and would have largely treated of Old Britain in general, as well as of

(1) Fol. Lond. 3691. (2) Vid. Memor. Balfour. Par. 2. (3) 8vo. Edinb. 1697. (4) Fol. Edinb. 1684.

Albany and its provinces. How well all this would have been performed, we may reasonably guess from the specimen we have of the work in that most learned and elaborate (1) discourse, which he has obliged us with, touching the true Thule of the ancients; which, he there assures us, is yet more copiously treated on in his *Scotia Antiqua*. The other volume was to have been published in the English tongue, and would have afforded all that is remarkable in the present government and manners of the inhabitants, as well as in the natural productions of the several soils, the public buildings, monuments, inscriptions, &c. great advancements, likewise, in the natural history of the country, may still be hoped for from such treatises as he still reserves in manuscript. As, 1. *De Aquatilibus Observationes*; which he divides into two books, 1. *De Aquatilibus Sanguineis*. 2. *De Exanguibus*. The former is again subdivided into three parts, 1. *De cetaceis*; wherein there is an Appendix to his *Phalænologia*, treating particularly of a *Balæna Fœmina*, discovered since the publishing of that book. 2. *De Quadrupedibus Viviparis villosis*; amongst which is the *Lutra Marina*. 3. *De Piscibus propriè dictis*; as they are well divided by Willoughby and Ray, into *vivipari* and *ovipari*. The second book hath four parts; 1. *De Mollibus*. 2. *De Crustaceis*. 3. *De Testaceis*; which are all observed to be a kind of snails. 4. *De Insectis Aquaticis & Zoophytis*. The whole is prepared for the press; and the necessary sculptures are ready drawn. In the Appendix there is a special discourse, *De Conchâ Anatiferâ*, heretofore communicated, by way of lecture, to the college of physicians at Edinburgh; and a catalogue of the several sorts of fish, above an hundred, which are caught in the Frith. II. *Nautilogia*, five *Exercitatio Philosophica de Nautilis aliisq; Conchyliis Navigerâ Similitudine ornatis*; which is dedicated to (one of the great restorers of this, and all other parts of natural knowledge) Dr. Martin Lister. III. Discourses anent the Improvements may be made in Scotland for advancing the Wealth of the Kingdom; in three parts. 1. Of the present State of the Country; how different it is to what it was in the last Century; what is since added, and what is still wanting to make the People happy. 2. The Means whereby the Wants of the Country may be supplied; wherein it is discoursed of Arts, Trade, Navigation, and Improvements of Land and Colonies. 3. Of the Fishery in the Scottish Seas; the Means whereby it may be preserved, and the Advantages the Nation may have thereby.

Several particulars relating to the same affair (the natural history of Scotland) are to be had in the transactions of our English Royal Society: as, 1. Sir Robert Murray's (2) Account of the Extraordinary Western Tides; as likewise (3) of the remarkable Current of those about the Isles of Orkney. 2. His paper concerning (4) Barnacles (in the exact shape of birds) produced in the *Conchâ Anatiferâ*; his (5) Description of the Isle of Hirta; and his (6) Method of making Salt in Scotland. 3. Several (7) odd Phænomena in their Lakes, reported (chiefly from advices by Sir George Mackenzie) by Mr. James Gregory. 4. Reflections on the Nature (8) of Frosts in that Country; with some Hints towards the Improvement of their Horti-Culture; by Dr. Beal. Observations on the Nature of their (9) Soil, Agriculture, Plants, &c. (particularly their making ink out of the *Iris Palustris*) from Sir George Mackenzie to Mr. Gregory. 5. Dr. Tancred Robinson's (10) Account of the Scotch Barnacle and French Macreuse. 6. An (11) Abstract of Sir Robert Sibbald's (12) *Phalænologia Nova*; being a learned discourse on occasion of the taking of several uncommon sorts of whales on the Scotch coasts. 7. Dr. H. Sloan's (14) Reflections on four kinds of Indian Beans, found on the Orkney Shore. 8. Sir Robert Sibbald's (14) Letter to Dr. Lister, about the Scotch Shells. 9. Mr. Martin's (15) Observations on the Northern Isles. To these we may add some few more short pieces written by the natives of Scotland, and printed in their own kingdom: such are, Geo. Sinclair's Remarks on the Coals and Damps of that Country, in the end of his

(1) *Camd. Brit. N. E.* p. 1089. (2) Vol. 1. Numb. 4. p. 53. (3) Vol. 8. Numb. 98. p. 6139. (4) Vol. 12. Num. 137. p. 923. (5) *Ibid.* p. 927. (6) *Ibid.* Num. 142. p. 1069. (7) Vol. 10. Num. 114. p. 307. (8) *Ibid.* Num. 116. p. 357. (9) *Ibid.* Num. 117. p. 396. (10) Vol. 15. Num. 172. p. 1036. (11) Vol. 17. Num. 205. p. 972. (12) 4to. *Edinb.* 1692. (13) Vol. 19. Num. 222. p. 298. (14) *Ibid.* p. 321. (15) Vol. 19. Num. 233. p. 727.

PART II. Hydrostaticks; Dr. Mure's single sheet on the Virtues of the Well at Peterhead. Dr. Pat. Anderson's Cold Spring of Kinghorn Craig now out of repute. M. Mackaile's Account of the Sulphur Spaw at Moffet, &c.

Botany.

Hector Boethius (18) assures us that King Josina well understood the nature of Scotch plants, and their use in medicine and chirurgery: upon which J. Bale takes upon him to let the world know that he wrote a book, *De Herbarum Viribus*; but he does not tell us where we may find it. Certain we are that the best advances which have been made in that kingdom, in this most curious and useful part of natural history, are owing to the extraordinary skill and industry of Mr. James Sutherland, the present worthy overseer of the royal and physick gardens at Edinburgh; whose happy labours and settlement in that city, are justly registered among the many and great benefits for which she will ever be indebted to the memory of (19) Sir Andrew Balfour. As soon as ever this learned physician, by the joint interest and assistance of his no less learned kinsman and colleague, Sir Robert Sibbald, had procured ground and a salary for the purpose, the care and inspection of the work was readily committed to Mr. Sutherland; who, in about twenty years time, has brought his collection of plants to such a degree of excellency, as is truly admirable. His (20) *Hortus Medicus Edinburgensis*, shews that it was long since in a condition to vie with the best in foreign parts; and it now certainly surpasses most of them. In this catalogue, such plants as are natives of Scotland, are marked with the letter S in the margin: but it must be confessed, that a great many want this designation, which, nevertheless, have an undoubted and just claim to it. Such, for example, are these under the first letter of his alphabet; which, knowing to be natural productions of our English bordering counties, I do not question but they are likewise to be had wild in the neighbouring shires of that kingdom: *Abrotanum Campestre*, *Acanthium Vulgare*, *Acer minus*, *Aconitum racemosum*, *Allium montanum bicornis*, & *purpureum proliferum*, *Alnus nigra baccifera*, *Androsæmum vulgare*, *Angelica Sylvestris major*, *Antyllis maritima lentifolia*, *Apium palustre*, *Aquilegia Sylvestris*, *Argemone capitulo brevioris hispido*, & *Cambro-Britannica lutea*, *Arum maculatum*, *Asparagus marinus*, *Asperula cærulea*, *Asplenium*. This defect, with others, will be abundantly supplied in his next edition; which his friends begin now very impatiently to long for. The great variety of seeds and plants, which his correspondents abroad have furnished him with, have mightily encreased his foreign stock; and his late personal view and examination of the shores and mountains of Anandale, Niddisdale, &c. have amply discovered to him the riches of his own country; so that we have sufficient encouragement to hope that he will shortly oblige us with a new prospect of one of the best furnished gardens in Europe.

Metals.

I have seen a choice (1) treatise on the metals of Scotland, written by one Tho. Atkinson (or Atchefon) an Englishman; who was assay-master of the mint at Edinburgh, in the beginning of King James the Sixth's reign. After a discourse on general topicks, he acquaints his reader, that out of dry minerals the like gold has not often been seen or heard of, to be gotten within christendom, as this of Scotland; tried and reported to be worth threescore and sixteen thousand sterling per ton. By dry minerals, he tells us, he means the sappare, the callamineere, the saxeere, and the fallinoere, stones; which no doubt, is very intelligible and enlightning. He assures us, that natural, or native gold, is to be had in several places of the country; as, 1. On Crawford-Moore, and Fryer-Moore, in Clyddisdale. 2. On Robburt-Moore, and Man-nock-Moor, in Niddisdale. 3. On Glangaber Water in Inderland, in the Forest of Ettrick; and in many other combes and vallies. It is commonly found, he says, after great rains, linked fast to the sappare-stone, in like manner as lead-ore and white spar sometimes grow together. The best part of his knowledge seems to be borrowed from a parchment book (which, once or twice, he vouchsafes to quote) left by Cornelius, a German lapidary; who, upon Queen Elizabeth's recommendation, was (under the broad seal of Scotland) constituted Superior of his Majesty's Gold Mines. This Cornelius had his first commission under the Regent Earl of

(18) Hist. Scot. lib. 2. fol. 21. a. (19) Vid. Memor. Balfour. p. 69, 70, &c. (20) 8vo. Edinb. 1683.
(1) MS. p. D. R. S.

Murray; and the like afterwards under the Earl of Morton. He first discovered gold-mines at Crawford-John; and, in thirty days time, conveyed into the King's mint-house, at Edinburgh, half a stone weight of natural gold; that is, eight pounds Troy weight, worth four hundred and fifty pounds sterling. His book speaks of great gold, in the shape of birds eyes and birds eggs, found plentifully in Glangaber-Water, and worth six shillings and eight-pence sterling, by the ounce, at the first purchase. The (2) *Narratio de Metallis & Mineralibus* in Scotia, said to be written by Colonel J. Borthwick, is only a short paper of the names of places (collected perhaps out of this very book of Atkinson's, &c.) where the several sorts of metals are to be had in greatest plenty.

The original of government is a point which has been much bandied in Scotland; and the historians, to this day, represent it very differently. Both Fordun and Boethius are so indulging to the peoples claim of right, that it is no wonder to see their followers carry it very high on the same side. D. Chambre has thought fit to annex to his history a treatise which he calls, (3) *La Recherche des singularitez plus Remarquables concernant l'Estat d'Ecosse*, wherein he builds upon the three grand pillars of all government; valour in acquiring, followed by religion and justice in preserving; but, when he comes to speak of the original of the sovereignty, he expressly fetches it from the people; who, he says, were under a necessary constraint, *à cause des guerres commencées par les Britons, de transferer leur souverain pouvoir, & créer Fergus fils de Farquardus roy d'Irlande leur premier roy*. About two (4) years after this came out G. Buchanan's dialogue, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*; which proceeds on the same principles, and draws such conclusions from them as have been thought very prejudicial to the rights of princes in general, as well as the monarchs of Scotland. This occasioned a severe act of parliament (5) *Anent slanderers of the king, his pregenitors, estait and realm*; wherein, after a long prefatory account of the seditious practices of those times, are these words: *Attoure, because it is understood to his Hieness and to his three estaits, that the buikes of the Chronicle and De Jure Regni apud Scotos, made be unquibile Mr. GEORGE BUCHANNANE, and imprinted sinsine, conteins sindrie offensive matters, worthy to be deleete. IT IS THEREFORE statute and ordained that the bavers of the saidis twa volumes in their handes, inbring and deliver the same to my Lord Secretare or his deputies, within fourtie dayes, after the publication hereof, to the effect that the saidis volumes may be perused and purged of the offensive and extraordinary matters specified therein, not meete to remain as records of thruth to the posteritie, under the paine of twa hundredth pundes, of everie person failzeing heirin. And quhair ony ar not responsal to pay the said summe, to be punished in their persons at our SOVERAINE LORDIS will, &c.* This act is (6) observed to be passed in the very first parliament that was held after the dialogue was printed; but though it was but lately printed, it had been some years before published (in another manner) by its author himself; who, in the year (7) 1579, put it into the hand of his pupil and sovereign, who (by his way of ruling afterwards) did not seem to be much tainted with his tutors principles. The terror of this statute, seconded (as we shall see presently) by the arguments of great and learned men, prevailed for some time; but, within half an age, the democracy-men were as rife as ever, and their libels against monarchy as numerous. One of the topping writers, in this new set, was S. Rutherford, a most zealous presbyterian, professor of divinity at St. Andrew's, who published his (8) *Lex Rex* in defence of the Scotch expedition into England, for the aid and help of their brethren there. This was intended for an answer to *Sacro-Sancta Regum Majestas*, written by Dr. Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, whom Rutherford treats with all the contumely and ill language imaginable. The whole of his book consists of the states of forty-four questions; whereof forty and three have little in them relating to the particular constitution of the Scottish kingdom, being spent in examining the arguments of Grotius, Barclay, and others, on the general notion of monarchical sovereignty. In the forty-third, enquiry is made, whether the King of Scotland be an absolute prince, having prerogatives above parliament and laws? This is answered in the negative; and the opinion is supported by the

(2) Vid. Nunt. Scoto-Brit. p. 11. (3) 8vo. Paris, 1579. (4) 8vo. Edinb. 1581. (5) Parl. 8. J. 6. A. D. 1584. cap. 134. (6) Sir Geo. Mackenz. Jus Reg. pag. 8. (7) Ita MS. Calderwood, in Bibl. Glasg. Vol. 2. (8) 4^o. Lond. 1644.

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gium.

tenour of the king's coronation oath, and several acts of parliament. After which, their national confession of faith is brought in evidence; to prove that the resisting of kings, in tyrannical acts, is not resisting the ordinance of God: The apostolical rule being never violated, but where princes are withstood in doing the thing that appertaineth to their charge, and while they vigilantly travail in the execution of their office.

In opposition to these, the kingdom of Scotland has never wanted able advocates to plead in defence of the rights of monarchy. The first man that drew his pen against Buchanan, was Ninian Winzet, a popish schoolmaster at Linlithgow, who was afterwards banished for writing against the reformation, and was at last made abbot of a Scotch monastery in Germany. He called his book (9) *Vilitatio in Geo. Buchananum circa Dialogum, &c.* and shewed himself as great a master of the imperial law, as of critical learning. After him appeared W. Barclay, professor of laws in the University of Pontamuffon in Lorrain; whose business is to treat (10) *De Regno & Regali potestate, contra Monarchomachos, Buchananum, Brutum, &c.* Only two of his six books are against Buchanan; and these are in dialogue, as his adversary's tract is, but do not much dwell upon the affairs of Scotland. The four following are against Junius Brutus, and Boucheir; in all which he makes great use of Winzet's arguments, quoting him for whole pages together. A third eminent champion in the same cause we may justly reckon Sir John Weems of Craigtoun, a most excellent civilian and honourable lord of the sessions, who gives his book the title of (11) *Βασιλέως ὑπεροχή. Sive, de Regis Primatu Libellus. In quo Summa Regis Secundum Deum Autoritas, quum in Civilibus tum in Ecclesiasticis, supra & Populum & Clerum, breviter & Methodice probatur.* It is well worth the perusal of some of our modern English writers; and will help them to better notions (than they seem to have at present) of the power of kings in the convening of ecclesiastical synods within their respective realms and dominions. In our own language, the dialogue has been replied to (with much bitterness) by Sir James Turner, one of King Charles the First's colonels, and author of the *Pallas Armata*. He says he wrote his (12) *Animadversions* on this book at Hull in 1649, having but finished a few of them when the rebels at Westminster murdered the late King, &c. which made him more out of love with Buchanan, whom he looked on as one of those who had plentifully sown the seed of that rebellion which had procured all those dolorous effects. He takes notice that this author wrote his history merely to support his diabolical dialogue: and thereby to pull Queen Mary out of the Throne, and place his pupil (the Earl of Murray) upon it. The author's circumstances helped to raise his choler to somewhat of an unseemly degree; but (to assert his sincerity the better) he wished his reader to have Buchanan's history by him, that he may see both book and page are always fairly quoted. The royal prerogative of the Scottish kings has been also vigorously maintained (against the said historian, and his accomplices) by the learned Dr. Gilbert Burnet, now Bishop of Sarum, in his (13) *Vindication of the Authority, Constitution, and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland*; wherein the sovereignty of those monarchs, and the primitive institution of church-government under bishops, is amply demonstrated from the old laws of that kingdom, and the consent of their ecclesiastical historians. The doctrines and principles therein confuted had been lately revived in a pamphlet entitled (14) *Jus Populi Vindicatum*; the author whereof had endeavoured to give some new strength to the old arguments.

Sir Geo.
Mackenzie.

The reader will allow me to assign a separate paragraph for what has been written on this head by (the late renowned advocate) Sir George Mackenzie; whose character he may have from the Oxford antiquary. That, (15) he was a gentleman well acquainted with the best authors, whether antient or modern, of indefatigable industry in his studies, great abilities and integrity in his profession, powerful at the bar, just on the bench, an able statesman, a faithful friend, a loyal subject, a constant advocate for the clergy and universities, of strict honour in all his actions, and a zealous defender of piety and religion in all places and com-

(9) 8vo. Ingolst. 1595. (10) 4to. Paris, 1600. (11) 4to. Edinb. 1623. (12) MS. Fol. in Bibl. Glasg. (13) 8vo. Glasg. 1673. (14) 8vo. A. D. 1669. (15) A. Hen. Oxon. Vol. 2. p. 905.

panies. Amongst the many printed discourses of this learned and so great a man, there is one which he thought fit to name (16) *Jus Regium*, or, the just and solid foundations of monarchy in general, and more especially of the monarchy of Scotland, maintained against Buchanan, Naphthali, Dolman, Milton, &c. He thought a work of this nature the more necessary at that time, because the asserters of anti-monarchical principles were grown numerous; and in confidence of their being able to subvert the established government, and to introduce another more suitable to their opinions and tempers, several plots had been formed against the life of the then reigning king, and his royal brother.

Herein the monarchy of the Scottish kings was settled upon such foundations and principles, as the ingenious author thought to be sufficient for its support; though a learned person [Stillinfi. Præf. to Orig. Brit. pag. viii.] was afterwards pleased to observe, "That it could never be defended on good grounds, unless the account of Fergus, the son of Ferquhard, and the succession of kings from him, were rejected." Other great judges were of a different opinion. The treatise was dedicated to the loyal University of Oxford; who, the year before, had (in their publick convocation) decreed some contrary propositions to be (17) "false, scandalous and impious, infamous to christian religion, and destructive of all government in church and state:" ordering at the same time, "the recited books (wherein such propositions were asserted) to be publicly burnt, by the hand of their marshal in the court of their schools." In return therefore to the advocate's compliments in his dedication, the university was pleased to give him a (18) letter of thanks, for so bravely asserting the royal cause: and what a just esteem he had for the honour she therein did him, he afterwards let the world know, professing (19) openly that he "thought her testimony to be the next to that of a good conscience." It is to be hoped, the present and all succeeding members of that famous and learned body will take care inviolably to preserve this illustrious character, by effectually discountenancing the broachers of all popular principles in church or state: or, if any such have (through an inadvertency, to which the best human councils are sometimes subject) been already encouraged by publick marks of their favour, that they will do themselves so much right, as to try how far they can influence them into a publick revocation of their seditious errors.

The foreign alliances, leagues, and treaties, wherein the kings of Scotland have been successfully engaged, will be of great use to our historian; and will most clearly discover the changes to which the state of the nation has been subject, in her interests, dependencies, &c. In the treaty (1) betwixt Crathilinth and Thelargus (King of the Picts) it is observed that the ancient amity and good understanding betwixt the two nations had been established by a great many former leagues and public stipulations; and yet I cannot encourage my reader to be very diligent in his searches after any of these. The most antient, which is now supposed to be entirely extant, is that which was concluded betwixt the Emperor (2) Charles the Great, and Achaius; whereupon it was allowed that, in all time coming, the Scottish kings should bear their (3) red lion (Fergus the First's arms) in a counter-charged border of flowers-de-lis. I have seen a noble (4) manuscript of two hundred and thirty sheets in folio, of the treaties betwixt the kings of France and Scotland; from the year 791 (wherein the forementioned famous league was concluded) to 1296. Whereunto are added the privileges granted by several kings of France to the Scots; fairly written in their original languages. [Upon this latter subject there is a printed treatise which bears the title of (5) *Elcosse Francoise*; which gives the original of the privileges of the Scotch guards in France.] But the richest repository of such sort of treasure, is the Cottonian library; wherein its noble founder (being himself descended from the royal (6) family of the Bruces) has left many testimonies of his being more naturally inclined to preserve the records of Scotland, than

(16) 8vo. Lond. 1684. (17) Vid. Decret. Acad. Oxon. in Comitibus, Jul. 21, 1683. Fol. Oxon. 1683. (18) See the letter at large, in the Appendix, No 1. (19) Antiquity of the Royal Line farther cleared, pag. 7. (1) H. Boeth. Hist. Scot. lib. 6. Fol. 93. b. (2) Id. lib. 10. Fol. 188. a. Lest. lib. 4. p. 166, 167, &c. (3) Fulvo Leone, Lest. (in Vit. Ferg. 1.) Lib. 2. p. 79. Rubenti, Boeth. (4) Bought out of the late Lord P's Library. (5) 8vo. Paris. (6) Vide Vitam ejus, à D. Tho. Smith, Catalog. Cotton. præfix.

PART
II.

of any other nation whatever, England only excepted. The highest that these reach, are to the reign of our Edward the First; from whose time (7) one volume brings the *Acta inter Angliam & Scotiam* as low as Henry the Fifth, and (8) another falls as low as Queen Elizabeth. In Edward the Third's time we have a narrative (9) *De Treugis Scotiæ captis*, A. D. 1357, apud Berewicum; as also, what partly relates to the reign of his successor Richard the Second (10) *Confœderationes inter Regem Franciæ & Robertum R. Scotiæ*, annis 1371 & 1390. From the first years of Henry the Eighth, down to the union of the crowns in King James, there is an entire set of all agreements, letters, &c. which passed betwixt the two kingdoms, on a publick score, in (11) eleven large volumes; the complete treaties whereof, with many more of the like kind betwixt England and other nations, will shortly (we hope) be published by Mr. Rymer; in his *Archiva Regia Referata*, a work much longed for by our English historians.

Heraldry.

There is a very fair collection of matters relating to the Scotch court of honour left by Sir David Lyndsay, of the Mount, Lyon king at arms, in the reign of King James the Fifth; which is now (12) accompanied with five more modern and most noble volumes (four whereof are in colours) of the arms of their kings, dukes, earls, &c. In one of these we have all the kings from John Baliol to James the Sixth, drawn at length in their royal habits, followed by the crests, and other appendages of honour, belonging to the nobility of Scotland. Add to these, Sir James Balfour's (13) *Notes on the Precedency of the Nobles on publick Occasions*; and his Alphabetical (14) *Account of the Nobility and Gentry of that Kingdom*, with many other pieces of his composition. This excellent person, of whom we shall have occasion to say more hereafter, was Lyon in Charles the First's time; and one of the happiest (15) collectors and preservers of the Scottish antiquities that ever lived. Another great advancement has been since given to this most honourable part of knowledge by Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, the fore-mentioned lord advocate; who has obliged all the nobility and gentlemen of Europe, as well as his own countrymen, with a treatise which very justly bears the title of (16) *The Science of Heraldry*, treated on as a Part of the Civil Law, and Law of Nations; wherein Reasons are given for its Principles, and Etymologies for its harder Terms. He begins with an enquiry into the original use of bearing of arms, and shews how these have ever been the best preservers of the memory of all noble achievements: after which he particularly explains every nicety in the whole art of blazonry; occasionally illustrating a great many dark passages in their history, and presenting his reader with good cuts of the arms of most of the noblemen, and other persons of quality within the kingdom of Scotland. I say, most of them; because, as the author himself afterwards expressed it, he never intended, in this work, to "publish a register of all the surnames and bearings in the nation. He was not induced to name any, either from the antiquity or greatness of their families, or his own relation or kindness to them; but merely from the specific suitableness of their arms to the several kinds of charges and ornaments treated of throughout the work." To this are prefixed his *Observations upon the Laws and Customs of Nations as to Precedency*: in the second chapter whereof the precedence of the kings of Scotland, amongst the potentates of christendom, is considered; and, in the third, the author proves at large that the crown of that kingdom was always independent on that of England. The rest of the book is of a more general extent; and answers queries in the civil law at large, which yet afford some replies that especially touch upon the affairs of Scotland.

Orkney.

After the general descriptions of the kingdom, it is fit we should enquire after such writers as have more particularly considered some of their many isles, counties or cities: and, amongst these, I think the isles of Orkney may justly challenge the precedence. There is a pretty ancient history of these, together with a short one of the whole kingdom, which was compiled by order of the King of Denmark; and its truth is attested by the bishop and prebendaries of that church. A manuscript copy of it, which belonged formerly to Bishop Reid, is now in the

(7) *Vespasianus*, F. VII. (8) *Ibid.* C. xvi. (9) *Vitellius*, C. IV. 4. (10) *Titus*, A. III. 2. (11) *Caligula*, B. C. D. (12) *Inter MSS.* Balfour. (13) 8vo. MS. *Ibid.* (14) Fol. MS. *Ibid.* (15) *Vid. Memor.* Balfour. p. 15, 16, &c. (16) Fol. Edinb. 1680.

possession of Mr. Robert Norrie, Minister at Leckoway near Forfar; and contains about a PART II.
 quire of paper. Dr. Robert James, the noted antiquary of Corpus-Christi College in Oxford, wrote also a (1) Description of Orkney and the Highlands of Scotland; which is now amongst his remains, in the said college. This is a very short one: but so is not that which, a few years ago, was sent us by Thorm. Torffæus, historiographer royal to the King of Denmark for his kingdom of Norway. The title of his book will sufficiently inform the reader of its contents; and thus it runs: (2) ORCADES, Seu Rerum Orcadensium Historiæ Lib. 3. Quorum Primus, præter Insularum Situm, Numerumque, Comitum, Procerum, Incolarumque; Origines, Familias, Gesta, & Vicissitudines à primis Monarchiæ Norvegicæ incunabulis ad An. 1222. continuâ fere Serie exhibet. Secundus primos Orcadum Episcopos eorumque; Successores, &, qui postea vixerunt, Comites sub Regibus Norvegiæ fiduciariorum, tum etiam quæ de rebus Orcadensibus & Hæbudensibus exinde ad An. 1469, annotata, complectitur. Utroque firmiter asseritur Regum Norvegiæ Jus Domini in Insulas illas. Tertius indefessa Potentissimorum Regum Daniæ Norvegiæque; Studia in Jure suo repetendo continet, Variis documentis ex Archivis Regiis asserta. It is dedicated to the late King Christian the Fifth; who is very warmly pressed (whether so very seasonably or not, let the politicians judge) to resume the possession of those isles. What this author has most zealously advanced, in the prosecution of his main design, will easily be overthrown; if what the historians of Scotland affirm on this subject be true: and they should be allowed to be as well acquainted with the records of their own nation, as this historiographer royal is with those of Denmark. They acknowledge that his Danish majesty did only, at the first, mortgage the isles of Orkney and Schetland for the payment of fifty thousand rixdollars, in dower with his daughter; and the original instrument of this conveyance my (2) author says he saw under the hands and seals of both kings, dated in the year 1468. He adds, that upon Queen Margaret's being brought to bed of a young prince, King Christian made an absolute deed, and for ever quitted his claim to those dominions: *hujus renunciationis Tabulas in Archivis Scotorum Principum asservari audio*. It is true, this part of his testimony is only upon hear-say: and the historian being at Paris when he gave it, was not in circumstances to procure a more authentic proof: but I have (4) reason to believe, that the latter end of his story will shortly be made as good to us as the beginning, by those who have the opportunities, which he wanted, of searching more narrowly into those matters. Another modern description of the isles of Orkney, was drawn up by Mr. James Wallace, late Minister of Kirkwall; who, at the request of Sir Robert Sibbald, made his collections and map of that country, designing both for the service of that general atlas of the kingdom which his friend had projected. It was first (5) published, and dedicated to Sir Robert, by his son; who, being now doctor of physick, and fellow of the royal society, has enlarged and (6) reprinted it in his own name. Out of these and some other returns to his queries, together with his own collections and observations, Sir Robert Sibbald himself has likewise composed a large and finished (7) Description of these Islands; in fifty-two chapters, the titles whereof are these: 1. Of the Name of the Orcades. 2. The Isles in General. 3. Particular; and first of Stromæ. 4. South Ronaldsa. 5. Swinna. 6. Waes and Hoi. 7. Burra. 8. Flota. 9. South Fara. 10. Greensa. 11. Cava. 12. Ryfa. 13. Pomona, or the main Land. 14. Shepenfa. 15. Stronza. 16. Sanda. 17. Eda. 18. Damsley. 19. Roufa. 20. Inhallo. 21. Wyre. 22. Gairza. 23. Eglesha. 24. Westra. 25. Papa Westra. 26. North Fara. 27. North Ronaldsa. 28. Papa Stronza. 29. Isles near Orkney. 30. Continuation of this Account. 31. Waters; and first of Pent and Firth. 32. Tides. 33. Fresh Waters. 34. Heavens and Air. 35. Plants. 36. Brutes; and first four-footed. 37. Fowl. 38. Fishes; and first of Shell-fish. 40. Cetaceous. 41. Several Kinds of Whales on the Coasts. 42. Other rare Fish. 43. Marine Substances. 44. Ancient Monuments and Curiosities. 45. Ancient Inhabitants. 46. Romans there. 47. Danes. 48. State of the Isles since

(1) Vid. Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 1. p. 263. (2) Fol. Hafn. 1697. (3) J. Ferrer, in Append. ad Hist. H. Boethii, fol. 389. a. Vid. etiam Less. Hist. Scot. lib. 8. p. 303. (4) Vid. J. Skene, de Signif. Verb. voce Annuel. (5) 8vo. Edinb. 1693. (6) 8vo. Lond. 1700. (7) Fol. MS. p. Auctorem.

PART II. their Time. 49. Manners and Customs. 50. Extraordinary Accidents. 51. Present Government. 52. Religion. He has also a manuscript description of them by John Ben, who lived there in 1529, and a short relation of the most considerable things in them, by Matt. Mackail.

Schetland The isles of Schetland are, in like manner, largely (1) described by Sir Robert; who has distributed his work into the following chapters: 1. Of the Isles in General. 2. Fare Isle. 3. Dunross-nefs. 4. Burra-Isle. 5. Brassa-Isle. 6. Noffe. 7. Ualls. 8. Daliting. 9. North Maben. 10. Isle of Monst. 11. Quality of the Country. 12. Waters. 13. Quadrupeds. 14. Fowl. 15. Fishes. 16. Plants. 17. Diseases. 18. Metals and Minerals. 19. Manners of the present Inhabitants. 20. Whether these, or any of them, be the Thule of the Ancients?

Hebrides. The western isles are pretty accurately described by Donald Monroe, dean of the isles, who travelled them over in 1549; from whom, as has been already observed, George Buchanan had this part of his geographical description. This is still in (2) manuscript: but we have a printed account of a late (3) Voyage to St. Kilda, the remotest of these islands, by Mr. Martin; who particularly enough recites its products, the manners of the inhabitants, &c. but takes no notice of the isle's having the name of Hirta, as both Boethius and Lesley observe, from Hirth, which in their language is the name of a sheep. I have seen another description of this island and Rona, by the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Tarbet. What wants in any, or all of these, is supplied by Sir Robert Sibbald, who has treated on them in the following order and chapters: (4) 1. Of the Western Isles in General. 2. Isles in the Frith of Cluyd. 3. Those on the South of the Point of Ardnamurchen. 4. Those on the North of the said Point. 5. Lewis and Harrie. 6. Rona. 7. Hirta. 8. Mull. 9. Wist. 10. Barrowe. 11. Skye. If the curious reader be desirous to make himself a little acquainted with that dialect of the Irish tongue, which is still spoken here, and in the neighbouring highlands, he may see a vocabulary of it in the (5) Appendix.

Counties. There are not many of the counties of Scotland described singly, and by themselves, besides what we have already observed to be transmitted into Bleau's Atlas; or, at least, have been recounted amongst Sir Robert Sibbald's papers. Angus has been elegantly described, in a pure Latin style, by Mr. Robert Edwards, Minister at Murrefs; who also drew an excellent new map of that county. Both the description and map are published by the Jansons, and dedicated to the Earl of Panmure. Buchan is described, and all its remarkable accounted for, by the Countess of Errol: another description is given of it by Dr. Cockburn; and a third of the north side of the coast, by Alex. Gearden of Troup. All these might have been remembered (6) elsewhere. Sir James Balfour wrought a full Account of the (7) Shire of Fife; which I suppose is still amongst his papers, though I do not remember that I ever saw it. But I have seen a treatise of the origin and continuance of the Thanes and Earls of Fife, furnished Mackduff; of whom the families of Mackintosh, Weems, Schaw, and Duff, are descended: to which is added a list of the men most eminent of the family of Mackintosh, whose acts are recorded either in manuscript or printed chronicles. I have also had the perusal of a good rental of the king's revenue in these parts, which bears the inscription of *Inquisitio facta in Curiâ Vicecomitis de Fyffe tenta in prætorio Burgi de Cupro per Nobilem Dominum Patricium Dom. Lindesay de Byres, &c. A. D. 1517.* The large county of Galloway is exactly surveyed by (8) Mr. Andrew Symson; who was sometime minister there, afterwards at Douglas, and is now an ejected episcopalian at Edinburgh.

Cities, &c. The cities and boroughs royal are, most of them, described in Latin verse (9) by Jo. Johnston, the King's Professor of Divinity at St. Andrew's; who so well expresses himself on every one of these that have come under his consideration, that our learned Camden has thought it no disparagement to his famed Britannia, to transcribe his poems at large, as they fell in his way. One who is pleased to call himself Philopoliteius [his true name is said to be Skene] has

(1) Fol. MS. Ibid. (2) Fol. MS. p. D. R. S. alioque. (3) 8vo. Lond. 1698. (4) MS. Fol. p. Auctorem. (5) Vid. Num. II. (6) MS. p. D. R. S. (7) Vid. Memor. Balfour, p. 44. (8) 4to. MS. p. Auctorem. (9) 16°, Middleburg Zealand, 1642.

given out (1) memorials for the government of the royal burghs in Scotland; wherein, having briefly explained the nature and constitution of them, as distinct from burghs of barony and regality, he proceeds to treat on the offices and qualifications of the magistrates, deans of guild, recorders, &c. In some of his chapters, he gives abstracts of certain laws of that kingdom, relating to his subject; but, in the main, handles it more like a divine or moralist, than a man of law and business.

A fair draught of the city of Edinburgh, of four foot length, was taken by Mr. James Gordon, son of the famous Stralough; who surveyed it very accurately, and noted down the names of all the particular places of note. This is printed in Holland. Two little manuscript discourses I have seen under the titles of *Edinburgi & Lethæ Descriptio*, and *Provinciae Edinburgenæ Descriptio*; both which are supposed to be the work of David Buchanan. For the determining of all controversies about the election of magistrates and other officers, which used formerly to arise betwixt the guild of the merchants and the other fourteen companies of crafts (as they call them) in this city, there was a Decreet Arbitral made, in the year 1583, by King James the Sixth; who, to this purpose, was chosen umpire [Odsman and Overman] by mutual consent of both the contending parties. It is printed under the title of (2) *The Set of the City of Edinburgh*.

Together with the fore-mentioned memorial for the Burghs, Mr. Skene (or Philopoliteius, if he is still pleased to have it so) published (3) *A Succinct Survey of the famous City of Aberdeen*, with its Situation, Description, Antiquity, Fidelity, and Loyalty to their Sovereigns; as also, the gracious Rewards conferred thereon; and the signal Evidences of Honour put upon many chief MAGISTRATES thereof; with a Catalogue of them since the City was burnt for Loyalty, about the year 1330. Thus much is in the title page; and enough for an abstract of so small a book; though, I must add, there are in it a deal of curious remarks, in a decent and nervous style, becoming a man of good parts and learning. Mr. James Gordon drew also a map of New and Old Aberdeen, together with the colleges, port, harbour, and river of Dee; on the side of the map there is a short view of the Ager Abredonensis, both in Latin and English. Nor ought we to forget the small treatise written by Dr. William Barclay (the physician) on the Callirrhoe, commonly called the Well of the Spaw, or the Nymph of Aberdeen; which has had several (4) impressions.

C H A P. II.

Of the General Historians of SCOTLAND.

OF what consideration the old bards were in the northern parts of Britain, the reader will best learn from the eloquent pen of one of the most famous humanists of Scotland. (5) *Quamvis*, says he, *intelligent omnes plus semper virium & industriæ Scotis fuisse ad res gerendas, quam commentationis ad prædicandas, habue unt tamen antiquitus & coluerunt suos Homeros & Marones: Quos Bardos nominabant. Hi fortium virorum facta versibus heroicis, & lyræ modulis aptata concinébant; quibus & præsentium animos acuebant ad virtutis gloriam, & fortitudinis exempla ad posteros transmittébant* — *Cujusmodi apud Cambros & priscos Scotos* (he means the Highlanders) *nec dum desinere; & nomen illud patrio sermone adhuc retinent.* Some of these we shall meet with hereafter, in the accounts given of the genealogies of the ancient kings of the country; but it is not only the royal family (we must know) that is thus immortalized, but the chief, or head of every clan of quality, has his ancestors embalmed in such heroick numbers.

(1) 8vo. Aberd. 1685. (2) 8vo. Aberd. 1685. (3) 8vo. Aberd. 1685. (4) 8vo. Ibid. 1615, 1670. (5) J. Johnston, in *Præfat. ad Her. Scot. Vid. & G. Buchan. Hist. Scot. lib. 2. p. m. 42 & 60.*

PART
II.
Picts.

Whether the Scots destroyed the records of the Picts together with the people, or how otherwise they have perished, I cannot determine; but it is very sure, we have now only such accounts of them as are extremely imperfect. After their delivery from King Ethelstan's persecution, they bore St. Andrew's Cross for their arms; King Hungus made some good laws, in favour of religion, and the clergy; which were revoked by King Ferdeeth; and (6) this is the most of what can be said of the historical remains of about thirty of their kings, whose bare names is all that is left of them to posterity. Dempster, indeed, (7) mentions some writers, who (if they could be met with) would assist us mightily in this dark part of our history; such as Fulgentius's epistle to Donald, King of Scots in the time of Severus, St. Glodianus's Chronicle of the Picts, which he says is cited by Veremundus; Galdus's epistles to the Britains; S. Machorius of the destruction of the Picts, and St. Minnanus of their union with the Scots. These, I doubt, are irrecoverably lost. But, it seems, there is still a manuscript in the Norfolk Library, which bears the title of (8) *Historia de Terrâ Picticâ, in Linguâ Picticâ exarata*. Will not this do great things for us? Truly, No. He that consults the book, will find it only a Latin treatise (written in Irish characters) of logick, ethicks, and physicks, in the old Aristotelian way. The false title seems to have drawn the noble purchaser to buy it at as much mistaken a rate; for in it there is this note, *Pretium 5 l. H. Howard*. A modern (9) history of them we have, which is supposed to be written by Hen. Maul of Melgum; and, by the author, dedicated to Sir James Balfour. It begins with the original of their name and language; and proceeds with their manners, government, and religion; bounds of their kingdom; battles with the Romans, Saxons, and Scots; the overthrow of their state; and a catalogue of their kings to Drulkinus, who (according to the Scottish writers) was the thirty-fourth in number. After this he gives an old list which he will not warrant) out of the ancient records of the priories of Lochlevin and St. Andrew's; which reckons up no less than fifty-three of them. In the next place, he obliges his reader with a catalogue of all the governours sent by the Romans into Albion, against the Scots and Picts. And lastly, presents him with (what he calls) the key of the whole history, explaining alphabetically the difficult words. All that gives authority to the conjecture of H. Maul's being the compiler of this Pictish history, is the following copy of verses prefixed:

*Through the blind labyrinth of life's meanders,
To guide our steps a thread a story renders;
It is the chiefest treasure-house of wit,
A shop wherein we may but danger sit;
And our estate as in a glass behold,
Matching the present with the times of old, &c.*

This poem is designed, To my much honoured and very worthy friend, Sir James Balfour, Lyon King of Arms; and subscribed, Henry Maul of Melgum. He has certainly written the genealogy of the right honourable family of Panmure, whereof he was a branch; but whether this be his work, or Sir James's, commended only by him, is uncertain. The hand-writing (of that in the Lawyer's Library, which seems to be the original) is not Sir James's own hand.

Danes
and
Saxons.

Were we very sure that the Picts were a colony of the Agathyrsi, or maritime (1) inhabitants of the Baltic, we could be no longer at a loss to whom we should ascribe the many monuments found on the north-east parts of Scotland, which so exactly resemble those runic piles that are in Sweden and Denmark; but, till this is made much plainer than hitherto it appears to me, I must believe them to be remains of the latter incursions of the Danes and other northern nations. H. Boethius, (2) in one of his peculiar fancies, thinks them reliques of the Egyptian fashions; looking upon their figures of birds, beasts, &c. as the old hieroglyphical way of writing practised in the country from whom the Scots had their original. He observes likewise that there

(6) H. Boeth, lib. 10. fol. 190. b. 191. a. (7) Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. (8) Vid. Catal. MS. Oxon. Tom. 2. par. 1. Num. 3222. (9) MS. in Bibl. Icc. Edinb. (1) Stillingfl. Orig. Brit. p. 247, 248. (2) Descript. Scot. Fol. 12. a.

was, in old times, an alphabet which admirably expressed the peculiar vowels and diphthongs of their primitive language; which, he says, was (even in his days) taught by men skilled in the mysteries of their ancient poetry. How these things agree with his making King (3) Reutha the first contriver of these monuments, let the friends and patrons of his history consider. He allows indeed that there are some Danish monuments near Camistoun, so called from Camus (a Danish general) there slain; to whose memory there is an obelisk erected, with draughts of the great overthrow of himself and his followers. The like in remembrance of another victory obtained against that people by the same King Malcolm the Second, is at Aberlemnon, within four miles of Brechen: (4) *Quo in loco ingens lapis est erectus. Huic Animantium Effigies nonnullis cum Characteribus artificiosè, ut tum fiebat, quæ rem gestam posteritati annuntiarent, sunt insculptæ.* The Danish nobility, slain in Macbeth's time, were buried (he says) in Emoniâ Insulâ (5) where their arms are still on their grave-stones. These last seem properly enough, *Monumenta Danica*; but the rest, which are supposed to be erected only in remembrance of their sufferings, may be as probably thought Scottish or Pictish. However, the runic characters and true Danish inscriptions, which have lately been discovered on some of these Obelisks, will not suffer us to doubt any longer of their original; and next to these, if not older than some of them, we may reckon the Saxon records; if any such be yet in the publick, or private libraries of Scotland. Mr. James Cuninghame's learned (6) Essay upon the Inscription of Macduff's Cross in Fyfe, brings the Macaronic rhymes on that venerable piece of antiquity from a Saxon fountain; and reduces them into an intelligible and princely charter, wherein King Malcolm Canmoir grants large privileges to the loyal earl of that county.

Thus far we only grope in the dark; nor shall we have any true light 'till we come towards the latter end of the eleventh century. Sir George Mackenzie acquainted the world (pretty (7) solemnly) that he had newly met with an historical writer, called Carbri Lefachair, in an old manuscript brought from Icolmkil; upon which Dr. Stillingfleet (8) observed that there was an Irish king of that name about the year 284, and that it was probable he might be turned into an author by mistake. Mr. Lhwyd tells me that (in his last year's travels in Ireland) he met with one Beatoun, a poor sojourning clergyman, who had picked up several fragments of old Irish manuscripts in the Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland; amongst which he had three large leaves of the works of Carbri Lefachair M'Cormac M'Arteonfhaor, who was a heathen, and lived about the year 200. Mr. Lhwyd's own skill in the language could not enable him to make any thing of them; nor was he enlightened by any assistance he could get, though he desired (and had) the best helps the kingdom of Ireland could afford him. I am well assured that Sir George had his tidings from the same hand; and I dare say, whenever these few pages meet with a sufficient interpreter, they will make just such discoveries in history as we have already had from the Pictish manuscript in Gresham College. Such another Scotch historian is Fastidius; of whom Trithemius says, that he was (9) Episcopus Britannorum, about the year of our Lord 420, and that he wrote two books, *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*, and *de Viduitate servandâ*. Out of these Bale and Pits have made four; and Dempster took the liberty of adding a fifth, which he was also pleased to entitle (10) *Chronicon Scotiæ*. The like plain story (11) J. Pits tells us of Merlinus Caledonius; who (he says) was born on the borders of Scotland, a great favourite of King Arthur, and died in North Wales about the year 570. He wrote one book about the ancient revolutions in that kingdom; which bears the title *De Fortunis Albanorum*, and begins thus; *Regnum Scotorum fuit inter cætera*. As punctual as he is in this account, he does not let us know (as usual) where this same book is to be had. The learned Master Thomas (12) Craig (as his translator makes him express himself) says that he had authors, who wrote about 812, and mention that, when the Danes invaded Ireland, determined to settle there, they were overcome in battle by the Scots. I am loth to question any matter of fact which is

(3) Hest. Boeth. Hist. Scot. lib. 2. Fol. 20. a. (4) Ibid. lib. 12. Fol. 243. b. (5) Ibid. Fol. 249. a. (6) 4to. Edinb. 1678. (7) In an Advertisement to his Defence of the Royal Line. (8) Pref. to Orig. Brit. p. 44. (9) De Script. Eccl. fol. m. 26. a. (10) Hist. Eccles. lib. 6. Num. 530. (11) Relat. Hist. de rebus Ang. p. 101. (12) De Homin. cap. 9. p. 79.

PART
II.

so peremptorily asserted by so great a man, and in which he could not easily be mistaken; but I heartily wish he had been pleased to explain himself a little more fully. We are told of one (13) Alvared, a Scotch historian; who dedicated his book to King Malcolm the Third, about the year 1057. This writer is (14) expressly distinguished from Baldredus, or Ethelredus, who seems also to be understood as a different author from Rievallensis; and yet I am afraid they will all three make no more than one historian; who was contemporary indeed with Malcolm the Fourth, but lived an hundred years after the third king of that name.

Marianus
Scotus.

Marianus Scotus ought to be especially remembered here amongst his countrymen; though, for as good reasons, we have also given him a place amongst our English historians. From his own history it appears that he was born in the year 1028; that he became a Monk in 1059, and settled at Mentz in 1069. His chronicle concludes with the year 1082, and he died in 1088. Brian Twyne (15) says, the best manuscript copy of it is in the publick library at Oxford; and complains that it was published very imperfectly, (16) *Impressum*, (says he) *editum quis diceret? Qui multo plura occultat quam edit.* J. Pits (17) says, that Marianus was taken to task by a learned chronologer of Merton College in Oxford; where the book which he wrote against this historian (bearing some such title as *Calculatio de Universali tempore*) was to be seen. Possibly it may be the same with Robert of Hereford's book, *De Annis Domini*; which was only a few collections out of Marianus's Chronicle, and is truly observed (by the same Pits) to be in Cope's library; though he blunderingly entitles it *Excerpta de Chronica Mariæ in Scotia*.

David
Scotus.

David Scotus was a (18) comrade at least of Marianus. He was some time a school-master at Wurtzburgh; whence he was called to court by the Emperor Henry the Fifth, whose life he wrote in three books. Trithemius, indeed, makes another person of both his names, author of the book *De Regno Scotiæ*; who, he says, was a priest, &c. But since he brings them both within the reign of the aforesaid emperor, and represents both as writers of his life, it is probable they are the same man. Aventinus, in the sixth book of his annals, acknowledges himself obliged to this David; which might be on the account of his Scotch history, though it be now supposed to be (19) lost.

Vere-
mundus.

Contemporary with the two former, is Hector Boethius's famous guide, Veremundus; whom he affirms to have been a Spaniard born, and Archdeacon of St. Andrew's in the year 1076; that he dedicated his history to Malcolm Canmoir, is asserted by others; and that, in his said epistle, he appealed to the Druids and Monks, and to their monuments of antiquity in the Isles of Man and Icolmkil. From this latter place Hector (20) professes that this history was sent to him from the Earl of Argyle and his brother, in the year 1525; and I wish he had likewise acquainted us how it was disposed of afterwards. He is very particular in the account he gives of the performance, saying that it was (21) *Rudi quâdam vetustate conscripta Historia, à Scotorum Gentis Origine usq; Malcolmum Canmor Regem, abunde omnia complectens.* He affirms, that this author is much more correct in his chronological (22) calculations than Geoffrey of Monmouth; as well as in the narration of many matters of fact, wherein he disagrees with that fabulous writer; and that he is a (1) punctual observer of what he found in Cæsar's Commentaries, Suetonius, and Tacitus. Notwithstanding all this exactness, (2) Dr. Stillingfleet (in his noted controversy with Sir George Mackenzie) was pleased to question, as the Bishop of (3) St. Asaph had done before him, whether there was ever any such man. The only reason offered for this doubt, is, because the advocate had not then cleared the point; but (before he attempted it) it appears to me that the bishop himself was satisfied in that matter, since (in the (4) body of his book) he allows that he lived under Malcolm the Third, in times of very gross ignorance. But, supposing (as indeed it is now more than probable) that there was such a man, how shall

(13) Sir G. M. Def. of Royal Line, p. 35. (14) Ibid. p. 36. (15) De Antiq. Oxon. lib. 1. p. 67. Vid. tamen Catal. MS. Oxon. Tom. 1. Par. 2. Num. 1624. (16) Twyne, ubi supra p. 191. (17) Vid. Voss. de Hist. Lat. lib. 2. cap. 47. (18) Ibid. cap. 48. (19) Spotsw. lib. 2. p. 35. (20) In Epist. Ded. (21) Hist. lib. 6. fol. 114. b. (22) Lib. 8. Fol. 128. a. It. lib. 10. fol. 191. a. (1) Lib. 2. fol. 34. a. (2) Pref. to Orig Brit. p. XLIX. &c. (3) Pref. to Histor. Acc. p. XLI. (4) Histor. Acc. p. 151.

we be assured that he wrote the history of Scotland? This is what Dr. Stillingfleet is mainly puzzled with; and a difficulty which he thinks is not to be overcome. His reasons are; PART II.

1. About Hector's time, it was a common thing to counterfeit ancient authors; and he sees no reason why Veremundus may not be reckoned with those impostors, who borrowed the greater names of Berosus, Philo, Coto, &c. If this were the case, I should think Hector would have fathered his brat upon Columba, Ninus, or Kentigern, sooner than on an obscure Spaniard; whose name was hardly ever heard of, and whose authority could not be so considerable.

2. Dempster reckons a great many writers of Scotch history, who are allowed to be counterfeits; and why may not Veremundus be one of these? And why (says the advocate's friends) may he not be one of those that are genuine? 3. Fordon never quotes him; and yet he is pretty accurate in citing his authorities. This may possibly be a mistake. Among the writers appealed to by that historian, we find frequent mention made of one (5) Grossum Caput; whom the Doctor acknowledges, (seeing he cannot be Grostest, the famous Bishop of Lincoln) he cannot tell what to make of. But since (6) Buchanan says it was the fashion of the Scots to give surnames to their kings, from some remarkable part of their bodies, (as the French had their Craffi, Calvi, &c.) And that the Canmoir signifies great head, I know not but Fordon may quote the history which was inscribed to Malcolm by this name; especially, if it shall be observed that he relates some passages, upon this very authority of Grossum Caput, which Hector afterwards gives upon the credit of his Veremundus.

4. Elphinston never names Veremundus, though Boethius says, it was he who gave the first intimation of him, and followed him in his history; but on the contrary, gives the story of the first kings in the same imperfect manner that Fordon had done before him, and not so fully as Hector pretends to have had them from Veremundus. The Doctor (7) owns that his copy of Elphinston's history was imperfect, reaching no farther than the thirteenth century; and, if Hector was more complete, it is not impossible but some respects might be paid to the good old Archdeacon, which were wanting in the Doctor's transcript. If his being mentioned by Bale, Gefner, Holinshed, &c. (8) deserve no consideration, surely his being omitted by Vossius will not deserve very much; since it will hardly be said that none of the true Latin historians have escaped the notice of that learned person. I can readily agree, that no great stress is to be laid upon (9) Sir R. Baker's registering of this author in the catalogue prefixed to his history; but then, I would also desire that his being over-looked by Boston of Bury, and J. Leland, may signify as little. They that say, our Edward the First carried the records and vouchers of history out of the kingdom of Scotland, tell us likewise that he destroyed them; so that it is no such likely matter, as the Doctor would make it, that one of these two must necessarily have met with all the plunder and booty which he brought from their libraries. What opinion the learned and honest Gordon of Straloch had of this matter, appears from his critical letter to David Buchanan (10) (dated 8vo. Kalend. Aug. A. D. 1649,) on the subject of the Scotch historians: *Testes producit* (says he, speaking of H. Boethius) *Veremundum & Cornelium Hibernicum; quorum ille vixit circa annum salutis, 1090; alter posterior. Nemo vivit qui illum viderit; de hoc nunquid supersit dubito. Nulla certe vestigatione eum mihi reperiri potuisse fateor. Audiui adolescens Abredoniae, ubi Boethius academiae praefuit & fato functus est, illum exemplaria eorum authorum manuscripta delevisse, ad conciliandam historiae suae gratiam; ut nostrae antiquitates solum inde haurirentur. Misellus homo! Quantum accesserit gratiae in dubio est.* If we might believe David Chambre, there were copies of Veremund long after H. Boethius's death; for he quotes his (11) epistle dedicatory with as much formality as if it were lying before him, and appeals (12) gravely to his second book for the league betwixt Charles the Great and King Achaius.

Were we sure that Turgot wrote any thing of the General History of Scotland, he ought to begin the twelfth century; having been (1) consecrated Bishop of St. Andrew's in the year 1109. Turgot.

(5) J. Fordon, lib. 1. cap. 17, 20, &c. (6) Hist. Scot. Lib. 7. in R. 86. (7) Praef. to Orig. Brit. p. LII. (8) Ibid. p. LIV. (9) Orig. Brit. p. CCLXII. (10) MS. Autogr. p. V. Eruditiss. D. Alex. Seton de Pitmedden Bar. (11) Hist. Abreg. f. 228. b. &c. (12) Ibid. p. 26. (1) MS. Scoto-Chron. in praefat. ad Orig. LVI.

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Both Bale and Pits (and, after them Vossius) affirm, that he wrote *De Regibus Scotorum*: but all their evidence centers at last in (2) H. Boethius. This very book Dempster will have to be the same with the *Annales sui Temporis*; and perhaps that is all (3) one with his lives of King Malcolm and S. Margaret, of which we shall say more in another place. There are others, supposed to live about the same time, of whose historical labours we have as uncertain and lame accounts: as, 1. John Swinton, one of the principal authors from whom (4) Chambers of Ormond pretends to have had his information; and he places him betwixt Turgot and Campbel. I know no body besides that quotes him; and I violently suspect that this gentleman hammered him out of Andrew Winton, whom we shall meet with elsewhere. 2. Cornelius Hibernicus, whom Dempster makes an Highlander; (5) *Quod genus hominum & olim & etiamnum hodie Hiberni vel Hibernienses vocari soliti, scripsit Historiæ Scoticæ librum unum. Non vidi opus, sed imitari eum Boethius non uno loco se fateatur. Floruit anno MCLXV.* He is indeed one of Hector's chief vouchers for the times (especially) preceding christianity, and during the reigns of their most primitive kings; (6) not but that he had plenty of authorities for that part of his story, but he thought this writer (with Veremund and Campbell) the most credible in their way. 3. John, Abbot of Hexham, is reported to have composed a piece of Scotch history; which my (7) author calls *Descriptio Belli Scotici*, and says it begins, *Eodem Anno quo mortuus est.* There is a part of this historian's (8) continuation of S. Dunelmensis, giving an account of the *Bellum Standardi* betwixt our King Steven and David the First of Scotland, which begins in words somewhat like these; and there, I presume, the reader may have all that is left of this history.

Chroni-
cle of
Holy-
Rood.

Of a better value and consideration is the *Chronicon S. Crucis Edinburgensis*, published by Mr. Wharton in the first volume of his *Anglia Sacra* where (in his Preface) he gives this account of it *Chronicon breve, quod, ad calcem historiæ Hugonis Floriacensis manu perantiquâ, scriptum, inveni in bibliothecâ Lambethanâ. Prima ejus pars (sc. ad annum 734) ex Bedæ historiâ & epitome verbatim desumpta est, additis duntaxat annorum numeris, qui apud Bedam plerumq; desiderantur. Pars posterior ab anno 1065 ad 1163, de rebus Scotorum præsertim agit; ut Scotum quendam authorem habuisse meritò quis suspicetur. Eundem cænobii S. Crucis Edinburgensis monachum fuisse indigitant quæ de isto cænobio ejusq; præpositis uberius narrantur.* Afterwards when he comes to the publishing of so much of this history as he thought fit to give us, he sets down this prefatory note (9), *Author ab ingressu Julii Cæsaris in Britanniam exordium ducens, justam Bedæ epitomen usq; ad annum DCCXXXIV contexuit, appositis plerumq; rerum gestarum temporibus, quæ apud Bedam desiderantur. Quæ Augustini adventum præcedunt, & minus ad rem nostram faciunt, & Bedæ nihil adjiciunt, illa itaq; missa feci.* The publisher's expressing himself in this manner, would tempt one to hope for some considerable light in the Scotch affairs, from that part of the Chronicle which he has left unpublished: whereas, in truth, there is not a syllable of any consequence (more than he has given us) in the manuscript itself. It breaks off in the year 1163, imperfectly, as he represents it by his three stars; and therefore could not afford much of the story of that monastery, which was only founded in 1128. He that looks for it, in the Lambeth library, will find it at the end of Ivo Carnotensis's *Excerpta de Gestis Assyrriorum, &c.* and not (as Mr. W. reports it) of Hugo Floriacensis.

Chroni-
cle of
Mailros.

The Chronicle of Mailros has been placed, and accounted for, in the (10) English Library; and it ought also to have a room in this: since it appears that the natives (or subjects at least) of both kingdoms have had a hand in its composition. The first discovery that we have in it of a Scotch author is about the year 1056, when the affairs of Malcolm Canmoir come to be largely treated on: and yet (even a good while after this, A. D. 1148.) the monastery itself seems to have been in English hands, the Chronicle telling us that then — *Waltherus frater Henrici comitis Northimbrorum & Simonis comitis Northamptonæ factus est abbas de Mailros.* In the year 1157, the Abbot of Dundrainan (or some of his countrymen) was most probably the scribe: this

(2) Vid. J. Pits, p. 194, 195. (3) Orig. Brit. p. 256. (4) Hist. Abbreg. in præfat. (5) Vid. Appar. ad Hist. Scot. l. 1. c. 2. & Voss. de Hist. Lat. 2. cap. 58. (6) Boeth. Hist. Scot. Lib. 2. Fol. 20. a. (7) J. Pits, p. 255. (8) Vid. X. Script. p. 261. (9) Vid. Angl. Sacr. Par. 1. p. 152. (10) Engl. Hist. Lib. Par. 1. p. 51.

being the account which he gives of the Scotch king's homage: *Rex Malcomus Scotorum, veniens ad Regem Angliæ Henricum apud Cestriam, devenit homo suus, eo modo quo avus suus fuerat homo veteris Regis Henrici, Salvis omnibus Dignitatibus suis*; which is the first time that any such Salvo is observed and recorded. Nor is this matter taken notice of in the Oxford edition, but only in the manuscript copy which they have in Scotland; of which we have this account given us by a great man of that kingdom: (11) "I reflect not, says he, on the publishers of the manuscript of the Abbey of Melros, printed at Oxford; for I honour everything that comes from that learned society, in a special manner; but it is no reflection on them to say that we have another, much fuller in what makes for Scotland, though it could not be so exact as the other monasteries, since it was oft-times of old under the Saxons, who would certainly lessen what relates to us.—It declares that it is to continue where the reverend Bede left, and so is a proof of our nation and history from that time, and the differences of that [published at Oxford] shall be printed. I have seen several of these MS. copies in Scotland; and (by the favour of my worthy friend Mr. Robert Wudrou) am now in possession of one of them. They all begin, as the printed book, with *Postquam Veridicus Historiographus, &c.* and end with A. D. 1269.—*Obiit Adam de Kilcontath Comes de Karryc in Aetonia, cujus uxorem Diuam nomine Comitissam de Karryc postea junior Robertus de Bruys accepit in sponsam.* After the work is thus concluded, there is this subscription, supposed to be added by its transcriber: *Hæc est vera copia antiquæ Chronicæ de Melros in Scotia, inchoatæ per abbatem de Dundranan ab anno 735. Continuatæ per varios ad annum 1270. Autographum extat in bibliotheca Do. Roberti Cotton militis apud Westmonasterium.* Now, though this is said to be a transcript of that in Cotton's library, yet he that compares it with the (12) extracts made thence by Mr. Tyrel, will find them very different: so that, notwithstanding the subscribed epilogue in all the Scotch copies I have seen, I am inclined to believe this to be one of the ancient chronicles cited by J. Fordon (under the name of *Chronica* and *Alia Chronica*) as peculiarly belonging to our neighbouring kingdom. The printed book supplies a great many defects, even in matters especially relating to Scotland; and, in several others of the like kind, may be amply supplied from it. I have some short notes on this manuscript, compared with the print, by (a late learned person) Dr. J. Jameſon; which the reader, I doubt not, will think very well worth (13) communicating.

John Cambel, or Campbel, is said to have lived in the days of our (1) Edward the First J. Campbell. and (2) Vossius will hardly allow him to fall quite so low. Joannes Campusbellus, says he, *Scotus, Argadiæ comitum familia natus, temporibus claruit Alexandri Tertii, Scotorum Regis; qui imperare cepit anno Christi 1249, ac desit regnare 1286.* Sir Richard Baker is peremptory in it that he finished his work before the reign of the said Edward; bringing it no lower than 1260. The most, if not all, that is known of him is learned from Boethius; who assures us that he was an (3) author as learned as honourable, and that he had his works (with those of Veremund, Turgot, &c.) from Icolmkil in the year 1525. He likewise (4) represents him as one that adheres to Cæsar, and the other Roman writers, in the accounts he gives of the affairs of Old Britain and Caledonia; whereas, he says, many of their common annalists differ from these in what the report of the transactions of those times. And yet, if he was the author of those eloquent dispatches, which are said to have passed betwixt Julius Cæsar and the ancient Scots, (for which Hector quotes him in his third book) he was certainly a man of as great invention as sincerity; for Cæsar himself, it is plain, knew nothing of that whole story.

It is much that Joh. de Fordun should be reckoned the (5) most ancient of the Scotch J. de Fordun. historians, and that there should be copies of his book in most of their monasteries, and yet no body should have so far enquired out the author's condition as certainly to tell us what he was; for (6) Dempster could make no more of that matter than that some thought he was a Monk. Vossius (7) affirms roundly that he was so; and if the Bishop of St. Asaph did the like, it could

(11) Sir G. Mack. *Antiq. of Royal Line*, pag. 96. (12) *Vid. Rer. Anglic. Script. vett. Tom. 1. Oxon. 1694. p. 595, &c.* (13) See them in the Appendix, Num. III. (1) S. Asaph. *Præf. to Hist. Ac. XXVI.* (2) *De Hist. Lat. lib. 3. part. 4. cap. 8.* (3) H. Boeth. *lib. 7. fol. 114. b.* (4) *Id. lib. 2. fol. 34. a. & lib. 3 fol. 40. a.* (5) Sir. G. M. *Jus Regium*, p. 28. (6) *Hist. Eccles. lib. 6.* (7) *De Hist. Lat. lib. 2. cap. 56.*

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not surely deserve so severe a reflection as to say it was done (7) merely for his own conveniency, to shew him interested for the independency of Monks and Culdees from the Bishops. I think it may be confessed that the learned Prelate had not seen Fordun's history, when he published his historical account, looking upon it as a book no more worth the consulting than (8) printing; for all that he quotes from it appears to have been had, at second hand, from Archdeacon Usher and Mr. Selden. But we have since learned that this history was much enlarged by one who wrote a preface to the whole; and has therein (9) assured us that his master Fordun was a priest. A late writer calls him a (10) mean priest; and would have it believed that, as such, he could not have Veremund, and the other warrants that were necessary for the filling up the history of the Scottish kings between the two Fergus's. Camden (11) says he was born at Fordon in the county of Mirnes, famous for the reliques of S. Paladius; whose (12) church is there to this day, corruptly called Paddy-Kirk. That he had some sort of relation or other to this place is probable enough from the account he gives of himself, in the following verses prefixed to his history.

*Incipies Opus Hoc Adonai Nomine Nostri.
Exceptum Scriptis Dirigat Emanuel.
Fantes Ornate Ruſcent, Dum Verbula Neſtant.
Compileris nomen superis elementis
Conſtrue, quem lector precor ora ſcandere cælum,
Atq; Pater-Noſter offer amcre Dei. Amen.*

Where the initial letter of the words in the three first verses make JOHANNES DE FORDUN. What Pits and others speak of John de Fordham, and the Abbot of Ford in Devonshire, is nothing to our purpose; since it is manifest, whatever they may dream to the contrary, that the author of the Scoto-Chronicon could not be so old. We read of one (13) John Fordham, Prior of Worcester, in the year 1423, and another (14) of both the names, who was Canon of York, and consecrated Bishop of Durham in 1381. Either of these might more probably be pitched upon for the author of this chronicle. But he, who knew his own name best, has (we see) spelt it otherwise, and left no room for such wild conjectures. The (15) printed history ends with the eleventh chapter of the fifth book, this being all that Dr. Gale's manuscript (the same which H. Boethius was master of) afforded; and the worthy publisher assures us that the two copies, in the Cottonian and Bennet libraries, are later and more imperfect than his. In some MS. papers of Mr. David Buchanan, which I have seen, there is the following account of this famous historian; *Joannes de Fordoun scripsit Scotichronicon quinq; libris comprehensum à primordio rerum usq; ad mortem S. Davidis, id est, ad annum 1153. inclusivé.* Here, I guess, the writer of this note relied too much on his memory, making the fifth book to end in the beginning of Malcolm the Fourth's reign; whereas it ought to be Malcolm the Third's, and the year 1057, for 1153. Thus the printed book rightly states the case. In these five books, being to fetch the original of his nation as far as Greece and Egypt, he thought it convenient to begin with a general description and division of the whole world; which being dispatched in seven short chapters of his first book, he begins the Scotch story at Geythelos: who was son of a Grecian king, banished by his father into Egypt, where he had the good fortune to marry Scota, the only daughter of that very Pharaoh who perished in the Red Sea. As Moses led the Israelites eastward, Geythelos and his Queen carried their colonies westward; and, having spent forty years in the deserts of Africa, as he did in those of Asia, they were at last brought to the paradise of Spain. Here they were continually alarmed and slaughtered by the natives; so that Geythelos, having discovered a fair island to the northward, resolved to transplant his people once more. He

(7) Def. of Royal Line, p. 34. (8) Histor. Acc. p. 134. (9) Orig. Brit. p. 249. (10) Antiq. of Royal Line farther assert. p. 101, 102. (11) Britann. N. E. p. 94. (12) Vid. H. Boeth. in Descrip. R. Scot. & RR. Spotsw. Church Hist. p. 7. (13) Monast. Anglic. Tom. 1. p. 158. (14) Angl. Sacr. Vol. 1. p. 774. (15) Fol. inter Script. XV. a. D. Tho. Gale Edit. Oxon. 1691.

lived not to accompany them; but his son Hyber carried them thither, and called the land Scotia in compliment to his mother, though some would needs have it named (after himself) Hybernia. For this prime piece of their story, he quotes some old legends of the saints of that kingdom; which look indeed like very proper authorities. Afterwards, he follows Bede, Isidore, Malmesbury, Geoffrey of Monmouth, &c. in the description he gives of Britain and Albany, in his second book: wherein it is observable that (contrary to Buchanan's opinion) he allows the Picts-Wall, as we call it, to have been built by Severus. He begins the third with the reign of Fergus the second; and thence continues the succession with better confidence than he has done in the foregoing reigns, wherein he is vastly outdone by Boethius and later historians. There are several manuscript copies of this history, wherein it is continued to a great length; but the enlargements are made by several hands. There is a noble copy (in vellum) in the College-library at Edinburgh; which was given (as is noted in the beginning of the book) by Mr. Colvill, late principal of the college. In the end of it there are a few monkish verses in commendation of the work; whereof these are two:

*Quinq; libros Fordon, undecim auctor arabat.
Sic tibi clarescit, sunt sedecim numero.*

The word *arabat* here being a little hastily mistaken, gave occasion to a (1) great man to affirm, there was one Arelat who continued Fordon's history; whereas this writer gives only the following account of himself, and his performance: *Ad satisfaciendum importunis, generosæ probitatis militis, Domini David Stuart de Rossiffæ petitionibus acquievi. Viz. ad conscribendum sequens inchoatum opus historicum per venerabilem oratorem Dominum Joannem Fordun presbyterum, nuper & egregiè inchoatum, in quinq; libris luculentur & distinctè chronographatum, & non solum ut promisi ad conscribendum, verum etiam usque ad moderna tempora continuandum; potissimè cum post completum librum quintum suum multa reliquit in scriptis, nondum tamen usquequaq; distincta. Sempèrque curiosus indagator opus continuare facilius poterit ad præmissa. Sibi igitur post Deum imputabitur laus operis.* When it was that this copier and continuer obliged his patron and posterity in this matter, may be probably gathered from a remark in the end of the eighth chapter of the first book; *Ad præsentem diem hujus scripturæ qui est VII. dies Novembris Ann. Dom. M. CCCC. XL.* These cannot be the words of Fordon; who, (as it appears by the history it self) was (2) contemporary with Walter Wardelaw, Bishop of Glascow, and must have lived about the middle of the fourteenth century. They are therefore to be reckoned amongst the many interpolations of the scribe; which have usually the word *scriptor* to distinguish them from the original text, which is marked with *auctor*. A transcript of this there is in the library at Glascow. The copy at St. Andrews is in royal paper; and in a more modern (though less legible) hand than that at Edinburgh. It is likewise in sixteen books; and this is the account which a (3) learned critick has left us of its continuer and copier; *Monachus Sconensis chronicon prædictum [J. Fordoni] de novo multò luculentius contexuit; multis præpositis, intersectis, & additis, quæ apud alios scripta fuere, vel de novo de suo penu, & totum opus ita compositum dividit in sexdecem libros, & finit opus in morte Jacobi primi. Quædam auctarii vice addit de Jacobo Secundo & Jacobo Tertio. Sub hoc floruit; id est, in posteriori semisse decimi quinti post Christum natum seculi. Qui id scripsit vocatus est Magnus Maccullo, ut testatur ipse sæpius.* This Macculloch (as others call him) lived in the year 1482, as we are told by (4) Dempster; who yet was so little acquainted with him, that he makes his history, Fordon's, and Scoto-Chronicon three several works. There are several other copies of this history, of somewhat less note than these: as, 1. One in the hand of the right honourable the Lord Viscount Tarbet, a judicious preserver of the antiquities of his country. Were not the character of this a little too modern, I should take it to be the very book that was continued by (5) Walter Bowmaker, Abbot of Icolmkil; from whence this copy is said to have been brought. 2. Another in the Cottonian library; which

(1) Sir Geo. Mack. Def. of Royal Line, p. 34, 35. (2) Ita Codd. MSS. lib. 5. cap. 59. (3) D. Buchanan, in Notis MSS. (4) Appar. ad Hist. Scot. lib. 1. cap. 2. (5) Def. of Royal Line, p. 34, 35.

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(by (1) Selden's account of it) reaches beyond the middle of our Edward the Third's reign, even as low as the year 1390. And why should we not believe, that most of this supplement, as well as that in the king's library at (2) St. James's, may be the author's own work? even in the part that is already (3) published, we find a quotation out of R. Higden's Poly-Chronicon: so that Fordon himself must have lived after that historian, since no man doubts but the four first books were all of his own compofure; and that is as late as we have occasion for, to prove him able to write the whole. 3. A third is in Bennet college at Cambridge, as (4) Pitts long since told us; and a later hand has acquainted us, that the book is (5) *Semiefus & à muribus in multis locis corruptus*. which varies not much from Voffius's description of it. (6) *Liber à muribus mire arrosus, magna; ex parte absumptus*. All these affirm that this copy begins with *Debitor sum fateor*; which, as we shall see presently, is only the beginning of the prefater's discourse. 4. The late (7) Oxford catalogue of manuscripts sends us to my Lord Longueville's library for a fourth but he that goes on the errand, will only find a few short collections taken out of this chronicle by Mr. Bale, for his own private use.

Liber
Sconensis.

It were endless to compute into how many several chronicles this of Fordon's has been multiplied: for, being in every monastery of the kingdom under the anonymous title of Scoto-Chronicon, it commonly borrowed a surname from the place to which it belonged. This practice raised the fame of the Black Book of Scone, which (8) is reported to have been amongst President Spotswood's, given by Lewis Cant to Major General Lambert, and by him to Sir Thomas Fairfax; nay, to have been ransomed from Rome (with a considerable sum) by King Charles the First. All this story is justly supposed, by (9) Dr. Stillingfleet, to be a mistake; occasioned by a copy of Fordon's history being brought out of Scotland. We have already seen that a monk of Scone was one of the chief continuers of Fordon; and I have had the perusal of an abstract which Sir James Balfour made of this black book, and he professes that all those notes were taken *ex libro manuscripto Magni Mackulloche*: which sufficiently shews that he knew it to be all one with the Scoto-Chronicon.

L. Pafle-
tenfis.

The like to this will be the case, of the Black Book of Paisley Sir George Mackenzie (10) says Archbishop Spotswood had it in his possession, when he compiled his Church-History; and it was brought to him (as Sir John Cunningham assured Sir Robert Sibbald) from Halyrud-House by the Lord Whitkirk. This, as well as that of Scone, was first appealed to by Lesley; and Sir George believes that it was also perused by Buchanan. He says there is an abstract of it in the hand of Sir Robert Sibbald, taken *per venerabilem virum Joannem Gibson Canonicam Glasguensem & Rectorem de Renfrew, anno 1501*; and that it agrees in every thing with their other histories. Dr. Stillingfleet (11) smiles at the learned advocate for solemnly affirming that he saw such an abridgment; when Sir Robert himself had, some time (12) before acquainted all the world that it was in his possession. He observes farther, that the very foundation of the Monastery of Paisley (which was laid either in the year 1168, or 69,) happened so late, that no great matter can thence be expected as to remote antiquities; yet, for the satisfaction of the world, he wishes that the book itself were printed, since (13) Dempster says it was in the hands of the Earl of Dumfermlin. To put this controversy in a fair way of being ended, give me leave to say that I have also seen Sir Robert Sibbald's abridgment, which contains sixteen books, and ends with the death of King James the First, at the same period with the most frequent copies of Fordon. In the conclusion of it there is this note: *Quarto Marcii hujus libri finis extitit Anno M^{ve}. primo, per me Johannem Gibson juniorem, &c. Hujus opusculi possessor venerabilis & circumspexit vir magister Johannes Gibson Canonicus Glasguensis & Rector de Renfrew. Qui liber extractus est de magno & Nigro Libro Pasleti*. And the beginning of the book informs us that this same Niger Liber is otherwise called Liber Scoti-Chronicon. This looks pretty clear: but, to go a little farther, David Buchanan

(1) Præfat. ad Decem Script. p. 19. (2) Vid. Præfat. D. Gale, p. 15. (3) Lib. 4. cap. 36. (4) J. Pitts, p. 277. (5) Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 1. par. 3. Num. 133. (6) De Hist. Lat. lib. 2. cap. 56. (7) Tom. 2. par. 1. Num. 5291. (8) Def. of Royal Line, p. 32. (9) Orig. Brit. p. 268. (10) Def. of Royal Line, p. 32, 33. (11) Præfat. to Orig. Brit. XXX. and XLVIII. (12) Nunt. Scoto-Brit. p. 10. (13) Hist. Scot. lib. 15.

informs me that (1) *monachi Pasletensis liber asservatur in bibliothecâ regiâ in palatio S. Crucis ad Edinburgum nondum impressus. Scripsit hic author circa annum 1451.*; and elsewhere, *Scoti-chronicon in compendium redegit Henricus Sinclar vel à Sancto Claro, & opus absolvit anno 1501, sub Jacobo Quarto. Dividit autem compendium suum in sedecim libros, & finit in morte Jacobi primi, ut Liber Sconensis dividitur: interim auctor compendi ait id se extraxisse ex Magno & Nigro Libro Pasleti.* Here may be some little slip in David's memory: but upon the whole, this must be the same epitome which is now in Sir Robert's hand. To put the matter quite out of dispute, that very *Scoti-chronicon* which was so kept at Halyrood-House, and belonged to the king, is now in the hand of the Earl of Murray; and was (2) lately compared, by Sir John Murray of Drumkairn, and Sir Robert Sibbald, with that in the college at Edinburgh above-mentioned. The writing of the earl's is more modern: but they agree exactly in the first five books. In the end of these, the earl's has this note: *Prædictos quinq; libros dominus Johannes Fordon presbyter compilavit, residuum verò quod sequitur continuavit Dominus Patricius Russal monachus vallis virtutis ordinis Carthusiensis, & ad finem perduxit; adactis tamen interim & insertis nonnullis ab incerto authore, prout in prioribus quinq; libris:* and it has also Baſton's verses on the battle of Bannockburn, which the other wants. The preface mentioning the obligations of the continuer and scribe to David Stuart (which begins *Debitor sum fateor, &c.*) is the same in both.

Of the same kind is the (3) *Liber Carthusianorum de Perth*; which is written, in a late hand on royal paper. In the beginning of it we have *Scoti-chronicon volumen, quod ad primos quinq; libros venerabilis vir D. Job. Fordon presbyter dudum inchoans diserto stylo compilavit; residuum verò in undecim libros latè protensum, reverendus in Christo Pater Dominus Walterus Bowmaker, olim Abbas S. Columbe, usq; in finem laudabiliter compilavit.* This Walter died in the year 1449. It is indeed a copy of Fordon, almost exactly agreeing with those in other libraries: for though the writer begins with his *Prologus in Librum Scoti-chronicon abbreviatum*, and (in that prologue) pretends that the prolixity of the *Chronicon* had put him upon the work, yet he omits little or nothing more than a few verses and fabulous parts of the book. That it did truly belong to the Carthusian Monastery at Perth, Sir James Balfour guesses from its concluding with James the First's epitaph; observing that he was *fundator hujus domus*. Such another is the *Liber Beatæ Mariæ de Cupro*; which was given by the Lady Kettleston to her brother Mr. Andrew Hay, who had it taken from him by the Rabble in 1688. It has since been recovered; and is now in the possession of (his son) Mr. Richard Hay, a canon regular beyond the seas. The like to these was the famous Book of Pluscardin: of which Dr. (4) Stillingfleet observed that it was "very strange that Buchanan only should see it: because books do not usually grow famous by one man's seeing them." Nor will this need to do it. It is the same which David Hume (or his publisher) calls the Book of (5) Pustardan; and whose authority he quotes for the Duke of Clarence's being slain (in the year 1421,) by Alexander Mackellane, contrary to all the printed accounts.

The only Scotch historian of the fifteenth century, that I know of, was W. Elphinston, Bishop of Aberdeen; (6) who spent "all the time he could spare from the publick service, in writing the history of his nation, and gathered in one volume all the antiquities that could be found thereof." This character is ungratefully lessened by Boethius; who (after a long (7) commendation of his piety, loyalty, &c. wherein (8) others agree with him) gives this slender account of his historical labours; *qui Specimen antiquitatum Scoticarum primus nobis ostendit.* Vossius, upon Hector's credit (9) says his chief authors are Veremund and Campbel: but (10) Dr. Stillingfleet, (who had eight books of his history) has more rightly informed us, that he is almost an exact copier of Fordon, in his three first books; that he knew nothing of those supplies which Boethius afterwards furnished us with; but that, wherever the fore-mentioned author fails him, he is at a full stop, and refers his readers (who desire a more ample information) ad *Antiquos Hiberniæ Libros.* He takes no notice of any library or records in the isle of Jona; having nothing to add to what others

(1) In Notis MSS. supra citat. (2) Apr. 6. 1699. (3) 4to. inter MSS. Balfour. in Bibl. Icc. Edinburg. (4) Præfat. ad Orig. Brit. XLVIII. (5) Hist. Duglafs. par. 1. p. 127. (6) RR. Spotswood's Church Hist. lib. 2. p. 60. (7) Hist. Scot. lib. 11. Fol. 246. a. (8) Vid. Less. lib. 9. p. 355, &c. (9) De Hist. Lat. lib. 3. cap. 9. (10) Præfat. ad Orig. Brit. p. 52, 53.

PART II. had said of it, save only that there was a Sanctuary for Transgressors. The best, if not only entire, copy of this history is among (1) Sir Tho. Fairfax's manuscripts in the Bodleian library.

G. Douglas I wish we knew where to meet with Gawen Duglass's historical treatises de Rebus Scotie; which (2) Vossius, relying on Bale's evidence, affirms that he wrote. This (3) virtuous and learned person was brother to the Earl of Angus, and Bishop of Dunkeld in King James the Fifth's time, and died at London (on his way to Rome) in the year 1522. How well qualified he was for an undertaking of this nature, we may well guess by his admirable (4) translation of Virgil's *Æneids*; which in eighteen months time he turned into most elegant Scotch verse, thereby wonderfully improving the language of his country and age. (5) One that was a good judge of the work assures us, that it is done in such a masculine strain of true poetry, that it may justly vie with the original; every line whereof is singly rendered, and every word most appositely and fully. I presume it may not be ungrateful to the reader to let him know that this version is amongst those (6) printed books whereon the late learned Fr. Junius Fr. F. has left his most excellent marginal notes; and that we have also a distinct (7) volume in quarto of the same person's work, which he calls "*Index Alphabeticus Verborum Obsoleteorum, quæ occurrunt in Versione Virgilii Æneadum per Gawenum Dowglas, cum relatione ad Paginas*:" so that the poem may now be reprinted, with great advantage. Dr. Gale, the worthy Dean of York, has also (8) a good manuscript copy of it.

A. Winton. Andrew Winton's original chronicle as he calls it, is in the (9) Lawyers library at Edinburgh; and is a collection of several historical matters out of Latin authors, translated into the Scotch language, at the desire of "ane honourable gentleman, David Weems." The author was Canon Regular of St. Andrews; and Prior of the little Island in Lochleven. He begins at the creation, and continues to write an universal history as far as the fifth of his nine books; from whence he keeps pretty close to the affairs of Scotland, till he concludes with the imprisonment of King James the First in England. Many of the great battles, on the borders of both kingdoms, and other occurrences of greatest note, are here treated on in a much fuller manner than in any printed history; and he must be allowed to have been a person of singular industry, though, in some particulars, he appears to have been a little too credulous. To this is annexed an anonymous scheme of the Scottish history, under the title of *Brevis Chronica*, which brings it down to the reign of Robert the Second; but no account is given of the quality or time of its author. Buchanan quotes Winton by the name of Vintonius.

J. Major. John Major's History (*De Gestis Scotorum*, in six books) was first published by (10) Badius Ascensius; the same person who, about five years after, printed that of H. Boethius. This author was a notable scholastick divine, as many pieces, which he has left on that subject, sufficiently testify; but was no admirer of the pretendedly prime antiquities of his country. The Figment (as he (11) calls it) of Gathelus's coming out of Greece, he believes was purposely contrived to outbrave the English, who were beginning to brag of their descent from Troy; and *absurdum nescio quid*, is the character he bestows on the story of Simon Brecht, and his Spaniards. The sum of what is true true in that long romance, he supposes to be only this, that the Irish came out of Spain, and the Scots out of Ireland; looking on the rest as vain tattle, though sometimes he unwarily falls into Fordon's track. He begins his second book with Fergus the son of Erc, having not so much as named above three or four of the foregoing monarchs; although he acknowledges that there were fifteen kings betwixt him and Fergus the First. This number falls so very far short of what later historians have assigned, that the number fifteen might seem an error of the press instead of of forty five; but the word *Quindecim*, at length, removes all surmises of that kind. He mixes the chronicles of England and Scotland all along; and seems to have taken the greatest part of what concerns the affairs of his own nation upon the credit of our writers. Bede, Caxton and Froissard, are his chief authors; the first and last whereof he always cites with respect. but he

(1) Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 1. par. 1. Numb. 3888. (2) De Hist. Lat. lib. 3. cap. 13. (3) Spotswood, lib. 2. p. 101. (4) 4to. Lond. 1553. (5) J. Less. Hist. Scot. lib. 9. p. 378, 379. (6) Vid. Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 1. par. 1. Numb. 5166. (7) Ibid. Num. 5225. (8) Ibid. par. 2. Num. 6031. (9) 4to. inter MSS. Balfour. (10) 4to. Paris, 1521. (11) Lib. 1. fol. 17. a.

is mostly indebted to Caxton, though he takes frequent occasion to quarrel with him, especially upon his asserting the dependency of the crown of Scotland upon that of England. He plainly and honestly (1) condemns the profuseness of King David the First, in erecting so many monasteries, and endowing them out of the revenues of the crown; and thinks a law restraining such exorbitancy in their monarchs for the future, would be to very great purpose. He (2) like wise inveighs against the nobility for matching the heiress of the kingdom into Norway; and thereby baulking the happy opportunity they might have had of uniting themselves into one nation with the English. He (3) gives us the Highlanders genealogy of Alexander the Third, in fifty-one descents, from Fergus the First; telling us that he continued it also, at a second heat to Hiber the son of Gathelus. In the (4) case of Baliol and Bruce, he maintains the power of the people; and gives great allowances afterwards to the parliament, in the disposal of the crown, &c. He concludes his work with the marriage of King James the Third, in the year 1495. The account that he gives of himself is, that (5) he was born in the parish of North-Berwick, within eight miles of Duns; that (6) he was sometime a member of Christ's college in Cambridge, and afterwards of that of Montacute in Paris. In this post he seems to have written his history; which as he (7) acknowledges, was penned in the year 1518, the seventh of King James the Fifth's age. Afterwards, he (8) commenced doctor amongst the Sorbonists; and at last settled himself in S. Salvator's college in S. Andrews, where he (9) professed divinity with great applause, and (amongst other scholars) had the education (10) of Mr. John Knox. Bale says, he wrote *Stylo Sorbonico*, which (to be sure) was not meant for a commendation; though Bishop (11) Lesley has well translated it, saying, that he was *Veritatis ubiq; quàm eloquentiæ studiosior*. Dempster, speaking of his history, gives his opinion thus: (12) *Quo in opere fateor quædam esse bonæ frugis, sed multa erronea; quædam ridicula, nonnulla manca, denique omnia negligenter scripta. Sed venia rudi illi ævo danda.* It appears by a (13) manuscript note of Brian Twyne's, that this historian spent some time in Oxford; but in what house (unless it was in Osney's Abbey, whose melodious Bells he (14) commends) it is not known.

Hector Boethius was born at Dundee, and educated in Aberdeen; where he was a professor in the year 1497. He studied some time (15) at Paris; where he became familiarly acquainted with the great Erasmus, who kept a kind correspondence with him afterwards. In the six first books of his history there are great many particulars not to be had in Fordon, or any other writers now extant: and, unless the authors which he pretends to have seen, be hereafter discovered, he will continue to be shrewdly suspected for the contriver of almost as many (16) tales as our Geoffrey of Monmouth. For these novelties he has been severely censured by (17) H. Lhuyd; and (18) Buchanan himself, though he makes Lhuyd as very a villain and blockhead as the other, acknowledges that he is never to be excused. It has been observed that (19) Polydore Virgil reports, when this history was first published, Gawen Douglas Bishop of Dunkeld, warned him against giving too great credit to it; and wished him not to follow that author in any account that he might have occasion to give of the affairs of Scotland. But, in truth, Polydore does not mention Boethius at all; nor could he in any such manner: for he takes notice, with a just concern, that Bishop Douglas died in the year 1520; whereas Boethius's history was not published till 1526; and himself informs us, (20) "that the records, from which he formed it were sent to him from Icolmkil in the year 1525, and no sooner. However, in matters relating to this nation, he certainly follows the most fabulous of our historians more than he is willing to own; having only given a new turn of his pen to what they had written, and then commonly fathered it on Veremund or Campbel. In his account of Achaius's treaty, Kenneth's victory over the Picts,

(1) Lib. 3. cap. 11. (2) Lib. 4. cap. 12. Vid. & Lib. 5. cap. 17. (3) Lib. 4. cap. 11. (4) Lib. 4. cap. 17. (5) Lib. 4. cap. 10. & 15. (6) Vib. Lib. 1. cap. 5. & Lib. 3. cap. 1. (7) Lib. 1. cap. 7. & Lib. 5. cap. 24. (8) Vid. Bale, Cent. 14. & Spotf. p. 68. (9) Buchan. Lib. 7. Reg. 91. (10) Spotf. p. 264. (11) Hist. Scot. Lib. 9. p. 414. (12) Hist. Eccles. Lib. 12. p. 481. (13) Athen. Oxon. Vol. 1. p. 45. (14) Lib. 3. cap. 1. (15) Vofs. de Hist. Lat. lib. 3. cap. 13. Vid. & ipsius Boeth. Hist. lib. 10. fol. 189. b. (16) See them at large, Orig. Brit. p. 252, &c. (17) Fragm. Brit. Descrip. Fol. 32, &c. & Tract. de Monâ Inf. apud Ortel. (18) Hist. Scot. lib. 2. (19) Hist. Angl. lib. 3. p. 50. (20) Sir. G. M. Def. of Royal Line, p. 30, 31.

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the metropolitical power of the See of York, &c. he is extremely formal and tedious; giving us large samples of his oratory in the occasional speeches which he puts into the mouths of his several great men. To these he adds a collection of prodigies and miracles, which happened upon every considerable reclusion; and either he or his friend (the physician of (1) Aberdeen) garnishes every dish with flowers of choice observations in natural history. His principles in polity are no better than those of Buchanan; whose *Jus Regni* is effectually confirmed by what he (2) relates, of the making and deposing of kings and bishops by the sole creating power of the people. His eighteenth book is as highly commended by (3) Ferrerius as it can possibly deserve; *in quo fuisse omnia ita scribendo consecutus est, ut nihil plenius aut significantius à quopiam in re persimili fieri posse credam.* Indeed, the elegancy of his expressions is fine, and well becomes the character which an eminent master of the like rhetorick has given of it (4) *Illius stylus tam est tersus ut Cæsaris puritatem decoxisse; ac rationum verborumq; ponderibus ita nervosus, ut Livianam gravitatem in suam naturam transtulisse penitus videatur.* It is to be wished that he had been as nice and curious in the Matter of his work. How far he failed in this, the reader will best learn from the words of Sir Robert Gordon of Straloch; was as competent a judge of the performance as could be. *Displicet mihi* (5) (says he) *Historia Boethii; ut liberè apud te loquar. Ille legum historiæ scribendæ ignarus, rudi sæculo ea scripsit quorum nos pudet. Quid illa de Ptolemæi Regis legatione ad geographiam nostri regni vestigandam? Quis ille de Carataco tractatus è Tacito ad verbum descriptus? Illum nemo antiquitatis prudens regibus nostris annumeraverit. Illum Buchananus, inscitæ tantæ gnarus, ne Boethius ludibrio haberetur, aut historia labem apud exteros sentiret, nolens è regum serie delere, magnifica tamen illa intacta relinquit, Nomen ipsum Caratacum arguit provincialem Britonem fuisse. Quale hoc, Silures nobis ascribi, quos hodiernæ Walliæ partem tenuisse Romani scriptores testatissimum faciunt? Quàm portentosum de Cameloduno commentum? Quales sunt illæ regis nostri ad Cæsarem Julium epistolæ minaces? Nonne hoc est seriò delirare? Ignosco Gatheli fabulæ; cum Nævus ille omnibus tam communis: at illi plus satis immorari, omnia sigillatim, tanquam illorum temporum æqualis, referre, multum mihi displicet* The first edition of this history was given by (6) Badius Ascensius, and consisted only of seventeen books, ending with the death of James the First. The (7) next was larger, having the addition of the eighteenth book compleat, and part of the nineteenth. Thus far the author himself continued it: but what follows was the work of J. Ferrerius, a native of Piedmont, who carried it down to the end of James the Third's reign. The continuer (8) himself wanted the helps he expected; his great encourager (H. Sinclair, Dean of Glascow and afterwards Bishop of Ross) being suddenly taken off, before he could furnish him with the intended materials. He seems to be honest and impartial in setting down matters as he found them; as (not to mention other instances) appears from what he (9) says of the Orkney islands, and the archbishop of York's title to the primacy of Scotland. Boethius's history was translated into the Scottish language by John Balanden, Arch-Deacon of Murray, who died at Rome, about the year 1550. I have seen one of the few imprinted copies of this translation, bearing the following title: (10) "The History and Croniklis of Scotland compilit and newly correctit and amendit be the Reverend and Noble Clerk Mr. Hector Boece Chanon of Aberdene. Translated laityly by Mr. Johne Bellenden Archdene of Murray and Chanon of Rosse, at command of James the Fyftth King of Scottis. Imprintet at Edinburgh be Thomas Davidson, dwelling forrens the Fryere Wynde." R. Holinshed published it in (11) English, but was not the translator of it himself. His friend began the work, and had gone a good way in it but did not, it seems, live to finish it. In this there are several large interpolations and additions out of Major, Lesley, and Buchanan, by Fr. Thinne; who is also the chief author of the whole story after the death of King James the First, and the only penman of it from 1571, to 1586. Towards the latter end this learned antiquary occasionally intermixes catalogues of the chancellors, archbishops and writers of that kingdom.

Rota
Tempo
rum.

The Rota Temporum is a chronological Compendium of Scotch history; written by a brother

(1) Vid. Dempst. Hist. Eccles. lib. 2. (2) Conf. lib. 6. fol. 92 b. & lib. 7. fol. 128. b. (3) In Epist. Ded. fol. 355. a. (4) J. Less. lib. 9. p. 414. (5) In Epist. ad D. Buchanan MS. supra citat. (6) Fol. Paris. 1526. (7) Fol. Laufan. 1574. (8) Vid. Epist. Ded. ipsius J. Ferrer. ad D. Jac. Betoun Archiep. Glasg. (9) Vid. Fol. 389. a. b. (10) In Bibl. Glasg. (11) In Chron. Angl. Tom 1.

of the minor observants at Jedburgh, in the year 1533. The book is in my Lord Tarbet's library; and is quoted as a good authority, by (1) Cambden. PART II.

John Lesley was bred at Aberdeen, where he was Doctor of Laws, and Official of the Diocese. He was one of those Professors who, in the year 1560, were convened before John Knox and others of the new disciplinarian ministers; who magisterially required them to give an account of their faith, in presence of some lords of the congregation assembled for that purpose. In the beginning of the year following he was sent by the great men of the other side to condole with the Queen of France, upon the death of her husband the French King; and to invite her majesty to a speedy return into Scotland. Soon after this, he was made Bishop of Ross; and employed in several embassies into England and other foreign countries. He is accused of engaging in a conspiracy for the intercepting of Queen Elizabeth, and setting Q. Mary of Scotland, at liberty, in the year 1571. But God, says my (2) author, turned the plot to his own damage. His (3) history consists of ten books, in the first seven whereof we have an abstract of Boethius, whose very words are frequently retained. He declares that in (4) these it was his intention to omit many falsities and absurdities wherewith that historian had stuffed his book; and that (by examining the most ancient writers, particularly the books of Scoon and Paisley,) he had rectified the chronological part, and corrected the historical. Sir George (5) Mackenzie believes he might meet with several such fine manuscripts at Rome, where he supposes him to have written his history: and (6) Dr. Stillingfleet wonders that none of his curious countrymen have yet gotten them transcribed. His three last books (which make half of the volume) are distinctly (7) dedicated to Queen Mary; to whom they had been presented in English, seven years before the first publication of them in Latin. We have separate copies of them in several of our (8) libraries. In these he begins his story where Boethius left it off; and continues it to the Queen's return from France, in the year 1561. Having all along taken notice of the corrupt disposal of abbies, and other ecclesiastical benefices, (and the notorious lewdness of too many of the incumbents,) he concludes with proper and pious reflections on the change of religion and its visible causes; in the whole management whereof nothing seems blameable in a person of his principles, save only the severe characters which he gives of some of the principal reformers. It is a most noble apology which he makes for his breaking off at the beginning of his admired Sovereign's troubles. For besides the prejudices which the world might think him under in his respects to so kind a mistress, he makes this farther reflection on the undertaking; (9) *Nonnulla sunt quæ videntur ita ingrati tudinis & perfidiæ notis aspersa, ut cum digna fuerint quæ cognoscantur ab omnibus, indigna tamen sint quæ scribantur à me; quia quæ ne fierunt à nostris, egi sæpe cum capitis periculo, ea ne cognoscantur ab exteris omni mentis provisione curare deberem.* David Buchanan, in some manuscript notes which I have seen, has left the following censure upon this historian compared with Boethius: *Joannes Leslæus Boethii epitomator à nonnullis censetur; eum enim, quoad potuit, imitatus est. Uterq; laudem suam meretur; sed neuter præstitit quod facile potuit, si paulò plus judicii adhibuisset in describendis regionibus, ipsorumq; nominibus assignandis; & in rebus enarrandis, ab anilibus fabulis abstinuisset, & à maledicentiâ in purioris religionis vindices.*

We are (10) told that George Buchanan was wont, in his life-time, to scorn and despise the pompous monuments of great men; esteeming it a greater credit, as it was said of Cato, to have it asked, "why he lacks a statue? than to have had one, though never so glorious, erected" His countrymen seem resolved to let him have his wish. The little we know of him is from himself; and the sum of it is this; he was born in the parish of Killern near the Highlands, of the house of Drunmakill, educated at the charge of his mother's brother, persecuted by the Franciscans in 1539, and forced to fly into France, from whence he returned about 1560; was a while Professor of Philosophy at St. Andrews, and at last Tutor to King James the Sixth. His history was first printed at Edinburgh, by (11) Alexander Aburthnet. In this edition there

(1) Britan. N. E. Col. 921. (2) A. Petrie, Cent. XVI. p. 327. (3) 4to. Romæ, 1578. & 1675. (4) Paren. ad Nob. p. 28. & Hist. lib. 1. p. 42. (5) Def. of Royal Lib. p. 39. (6) Præf. ad Orig. Brit. p. XVIII. (7) Vid. Ep. Ded. p. 296. (8) Vid. Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 1. Num. 1498. & Tom. 2. par. 1. Num. 4217. (9) Paren. ad Nob. p. 29. (10) A. B. Spotswood, lib. 6. p. 325. (11) Fol. A. D. 1582.

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wants the index and the dialogue de Jure Regni; which were both added, the very next year, in another folio edition at Geneva. Another entire impression, in a good letter and paper, was made at (1) Amsterdam in octavo; and it has been frequently printed in the same volume at Francfort, Utrecht, &c. It consists of twenty books; the two first whereof (as has been already observed) are spent on the description and antiquities of the several provinces, and the third is a bare collection of what is said by Cæsar, Tacitus, &c. of this part of the world. The fourth begins the chronicle of the Scottish kings at Fergus the First, about 330 years before our Saviour; from whence (down to the end of his work) the historian makes the states depose, judge, and execute, their enormous princes, upon every transgression of the law, with the same freedom as other malefactors.

And yet he is (2) not to be reputed the first parent and founder of anti-monarchical principles in Scotland; since it can only be justly said of him, that he revived and improved the imperfect notions of popular government, which had before been started by Hector Boethius, and others in their history of Fergus the First and his successors. When he describes the barbarous assassination, or murder of any of their princees, he does it with such an air of pleasure and satisfaction, as shews that he delighted to dwell on the subject; and that the head of a slaughtered monarch could not be more (what he too often calls it) *gratum populo spectaculum*, than it would have been so to himself, who, if his story of the son of Ferquard be true, was certainly a man of the primitive spirit of his ancestors. The continual wars of the kingdom of Scotland (either against England, when their Kings came to the throne at a full age; or among themselves, when their princes were in minority) are largely and elegantly treated on. The six last books contain the history of Queen Mary, and her son, all within his own time; and it were to be wished that he had been as impartial, as he is copious, in those two reigns. Hear the character given of him by Archbishop (3) Spotswood, who was a person of another sort of temper: "In his age, (says he) he applied himself to write the Scottish History, which he penned with such judgment and eloquence, as no country can shew a better. Only in this he is justly blamed, that, with the factions of the time, and to justify the proceedings of the noblemen against the queen, he went too far in depressing the royal authority of princes, and allowing their controulment by subjects: his bitterness also in writing of the Queen, and troubles of the time, all wise men have disliked." The difference betwixt these two historians is pretty considerable. The Archbishop (4) had leave to represent Queen Mary's frailties plainly, and did it modestly: and Master George, without any ceremony, treats her with all the barbarity that his licentious wit could invent. He laughs at the pretended miracles of devout times; and yet, upon the occasion of (5) King Henry's murder, gravely furnishes us with a couple of as plump ones as ever any legend afforded. His history ends before the death of the Queen, who outlived him: for she suffered in 1586, whereas he died in 1582. Notwithstanding these failures, Buchanan is highly commended by (6) Thuanus, Archbishop (7) Usher, Hen. (8) Conringius, and the present (9) Bishop of Salisbury, who are all agreed to be very able judges; and he is almost as extremely vilified by (10) Camden and Monsieur Rapin, who had also a proper relish for writings of the like kind with what he has published. The last of these criticks is indeed a little inconsistent in his reflections: for he sometimes treats him very roughly, (11) *Il est une trop servile imitateur de Tite Live & a derobé aux anciens ce qu'il a de bon. Il écrit d'un grand sens, mais il a peu d'Elevation pour les sentimens. Ses longues citations du troisieme livre ne plaisent pas a tout le monde, non plus que le grand detail qu'il fait au livre second de la nation du pais dont il parle*; and yet, in the same treatise, he ranks him and Mariana amongst the most celebrated historians, and equals him with Thucydides, &c. A learned prelate (12) of our English church has observed, that this historian has laid down good rules for the trial and better discovery of genuine and false antiquities; and such as his own book will not easily submit to. The first is, it is a great presumption against the truth of any relation, that the first reporters lived at a great distance from the times, wherein the

(1) A. D. 1643. (2) See the Præf. to Orig. Brit. pp. VI, VII. (3) Eccl. Hist. lib. 6. p. 325. (4) See his Life, p. 11. (5) Lib. 18. p. m. 662. (6) Ad Ann. 1582. (7) De primord. cap. 16. (8) De Civ. Prud. cap. 14. (9) Hist. of Reform. Vol. 1. lib. 3. p. 311. (10) Annal. Eliz. R. An. 1567. (11) Reflections sur l'Histoire, Edit. Amstel. 1693. p. 300. (12) B. of S. Asaph, Pref. to Hist. Account, p. 27, &c.

matters of fact are said to have happened; and this is thought to bear as hard upon his Fergus and Donald the First, as it does upon our Brutus and Lucius. The other rule is, that where modern historians differ from the ancient Romans, in matters transacted in the days of their first emperors, we are not rashly to believe them: which ought to have been remembered when we came to the story of Bassianus and Carausius. Two of his own countrymen; and (I may venture to say it) as well versed in the histories and antiquities of the kingdom as himself, have made as free with him. The former of these is R. Gordon; who, in his letter forementioned, writes thus: "Georgius Buchananus, vir in omni humaniore literaturâ probè exercitus, poetarum sui sæculi, multorumq; præcedentium, omnium consensu princeps; ille tamen ea aggressus est quæ famæ ejus intererat non attigisse, & intra poeseos limites se continuisse. Tribus primis historiæ suæ libris conviciatorem agit non historicum; & præter jejunam regni nostri descriptionem (quam tamen desultoriâ levitate prætervehitur) doctis viris nihil præstare videtur, in re antiquariâ non satis instructus: Sed non hæc impunè tulit, à Camdeno (omnium Britannicæ Antiquariorum longè primo) malè habitus. Procedente historiâ (ut innumera sphalmata taceam) contra Kennethum regem intonat horrendum, &c. Ubi ad sua tempora ventum, Deus bone! jam confusâ rerum facie, & turbis fluctuante regno, quàm apertè in partes transit? Jam non historicus, sed causidicus; detortâ veritate rerum, parum apud ipsum sinceri. Et hæc omnia ut unum hominem, Mæcenatem suum, stabiliret; quem tamen, antequam vitâ exiret, cruentâ morte sublatum vidit. Sed non idèo refrixit inde partium studium; ut testatur egregius ille dialogus aut cento, *de Jure Regni*, quam extremâ ætate procudit: ubi illa tractat quæ perfectum theologum & peritissimum jureconsultum postulant, homo ad hæc impar; è scholis et Ludimagistrorum ferulis in hæc ardua rerum evectus. Vapulât tamen à duobus popularibus suis, viris eruditissimis & omnis juris peritissimis, Blackwôdæo & Barclaio; quorum doctissimi libri de eâ re extant. Jure sanè cum eo ita actum esse fatentur omnes, qui sine affectu illa legunt. Qui enim centonem *de Jure Regni* & historiam ejus exactè consideraverit, inveniet tractatum *de Jure Regni* thesin propositam; historiam autem sic detortam, ut thesi firmamentum habeatur.—Non hæc refero ut clarissimi viri manibus insultem; (quis enim, aut quantulus, ego?) hoc enim piaculare; sed veritati obniti, aut eum celare, in rebus tantis impium." The other home-bred critick is his name-sake, Mr. David Buchanan; a man very much after his own heart, and as desirous as may be to cover all the faults in him that are capable of shelter.

In this learned gentleman's language our historian is "(1) Scriptorum aquila; cum judicio & acumine stupendo monachorum nugas cum senecionum fabulis clarè & delucidè refellit, aliorum neglegentiam modestè castigat & optimè emendat, &c." After a deal more of such sweetness as this, he comes (at last) to acknowledge him to have been a man of some frailties; which he thought fit to do in this tender and smooth manner: "Hic tamen (quantus quantus fuerit) omnia videre non potuit. Quis enim omnia? Non lux ipsa videt. Deinde serò & provectiore ætate, suâsu civium, ad hoc scribendi genus animum appulit. Adde, quòd tunc temporis, quo ille valebat, non erat omnibus adminiculis instructus, ad obscuriorum inquisitionem, errorumq; refutationem, quæ nobis hodie plenius suppeditat doctorem virorum labor; quo ille caruit. Quare nonnulla prorsus intacta reliquit, de aliis parùm egit, de nonnullis obscurè scripsit; de quibus omnibus (prout nascetur occasio) nobis erit dicendum." The conclusion of this animadversion shews, that Master David himself designed to write a history of the Scotch affairs; and, to make room for this, it was necessary to let the world know, that George (as well as his neighbours) had his failings. I know not whether he went any farther than a bare draught of some chapters, relating to the better understanding of the antiquities and prime state of the nation; having ranked some collections under several heads of that nature: which he did not live to bring into perfect form. Such papers I have seen; and they discover their author's skill in the Hebrew and Celtic languages to have been much more considerable than his acquaintance with the Greek and Roman writers, who are never to be made friends with some of his opinions and etymologies. It may possibly be as good

(1) In Notis MSS. p. D. R. S.

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and as effectual a way to secure the genuine history of Scotland, if Buchanan's errors be corrected, and his defects supplied, as if a new history were compiled by such as are masters of those records, and other helps which he wanted; and this has been attempted by two persons of that eminence, in learning and style, which is requisite for such an undertaking. Mr. Thomas Crawford (who was professor of grammar and humanity, and an extraordinary critick in the history and antiquities of Scotland) has left very accurate notes on the (1) Francfort edition of this history; beginning at the first page, and continuing them to the end. Whatever may be omitted by him, will assuredly be supplied by Sir Robert Sibbald; who has interleaved the latter impression at (2) Utrecht, and has all along intermixed Mr. Crawford's remarks, together with his own and Dr Irwin's. The whole twenty books were (3) epitomized, in a good Latin style, by Mr. Alexander Hume; who was some time chief master in the grammar school at Edinburgh: and they were (4) continued in the same fine language, by Robert Johnson. They were long since translated into Scotch; and the translation bears this title: (5) "The History of Scotland first written in the Latin tongue by that famous and learned man George Buchanan, and afterwards translated into the Scottishe Tongue by John Read Esquyar, Brother to James Read, Parson of Banchorn Ternam whyle he lived. They both ly interred in the Parish-Church of that Town, seated not far from the Bank of the River Dee, &c." In the preface to the (6) first volume of the manuscript Calderwood, this John is said to have been Servitor and Writer to Master George Buchanan: so that perhaps the history was thus translated by the author himself, and only transcribed by his Amanuensis. Another translation, in good modern English, and a more polite style than the former, was (7) published lately. The anonymous translator has given this high encomium of his author, that "he was no less the glory of the age wherein he lived, than of his country; of that elevation and justness of thought, that neatness and elegance of expression, that he is not exceeded, (hardly equalled) by any ancient or modern writer; of that courage and integrity, that he transmits the lives of princes to posterity, with the same freedom which they allowed themselves in leading them; and (lastly,) that he commends without flattery, and censures without satyr." In the beginning of the book we are obliged with a good cut of the author's picture, taken from an original in the hand of Sir Thomas Povey; and likewise with his life, as far as the seventy-fourth year of his age, and within two years of his death. In that (8) celebrated passage about the conformity of the Scots to the English church discipline, we are told, "That (upon their deliverance from the French powers) they observed and subscribed to the same rites in religion, in common with the English; which carries the matter of fact a little farther than Buchanan himself had done; and sufficiently proves that the translator had no mind to conceal any part of the good temper they were then in towards the established liturgy, and canons of the church of England.

De Cham-
bre.

Contemporary with Buchanan, but one of different religion and interests, was David Chambre, who gives his book the title of (9) *Histoire Abregée de tous les Roys de France, Angleterre, & Escosse, mise en Ordre par forme d'Harmonie: contenant aussi un brief discours de l'ancienne Alliance, & mutuel Secours entre la France & l'Escosse, &c.* He gives himself the title of Conseiller en la cour de Parliament à Edinburgh; and the reader needs no farther account of him. His book was first published in 1572, and dedicated to Charles the Ninth. But, in the second edition, the author added an abstract of the lives of the popes and emperors; which (as well as those of the kings of England and France) are drawn into such a method as may best attend the course of the Scottish history. The affairs of his own country are his chief subject, and what he had principally in view: and he pretends to give the marrow of whatever had been offered to the world by Veremund, the Black Book of Scone, the old Chronicles of Icolmkil, &c. Whereas, in truth, Boethius is his main author; and the rest are only ornaments of his preface. His great design (over and above the *Particuliere faveur envers son pays*) appears to be the giving in a memorial to the court of France, in relation to the (then) present estate of the religion and policy in Scotland; and reminding the French king of the ancient alliances betwixt the two realms, and what

(1) 8vo. A. D. 1668. (2) 8vo. A. D. 1668. (3) 8vo. MS. (4) Amstel. 12mo. 1642. & ibid. Fol. 1655.
(5) Ms. Fol. in Bibl. Glasg. (6) Ibid. (7) Fol. Lond. 1690. (8) Buchan. Hist. Scot lib. 19. (9) 8vo.
Paris, 1579.

a necessary support they have been to each other, when pressed with the common enemy. In the conclusion of his work, we have a list of both French and Scottish authors that have treated on the ancient League betwixt the two Kingdoms, many whereof are now hardly to be met with. The author's original manuscript is said to be in the French king's library at Paris. PART II.

Hector Boethius's history was epitomized in English, continued to the year 1586, and printed with Holinshed's (1) chronicle. The chief part of the continuation (from the year 1571,) was done by Fr. Thynne, Lancaster herald, and a very knowing antiquary; upon which account we have had occasion to mention him elsewhere. To this he added catalogues of the regents, during the minority of their kings; together with the dukes, by creation and descent, chancellors, archbishops, and writers, of that kingdom. One of their most accurate (2) historians gives this fair testimony of him, that his characters are very impartial, and far from lavish commendation; and (3) afterwards he refers us to him for a true account of the conference betwixt the Earl of Morton and the ministers of Edinburgh. He is there called Boteville or Thin, because he was lineally descended from (4) Ralph Boteville of Stretton, in the county of Shropshire; whose son was called Tom at the Inne, and his posterity had the surname contracted into Thynne. FThynne

In the conclusion of both the copies of R. Maul's antiquities (already accounted for) that author mentions another work of his touching the history of his country, which he calls *Periodi Gentis Scotorum*. His own abstract of it is in these words: *Has in septem partiti sumus; quarum prima initium ducit à primo Scotorum ex Hispaniâ adventu, & in Albium appulsu; & tempus illud totum occupabit quo nostri sub philarchis, usque ad primum creatum regem, fuerunt. Secunda verò exordium inde suum habebit quò primus apud nos monarcha ordinatus fuit, ad exilium Scotorum. Tertia verò a reditu ab exilio ordietur; quæ & desinet in excidium Piâ gentis. Quarta vero a deletis Piâ, & duplicato jam regno, ad Milcolumbi Canmori principatum; quo imperante novæ apud nostros leges, novi item honorum tituli orti. Quinta a Milcolumbo quicquid est annorum complectitur, ad interitum lachrymabilem Alexandri Tertii. Sexta autem, ab Alexandro optimo rege extincto, durabit in obitum Jacobi quinti. Septima tandem, atque ultima, a Jacobi Quinti immaturâ morte, ad abitum Jacobi Sexti in Angliam.* He seems not to have gone any farther in the finishing part, than through the first four periods; so much of his history (in about two (5) quires of paper) being still extant, in several manuscript copies. He does not confine himself to the lives and actions of particular princes; but discourses at large on the various changes of religion, and the government of the states, as independent on (or above) their sovereigns. R. Maul.

James Howel, among the many treatises he wrote, entitles one of his books (6) *Bella Scot-Anglica*; or, a Brief of all the Battles and Martial Encounters which have happened betwixt England and Scotland, from all times to this present. To this is added, a Corollary, declaring the causes whereby the Scot is come of late years to be so heightened in his spirits. But these discourses are of an equal strain and consideration, and will afford the reader such an entertainment as he meets with in the other superficial pieces of the same author's composition. J. Howel.

There are several writers who have made Scotland the subject of their pains; who, having only epitomized or transcribed the works of others, will deserve no farther notice here than the having their books just pointed at. Such are, 1. And, du Chesne's (7) *Histoire General d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse & d'Ireland*; wherein the affairs of the Scottish kingdom are very lightly handled. 2. Ed. Ayscu's (8) *History of the Wars, Treaties, Marriages, &c. between England and Scotland, down to the reign of King James the Fourth.* 3. John Monnypenny's (9) *Abridgement of the Scotch Chronicles, with a Description of their Original, &c.* 4. David Hume's (10) *General History*, which commences at (Fergus the Third's death) the year 767, and continues to the death of King James the Sixth. It is the best in this class; but falls far short of the spirit of that writer's other works. Other late historians.

(1) Fol. Lond. 1586. (2) D. Hume, *Hist. of Eng.* par. 2. p. 323. (3) *Ibid.* p. 353. (4) *Vid. Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. p. 319. (5) MS. p. D. R. S. (6) 4to. Lond. 1648. (7) Fol. Par. 1614. & continuée par le Sieur de Verdier. *Ibid.* 1640. (8) 4to. Lond. 1607. (9) 8vo. Lond. 1612. & Edinb. 1633. (10) Fol. Edinb. 1617. and Lond. 1657.

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mous his-
tories.

In some libraries, both in England and Scotland, there are manuscript and anonymous histories of the Scottish nation, which fall little short of the best of those that are published, and have their author's ascertained; of which kind are some of these that follow: 1. There is a very full and well written book in the hands of the Lord Maitland, says (11) Sir George Mackenzie, which brings the Scots from Spain about the year of the world 3242; and makes them first governed by captains, before they were subject to the kings mentioned in their other histories. 2. Another Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland (together with those of England, Norway, and the Isle of Man) which was given by Mr. Dodesworth to Sir Robert Cotton, in the year 1621, whereof a transcript is now, or was (12) lately, in the hand of Doctor N. Johnson. 3. A third history of their kings (in old Scottish verse) from their first coming out of Parthia into Ireland, and thence to Scotland, as low as King James the First, A. D. 1405, is in the (13) Cottonian Library. So is, 4. A fourth, (14) which, (having accounted for the original and progress of the nation) endeavours to prove that kingdom, in all ages, subject to the kings of England. This book was anciently in the possession of the great Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. 5. In the same (15) place, there is a short abstract of the lives of their kings from K. Ewain, who died in 721, in Latin epigrams. The treatise bears the title of *Epitome Historiæ Rogeri Hoveduni*; and, towards the end, has a mixture of English affairs to the year 1270. 6. "Pugnæ, five Conflictus Scotorum, tam externi quam interni," is the title of another (16) anonymous manuscript, which well answers its inscription. Several more, both in folio and quarto, I have seen, beginning at Gathelus, and falling as low as King James the Sixth: But they are mostly translations of some of the larger copies, or lesser abstracts of Fordun. We may likewise find some other histories cited, which, at this day, are hard to be met with; such as those by Habakkuk Biret (a servant of Queen Mary's) David Moise, and John Colum: With whom I think we may rank John Aldar, an Englishman, (but when or where he lived not known) who is said to have written a great many historical tracts; none whereof are supposed to be now extant, except his book *de Scotis & Hibernis*, which (as (17) fame says) himself placed in the king's library. Doctor J. Jameson found a French history of Scotland (in a vellum manuscript) in the king of France's library, which may prove of more note, since he observed the language to be of a considerable age. Dalglish's Collection of Scottish History, disposed under certain (18) heads, or common places, is hardly worth our mentioning; nor do I know what the author was, or when he lived.

R. South-
well.

Some choice passages of the Scottish history have been reported from R. de Southwel, to whom our Hollinshed frequently acknowledges himself much indebted. It were to be wished that he had left us a better account of an author of so much worth as he says there was in him: Whereas his calling him sometimes Richard, and elsewhere Robert, raises a jealousy that he was not intimately acquainted with the man and his character. J. Pitts has thrown him into his Appendix, amongst such writers as were of an unknown time and place; and later historians speak of him with the like uncertainty. I once suspected that R. de Southwel might mean no more than *registrum*, &c. and that the register-book of the collegiate church of that name, might prove the original fountain whence Hollinshed had drawn such collections: But a better light has (at last) been given me, in this dark matter, by the honourable Sir Robert Southwel. He was pleased to observe to me, that this historian is quoted by (19) Stow, and (20) Speed, as well as (about twenty several times) by Ralph Holinshed; who reports from him the whole story (1) of Alexander the Third's unfortunate death. In his Description (2) of Scotland, he brings a long paragraph, touching the isle of Man, out of Richard Southwel: a writer, says he, "well instructed, not only in the North parts of Scotland, but concerning the state of the out isles". Now, it appears from a (3) Record in the Tower, that one John de Southwel

(11) Def. of R. Line, p. 50. (12) Vid. Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 2. p. 1. Num. 3843. (13) Nero, D. XI. (14) Ibid. E. V. 2 Vid. & Galba, A. VII. 6. (15) Otho, D. IV. 2. (16) 4to. in Bibl. Icc. Edinbur. (17) Vid. J. Pitts, in Append. p. 866. & G. Voss Hist. Lat. Lib. 3. par. 2. Lit. I. (18) 4to. MS. p. D. R. S. (19) Annal. p. 157. in Hen. II. p. 159. in Rich. I. p. 219. in Ed. II. & p. 235. in Ed. III. (20) In Vit. Ed. I. (1) An. 13. Ed. (2) Descr. of Scot. p. 201. (3) 20 Ed. I. A. D. 1292.

(with

(with two other judges) was sent by our Edward the First into the Isle of Man; where inquiry was to be made into some irregularities complained of, and speedy justice to be done according to the laws and customs of that island. Other records, of the same age, tell us, that this John was *Clericus Regis*, and a person well versed in the civil law; and that he had a son, of both his names, who (in the next (4) reign) was the king's plenipotentiary in Gascoigne, empowered to take into his protection all such as would submit themselves to his majesty's government. This second John had two sons, John and Richard; the latter whereof seems to be the same gentleman of whom Philpot speaks thus; (5) "Robert Nottingham of Bayford in Sedingbourn, was sheriff of Kent, the 48 of Ed. 3, and died the same year. And Richard de Southwell served out the year for him." This is confirmed by a Record in the (6) Pipe Office: *Robertus Nottingham defunctus vice comes de hoc anno 48. Richardus Southwelle, executor testamenti predicti Roberti, pro eodem defuncto debet 46 l. 2 s. 7 d.* It is very probable this Richard may be the historian we look for, and that the papers left by his grandfather (7) John, might enable him to be the more particular in the northern and Scottish affairs: for Stow quotes him no lower than the thirteenth, nor Hollinshed beyond the twenty-first of Ed. III. though that king reigned thirty years after. This makes it likely, that he might write about that time, and discontinue his labours as soon as that prince could no longer be magnified for his good conduct and success in arms; since (all agree) the latter part of his reign was not answerable to the former.

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C H A P. III.

Of the Writers of the Lives of the particular Kings of Scotland.

IN the English Historical Library, some account has been given of the shortening of the Royal Line of Scotland, by the Bishop of St. Asaph, now of Worcester, which needs not here be repeated. This alarmed all the antiquaries of this kingdom: and, amongst the rest, a very large answer was provided by Sir Robert Sibbald, who kindly obliged me with the perusal of it in (8) thirty-four chapters; as he likewise did with that of another of his learned treatises on the same subject, in Latin, which he calls "*Historiæ Scoticæ Defensio, contra Scotici Nominis Oppugnatores.*" This he divides into three books; in the first whereof he treats of the Ancient Inhabitants and State of Britain in General; and in the two latter more particularly enquires into the Original of the old Scots, and the time of their first seating themselves in this Island. To these may be added, a third of his elaborate composures, which bears the name of "*Conjectanea quædam de primis Insularum Britannicarum Colonis, ex scriptoribus Græcis & Latinis hausta.*" which consists of fourteen chapters, and takes notice (amongst other observations of good value) that Ireland, by the style of *Insula Sacra*, was inhabited before Britain. But the bishop was more publicly and formally engaged by Sir George Mackenzie, in his (9) "*Defence of the Royal Line,*" &c. wherein it is (probably enough) maintained, that the true succession of the kings of Scotland might be entirely preserved, even without the helps of written histories; because their genealogies were usually repeated both at their coronation and interment; the latter of these customs being likewise observed amongst the Highland families to this day. What he says of their ancient historians, is considered, under proper titles, elsewhere; and I shall here allow it him, that their testimony is never to be overturned by the evidence of others less credible; such as he justly reckons those monks to be, (10) who lived in the times of war betwixt the

Def. of
Royal
Line.

(4) 20 Ed. 2. A. D. 1327. (5) Survey of Kent. p. 28. (6) 48. Ed. 3. Kanc. (7) See his Commission, and another Record relating to this affair, in the Appendix, Numb. 4. (8) MS. Fol. p. Auct. (9) 8vo. Lond. 1685. (10) 8vo. Lond. 1685.

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two kingdoms. That the Scots were seated here much more early than the bishop would allow them, he endeavours to prove from Gildas and Bede, as well as from Tacitus, and other Roman writers. That the words, *Soli Britanni*, in Eumenius's Panegyrick, are misconstrued (in the nominative case) by the bishop's namesake, H. Lhuyd, as well as himself, he shews from the concurrent authorities of Scaliger, Camden, and Buchanan; three great judges of criticism in the Latin tongue. He seems not to be so fortunate in his exposition of Hegisippus's phrase of *quæ terris nihil debet*: but his reasons, after he has done with his authorities, are more strong and convincing. Some things indeed there are in his book which seem to carry a yet fairer light. An impartial by-stander would hardly (for example) think it credible, that the Scots, as our English historians would have it, should yearly transport great armies in small curroughs from Ireland, and look upon their return in the end of summer as less hazardous than staying with their allies; or, that the Picts should first call in the Irish to settle amongst them, just when they had seen how the Saxons had served the Britains on the like occasion, &c. The Scots being to this day called Albanach, as the English are called Saffanach, in the Irish language, he thinks a probable argument of their being very anciently seated in Albion; which had changed that name into Britannia, before the days of Julius Cæsar: and his interpretation of Bede's story of King Egfrid of Northumberland's misfortunes in (11) Ireland, seems very just and agreeable to the context. He concludes with an assertion, backed with good evidence, That the Royal Line of Scotland, has an undoubted right to the whole empire of Britain; all the several titles of the Welsh, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, (as well as both the houses of York and Lancaster) concentrating therein. The credit of this treatise, was supported by its author, against the objections of the learned (12) Doctor Stillingfleet, in another which he called (13) "The Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland farther cleared, &c." wherein he farther explains his Roman authorities, adding the Testimony of Crantzius, and other Foreign Writers. His adversary (he thinks) is too hard upon the Scotch historians, when he makes all those that mention the story of Gathelus and Scota, to be fabulous; and calls them that omit it crafty: and he judges him no less forward in objecting against the chief of them, that they differ in the number of their kings from the Highland genealogist; not observing that he omits all those that reigned by usurpation, and also those that succeeded in a collateral line. He likewise complains of his endeavours to lessen the credit of the Scottish History, because of its thwarting the Irish Annals which are undoubtedly (and confessedly) of no manner of authority in themselves. Lastly, he believes venerable Bede to have been a more credible voucher than the modern O'Flaharty; and thinks Doctor Stillingfleet can hardly be in earnest, when he offers to destroy the authority of the former of these historians upon the strength and credit of the latter. Both these books were afterwards put into one, and translated into Latin; which being reviewed by Grævius, was printed in Holland, under the title of (14) "Defensio antiquæ Regum Scotorum profapiæ." The advocate was seconded, in his quarrel, by Mr. James Cunningham, a writer to the Signet, and author of the Commentary on Macduff's Cross, who slew the bishop of St. Asaph in verse; having published a poem, which he calls (15) "In Floidum Asaphensem Episcopum, Scotorum Reges, Regnum, Ritus Sacros, illacessitis Calumniis & immeritis, exprobrantem, lacerantem, & traducentem, Verficulus unus & alter Hortatorius." To this he subjoins Notes and an Appendix; in quâ (you have his own word for it) *ex concessis confutatur Floidus*: after which comes an Additamentum, in Correction of Doctor Stillingfleet's Preface. There was also a learned and modest (16) Letter of Remarks on the Bishop's Book, directed to himself; and bearing date December the eighth, 1684, which was written by Mr. Thomas Price of Hanvilling.

Genealogies.

A great many genealogies and pedigrees of the Scottish kings have been drawn up; among which the most famous (and most common in the libraries of great men) is that which was composed by a Highlander of quality, and repeated to Alexander the Third at his coronation, reckoning the ancestors of that king, and his predecessors (17) *ad parentem usq; Gentis Gathelum*.

(11) In Hiberniam, Eccl. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 26. Though it must be confessed, the Saxon Translation [on Hibernia Scota Ealonde] is not a very pregnant confirmation of the advocate's opinion. (12) In Præfat. ad Orig. Brit. (13) 8vo. Lond. 1686. (14) 8vo. Amstel. 1687. (15) Impress. A. D. 1685. (16) MS. 4to. p. D. R. S. (17) H. Boeth. lib. 13. fol. 285. a.

The late Irish (18) antiquaries have found an old poem in their language, composed about the time of Malcolm Canmore, wherein are registered the Names of the Kings of Scotland, with the number of years they severally reigned; and this, they say, begins with Loarn and Fergus (the son of Erc) as first monarchs of that kingdom. Hence they conclude, that this monarchy was first established in that Dalredian family; the word Daal (as they farther observe) signifying a stock or kindred, as well as a portion or share. King James the Sixth's Genealogy, from Adam, was composed by Doctor W. Slatyer, author of the *Palæ Albion*, and (19) published in Latin and English by the title of *Genealogia Jacobi Regis*; the like having been, sometime (20) before, carried up as high as Noah, by George Owen Harry, parson of Whitechurch in Kemeis. A more noble one, than either of these, was drawn up by Thomas Lyte, of Lytes-Cary in Somersets-hire; who took care to have all the pictures of the kings and queens therein mentioned, done by a curious Limner. This was so well liked by the last mentioned king, and his son Prince Charles, that the author was presented with their pictures set in gold; and a Cut of the whole (after the original had hung a long time in one of the public rooms at Whitehall) was engraven and printed with this title: (1) "The most royally ennobled Genealogy of the High and Mighty Prince and renowned Monarch James, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, &c. extracted from Brute, the most noble founder of the Britains; as also from the first Original of the Scots, from them ascending to the Imperial Romans, the Warlike Picts, the Saxons, Danes, and conquering Normans; with his lineal Descent from Charlemain, and other the Modern Kings of France, their several Regiments, Titles, Honours, Matches, Surnames, and Descents, when they began their Reign, how long each Prince ruled and governed, the Estate Royal, the Manner of their Death, and Place of Burial." Whereunto is added, "their Royal Ensigns, Arms, Atchievements of Honour, Emblems, and memorable Epitaphs." There is now preparing a more critical Account of this Royal Stem, from King Fergus to the present Age, by Mr. George Martin, a person of singular skill and learning in the antiquities of his native country: but the plan he has laid is large, and the work is intended to be very nicely done; so that we cannot hope that it will be suddenly finished.

There is an old romance of the famous Acts of Fyn Mak-Coul, a giant of prodigious stature, K. Ewain in the days of King Ewain (or Eugenius) the Second; wherein some particulars of that reign II. are pretended to be recorded: but my (2) author justly ranks this with some of the like stamp concerning King Arthur, and others of our ancient English worthies.

Malcolm the Third (surnamed Canmore, or Great Head) is the first of the Scottish kings, whose reigns have been considered in such particular descriptions, as have been preserved down to our times. Turgot, sometime Bishop of St. Andrew's was twenty years Abbot of Wiremuth, and long Confessor to S. Margaret, Consort to this Malcolm; after whose death he returned to Durham, where he died (prior of the monastery there) in the year 1115. He wrote two books of the lives of the said king and queen; (3) *quorum pios mores, & quotidianos in virtute progressus, ex longâ & intimâ cum iis familiaritate, & exactâ conscientiarum inspectione, probe noverat.* This is what J. Pitts says of that matter; and the truth of the story is attested by (a better witness) the (4) *Liber Carthus. de Perth*; the compiler whereof gives the history of both of them, and declares that he extracted it out of what had been written more largely (on the same subject) by Turgot. Upon H. Boethius's credit, we are also told, that he wrote a third book, *De Regibus Scotorum*; and a fourth, which bears the title of *Annales sui temporis*; which last (if any such thing there be) must relate chiefly to the affairs of that court and country, where he spent the best share of his time. In the Cotton (5) library, there is a letter from R. de Dunelmo, Monk of Kilchou or Kelfo, to the Prior and Convent of Tinmouth, giving an Account of the Death and Burial of King Malcolm; who (as it tells us) was slain, together with his son Edward, near the river Alne, and buried at Tinmouth. III.

(18) Vid. Ogygr p. 466. (19) Fol. Lond. 1630. (20) 4to. Lond. 1604. (1) Vid. Athen. Oxon. vol. 1. p. 533. (2) H. Boeth. lib. 7. fol. 118. b. Vid. & J. Less. lib. 4. p. 131. (3) J. Pitts, p. 194, 195. (4) MS. in Bibl. Icc. Edinburgh. (5) Vitellius, A. XX. 8.

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David I.

David the First's life is well enough known to be written by Alred, Abbot of Rievaulx; and we have (1) several good manuscript copies, both of that, and his elegiacal history of the same good prince's death: but he did not write these, because, (as some have affirmed) that king was founder of his monastery; [for it was founded as well as Kirkham, and Wardon, by Sir Walter Espec.] but because he was a special favourer of the Cistercian order in all his benefactions.

William I.

We have some (2) copies of an instrument of fealty, said to have been signed by King William the First of Scotland to our Henry the Second: and, in a manuscript index of the records, carried heretofore out of that kingdom into England, I have seen a copy of our Richard the First's resignation, to the same king, of all right claimed by him, and his predecessors, to the homage of the kings of Scotland, dated (by the hand of William, Bishop of Ely, his chancellor) at Canterbury, in the first year of his reign; and a ratification of this, dated (as before) at Winchester, on the seventeenth of April, in the fifth year of that reign. The originals of these are said to be at Paris. This king's particular (3) genealogy is also extant; and an historical (4) account of the descents of the earls of Chester and Ferrers, from the daughters of him and King Malcolm.

John
Bailiol.

John Bailiol, having obtained the crown by a slavish stipulation with our Edward the First, has left many instances of his own bondage, and the Sovereignty of his Superior Lord, as the style then ran: so that it were endless to recount all the evidences and instruments of claims on the one hand, and submissions on the other, which the Archives of England will afford us. We have the whole (5) process in the famous arbitration and settlement of the Scottish crown, upon the death of King Alexander the Third; the (6) claims of the several pretenders; King Edward's sentence in favour of his vassal, and his expeditions afterwards into that kingdom; the form (7) of homage subscribed by the Scottish nobility; &c. We have also a most noble (8) parchment-roll of the letter sent from the barons of England to Pope Boniface, on account of the disputes with Scotland, signed at Lincoln, on the twelfth of February, in the year 1300; to which are affixed, the seals of arms of the several subscribers, drawn in proper colours; which is a monument that duly belongs to the story of this king's reign.

Robert I.

The memorable life of Robert the First (or The Bruce, as he is commonly called) was written by, (9) a person of good knowledge and learning, John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, who lived in the reign of David the Second, from whom he had an annual pension, which he afterwards procured to be settled upon the Hospital at Aberdeen. This book is in Scottish metre, and bears the title of The Acts and Life of the most Victorious Conqueror, Robert Bruce, King of Scotland; wherein also are contained, the Martial Deeds of the Valiant Princes Edward Bruce, Sir James Douglass, Earl Thomas Randal, Walter Stewart, and sundry others. It has had a great many editions, and is now commonly sold by the booksellers of that kingdom. The author begins with an assurance of his being an honest and faithful historian; bespeaking the reader's attention and faith in these words:

“ Stories to read are delectable,
“ Suppose they nought contain but Fable;
“ Then sould Stories that soothfast were,
“ If they be spoken in good Maner,
“ Have double Pleasure in Hearing.”

Soon after this, indeed, he calls his book a Romance; but that word was then of better reputation than of later times; and the Romaunt of Romaunts has been innocently applied to true history, as well as the Ballad of Ballads to a sacred song. The historian, or poet (call him which you will, they were anciently the same profession) lived, as we have already observed, near the

(1) Bibl. Cotton. Julius, A. XI, 1. Vespasianus, A. XVIII. 4. Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 1. par. 1. Num. 1052.
(2) Bibl. Cotton. Vitellius, A. VIII. 12. Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 1. par. 1. Num. 2086. (3) Bibl. Cotton. Faustina, A. VIII, 29. (4) Ibid, Claudius, D. VII, 9 (5) Bibl. Yelverton. Vol 42. Bibl. Cotton. Claudius, D. VI. 6. (6) Ibid.
(7) Julius, A. V, 6. Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 2. p. 2. Num. 518. (8) Inter Cimelia C. C. C. Oxon. (9) See D. Hume's Hist. of Dougl. Par. 1. p. 30, 31.

time he accounts for; and is therefore the more credible reporter. This is plain from the description he gives of the valiant and noble James Lord Douglas part of which is this; PART.
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“ His Bodie well made and lenie,
“ As they that saw him said to me.”

In the adventures and hardships of king Robert, before he came to be settled in the throne, he is much larger, and more particular than any of the other Scottish historians; and, now and then brings parallel acts of chivalry out of the Jewish, Greek, and Roman writers. The famous battle of Bannock-bourn is largely treated on; and afterwards the martial exploits of Edward Bruce (the king's brother) amongst the Irishry of Ireland; his frequent skirmishes with the king of England's lieutenant, &c. are as copiously related. The siege of Berwick, and the Lord Douglas's notable conduct of the Scottish army out of Wardale, bring us to the peaceful death of this warlike prince; whereupon the book concludes with this panegyric on the generous hero:

“ Here ends the Book of the Noblest King,
“ That ever in Scotland yet did ring,
“ Called King Robert the Bruce,
“ That was maist worthy of all ruce;
“ And of the noble good Lord Douglass,
“ And many ma that with him was.”

There is another life of this king in heroick verse, by Patrick Gordon; the title whereof is (1) The Famous History of the Renowned and Valiant Prince Robert, surnamed the Bruce, King of Scotland, &c. and of fundry other valiant Knights, both Scots and English. It begins thus;

“ Of Martial Wars, of dreadful Wars I sing,
“ Of Potentates, fierce Knights, and Champions bold;
“ Who to maintain orethrew a Valiant King,
“ Most brave Atchievements well perform'd of old.”

There was an attempt toward the bringing of Barbour's Old Rhymes into a more modish dress; which did not prove so taking as the original. A third famous reporter of the acts and deeds of King Robert, was Robert Baston, Prior of Scarborough, who accompanied our (2) Edward the Second to the siege of Stirling in the year 1313; and, being taken prisoner, was obliged (instead of recording the glories of his own sovereign, as was first intended) to write in praise of the king of Scotland. Treatises of less note, which may afford some helps in the future enquiries after the conduct and prowess of this great king, are: 1. The descent of the family of (3) Bruce, from Eustace, Earl of Bulloign, collected by Mr. St. Loe Kniverton. 2. A treaty betwixt this (4) king and Haquin, the Fifth King of Norway. 3. Chronicon Fratris (5) Henrici de Blanford de Treugis inter Scotos & Anglos, & earum Articulis: hoc est, inter Edwardum secundum & Robertum de Brus, 30 die Maii, A. D. 1323. An. 16. Ed. 2. 4. Epistola à Communitate Scotiæ tempore Roberti Brusii R. ad papam scripta, data Aberbrothiri, A. D. 1320. It asserts the common tradition of their descent from Spain, and is subscribed by the chief of the nobility and other great men of the kingdom, who have also put their seals to it. The original is now in the hand of the Earl of Haington. About the same time the Pope sent a brief for the crowning of King Robert; which (with its leaden seal annexed) is in the possession of the Lord Drumkairn, and bears the name of Bulla Papæ Johannis 22di pro Unctione & coronatione Roberti Primi. (6)

(1) 4to. Dord. 1615. (2) Vid. Athen. Oxon. Par. 1. p. 101. (3) Inter. MSS. A. Wood in Museo Ashmol. Num. 20. 22. (4) MSS. Bibl. Reg. S. S. Jacob. Num. 962. (5) Bibl. Cott. Claudius, D. VI. 9. (6) Ibid. Titus, A. XX. 6. 11. 14. & 15.

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Rob. II

The chief occurrences, in the reign of David Bruce, are recorded by Robert Baston, who has left us several accounts in rhyme, of the battles betwixt the two kingdoms at that time; the siege of Stirling; the fight at Nevil's Cross, &c. The taking of the king himself prisoner, by J. Cope-land (in the field near Durham, in 1346.) is particularly described by Thomas Samson, in a (1) letter on that subject; and so is the expedition of our (2) Edward the Third, by another hand. Robert the Second had no hand in the famous battle of Otterburn, so fatal to both Percie and Douglass: but, since it happened in his reign, they that have specially applied themselves to the history of that action, may be reckoned somewhat nearly related to the writers of that king's life. Among these, *Carmina super hoc Bello* (says (3) J. Major) *Magister Thomas Varoye primus præpositus Bethwalyæ composuit, sed Rhythmice; sic enim inquit.*

Musa refert fatum fore Scriptum Carmine Vatum,

Et quæ sequuntur. Quia enim Carmina ejus nihil valent, Et sunt relatu indigna, ideo pertranseo. The great Sir Philip Sidney, whom (4) Spencer himself justly revered, as a mighty master in poetry, (5) professes, that he never heard the song of Percie and Douglass, but his heart was more cheerfully moved, than at the sound of a trumpet; and, though he ascribes that effect to the irresistible power of rhymes, it is very probable that the *matter* had as great an influence upon him, as the *music*. The foundation of that charming song, was certainly the forementioned battle of Otterburn, fought betwixt Henry Hotspur, eldest son to the earl of Northumberland, and James the second, earl of Douglass; an encounter, managed with that unparalleled courage and bravery on both sides, that (as Froissard, who then lived, represents it) it was hardly to be matched in history. What is reported of the hunting in Cheviot, in our common English ballad is all fiction; and so are many of the following passages, as there related. The Scots have one which agrees much better with the truth; giving us the occasion of Douglas's march into England, his dividing from the Earl of Fife, and some other particulars, as we read them in our chronicles. This was also written by an Englishman; and begins,

It fell about the Lammas tide, &c.

One of the main occurrences of this king's life, has been vilely misrepresented by the best historians in Scotland; who generally report, that Elizabeth Mure was only his concubine when she bore her son John, (afterwards king, by the name of Robert the Third) who was legitimated after his father's accession to the throne, and preferred to the lawful issue of his rightful queen Euphemia. This most gross and scandalous aspersion (not only injurious to the succeeding kings of Scotland, but to many other foreign princes, who have intermarried with them) is now effectually removed by the right honourable and most learned, the present Lord Viscount Tarbet, in his (6) Vindication of Robert the Third from the Imputation of Bastardy, &c. wherein, from several original charters, and other authentic records, it is evidently proved, that the said Elizabeth was the true wife of Robert the Second (when Steward of Scotland, and Earl of Strathern) and died some years before his accession to the crown; and that their forementioned son John, was constantly (both before and after his father's second marriage) reputed and acknowledged his undoubted heir apparent. [The reader ought, however, to be informed, that the charter mentioned by the noble lord, (page 35, lines 10, 11,) is false dated in the print.] For the yet farther, and most effectual clearing of this point, there is likewise (7) published an authentic Charter of Robert, Steward of Scotland, out of the archives of the Scots college at Paris; which bears date, Jun. 12. A. D. 1364. It is a grant to the church at Glasgow, in consideration of the Pope's dispensing with a marriage betwixt himself and *quondam Elizabeth Mure dum ageret in humanis, non obstante impedimento consanguinitatis Et affinitatis*. It ends, *In cujus rei*

(1) Inter MS8. Bodl. Catal. Oxon. tom. 1. Par. 1. Num. 2086, 18. (2) Ibid. tom. 2. Par. 1. num. 1931. (3) Hist. Scot. lib. 6. cap. 4. Vid. & Voss. de Hist. lat. lib. 3. Par. 4. cap. 4. (4) Vid. Athen Oxon. vol. 1. p. 182. (5) Apolog. for Poetry, 4to. Lond. 1595. (6) 4to. Edinb. 1695. (7) 4to. Paris, 1695.

testimonium sigillum nostrum una cum sigillo Johannis Seneschalli domini de Kyle primogeniti & hæredis nostri præsentibus est appensum; and both the seals of Robert and John are still fresh and fair. There are some other ancient instruments exemplified in the notes and discourse on this: all which, being considered together, afford as manifest a confutation of G. Buchanan's impudent suggestion as can possibly be wished for; and will for ever stop the mouths of the future enemies of the monarchy and Royal Family of Scotland, as to this topic. I shall only add, that there are other abundant proofs, if they were needful, which may be made of the abominable falsity of that report; as the inscriptions in the church of Yester, some original grants of John Lord of Kyle, &c. To this king's reign (he having been the first that bore the name of Stewart) we may refer R. Watson's (8) Memoirs of the Family of the Stewarts; with his Historical Account of the Lives of the Kings of that name. The author, as his work sufficiently shews, was a peevish and discontented writer; having been, a little before his publishing of it, turned out of his ministry at Edinburgh.

There is a (1) Manuscript Account of Robert the Third's contest with our Henry the Fourth, upon the subject of homage; in the conclusion whereof (after the word *Finis*) is this inscription: "The Ring (for Reign) of the Roy Robert, made be Dean David Steill. In this the King of England summons Robert to do fealty at London. Rob. III.

"After the Richt of Brutus King,
"Quilck had all England in Governing," &c.

In return to which, 'tis affirmed that —

"Scotland evir yit hes been free,
"Sin Scota of Ægypt tiuck the See."

It is likewise observed, that England itself (having been four Times conquered by the Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans) has little ground for such a challenge; and ought to remember how frequently she has miscarried in Adventures of that kind. In conclusion, Robert proposes the deciding this controversy by sixty against sixty, (of the royal blood of both kingdoms) forty against forty, or twenty against twenty; or, if Henry approves it, that the two kings themselves may end it in a single combat. In which last offer, are these remarkable lines:

"I proffer me to prief on thee
"At we and Scotland yet are free.
"And of the Paip nothing we hauld,
"But of the Kirk our Faith of auld."

The works, which King James the First left behind him, might have given us a good draught of his life, and the noble endowments of his mind, if carefully enough preserved. Besides many taking pieces of poetry, songs, and ballads: he wrote a notable Panegyrick upon his Queen (Joan, daughter to the Dutchess of Clarence) before she was married to him; and two other (2) famous composures, which began with *Yas sen*, &c. and at *Beltayn*, &c. The History of this King, with that of his four immediate successors of the same name, is most fully written by the polite (3) W. Drummond, son of Sir John Drummond, of an ancient and right honourable family. I shall not need to give any other account of this author and his work, than what we have from the ingenious prefacer: "His descriptions (says he) are lively and full; his narratives clear and pertinent; his orations eloquent, and fit for the persons that speak; and his

(8) 8vo. Lond. 1683. (1) Inter Poemata MS. D. R. Maithland, p. S. Pepys Armig. (2) Vid. J. Major, Hist. Scot. lib. 6. cap. 14. (3) Fol. Lond. 1655. 8vo. ibid. 1681.

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reflections solid and mature. I shall offer one instance, of the many that might be produced, of the open and honest freedom wherewith he has censured what he thought to be irregular in the constitution of the government. The usage of (4) wards, he reckons amongst those Titles of possessing lands, which (in process of time) of an ungodly custom grew strong, and is kept for a law, being fetched by imitation, from the laws of the neighbouring states. Mr. Thomas Crawford, professor of philosophy at Edinburgh, wrote some short (5) remarks on this book. Sir James Balfour (who was contemporary with this Drummond of Hawthornden, and his intimate acquaintance) wrote also the (6) History of the two first James's, which he dedicates to the lords and estates of parliament. This he was pleased to call—The short Annals of the Reigns and Lives of James the First and second, two famous and worthy Princes; wherein, as in a Mirrour, they may see the Vicissitude of humane Affairs, the Downfall of great Persons, the Punishment of Vice, and the Cherishing of vertuous and worthy Actions. The style here is more copious and smooth than in Drummond's, and the history more full.

It is probable Sir James saw what was done by his friend; and endeavoured to supply what he thought was omitted by him. Another such large history of Scottish affairs, within the same limits with that of Drummond's, was written by William Sinclair, an advocate; whose book was brought from Italy to the Scotch College at Paris, where it may now be seen. It is a folio book, of a thousand pages. The last scene of his life, is represented under the title of (7) A full lamentable Chronycle of the Dethe and false Murdure of James Steward, last King of Scotys, nought long agoe Prisoner yn Englande, yn the Tymes of the Kings, Henry the Fifte, and Henry the Sixte, translated out of Latyne into owre moders Englische Tongue, by youre Simple Subget, John Shirley."

James II. Robert Lindsay of Pitscotty's (8) History begins at the reign of James the Second, where Boethius left off. He gives the story of this, and the succeeding kings, governors, and regents, till 1475; wherein (he says) he was instructed by Patrick Lord Lindsay of Bires, Sir William Scot of Balweirie, Sir Andrew Wood of Largo (servant to King James the Fifth,) Doctor John Mair, or Major; Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, and others; who had (themselves) written just treatises of all the occurrences since Flowden-field. It is dedicated, in Scotch verse, to Robert Stewart, Bishop of Cathness; and continued (by a later hand) to the union of the kingdoms in James the Sixth. A few Letters we have of (9) James the Fourth's writing; and nothing, that I know of, which particularly respects the reign of James the Third.

James V. George Marjoreybanks commences his (10) Annals of Scotland (in the year 1514) at the beginning of James the Fifth's reign; continuing it down to 1594. He was son to Michael Marjoreybanks, Bailiff of Edinburgh; and his work is nearly related to (that of another burges of the same place) Robert Birrel's diary, which records many memorable state-passages from 1532, to 1605. There are three volumes (mostly) of this king's letters in the lawyers library at Edinburgh; the first whereof is in folio, and contains Copies of Dispatches, Mandates, and Instructions, from the Kings and great Men at Court, from 1500 to 1626. The second in quarto, has the like from 1500, to 1525; and the third (in quarto, likewise) reaches from 1539, to 1545. The like are in the Royal Library at (11) St. James's, near Westminster. A great many of Sir David Lindsay's (12) poems are on the chief occurrences of the reign of James the Fifth; to whom the Author was a servant from his (13) infancy, afterwards privy-purse, gentleman of the bed-chamber, and (at last) Lyon king at arms. His navigation, in coasting his own kingdom, is printed in (14) Fournier's Hydrography, as well as (15) alone; and the humours of his court and ministers of state, are pretty plainly laid open in a manuscript volume of instructions sent by our Henry the Eighth to Sir Ralph Sadler, his ambassador in Scotland.

Q. Mary's
Life.

Queen Mary of Scotland had a reign of so much action, and her sufferings, in the end of it, were of so extraordinary a nature, that it is no wonder that so many have attempted either the

(4) Hist. Ja. 4. p. 135. (5) MS. p. D. R. S. (6) MS. Fol. in Bibl. ICC. Edinburg. (7) 4to. MS. D. R. Thoresby, pp. habet 88. (8) MS. Fol. (9) Vid. Catal. Oxon. tom. 2. Par. 1 Numb. 8678. (10) MS. p. D. R. S. (11) Vid. Catal. MSS. Oxon. tom. 2. Par. 1. Num. 8677. & 78. (12) 8vo. Glasg. 1696. (13) See the Epist. Ded. to his Dream. (14) Fol. Paris 1677. (15) 4to. Paris 1583.

whole or part of her story; insomuch that we must be obliged to sort these numerous writers into several classes, before we can be able to take a distinct view of the men and their labours. Her enemies gave her friends an occasion of appearing in her defence; and therefore it is not to be marvelled at, if the former of these claim the first rank in the following catalogue. 1. John Knox's (16) first Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women, was intended to raise tumults against this Queen and her namesake of England; the author endeavouring (in his zealous and virulent way) to prove the regal authority of women to be inconsistent with the laws of nature, as well as contrary to the determinations of the civilians and canonists; that the scriptures, which will not allow that a "Woman should speak in the congregation," can never admit of a female administration of the supreme government; and that the inconveniences, which necessarily follow upon such a monstrous practice, are many and insuperable. The principles and positions of this book were examined, with great learning and strength of argument, by Mr. John Aylmer, (afterwards lord bishop of London) in his (17) "Harborow for faithful and trewe Subjects, against the late blowne Blast, concerning the Government of Wemen. Wherein be confuted all such Reasons, as a Straunger of late made in that behalf: with a brief Exhortation to Obedience." In this title-page Knox is called a straunger, to take off the scandalous report of his being an Englishman: for, as yet, there was no name to his book; and the exiled English had reasonable apprehensions that such a rumour might raise jealousies of them in their new Queen Elizabeth, who was just now advanced to the throne. Aylmer's book came also abroad anonymous; the author giving this reason, afterwards, for the concealing of his name; (18) "That he therefore suppressed it, that his pen might be the freer; and that he might appear to say of the queen for conscience-sake what he thought and knew, without suspicion of flattery or hope of benefit." 2. Another treatise, which justly provoked this queen's loyal subjects and good friends, was that (19) "de Mariæ Scotorum Reginâ, totâq; ejus contra Regem Conjuratiōe, fœdo cum Bothwelio Adulterio, Nefariâ in Maritum Credulitate & Rabie, horrendo in super & deterrimo ejusdem parricidio, plena & Tragica planè Historia." To which is annexed, "Actio contra Mariam Scotorum Reginam, in quâ ream & consciam esse eam hujus Parricidii necessariis Argumentis evincitur;" as also, "Literæ Reginæ Scotiæ ad Comitem Bothweliæ scriptæ." The same was afterwards published, in the Scotch language, under the title of (20) "A Detection of the Doeings of Mary Queen of Scots, and of James Earl of Bothwel, against Henry Stewart, Lord Darneley." Both these were generally believed to be the work of Geo. Buchanan. Camden (1) gives the following account of this wicked libel: *Buchananus historiam & libellum cui titulus Deteſtio, partium studio & Moravii munificentia abreptus, ita scripsit ut libri isti falsitatis damnati sint ab ordinibus Regni Scotiæ, quorum fidei plus tribuendum: & ipse ingemiscens coram rege, cui fuit pædagogus, subinde se reprehenderit (ut accepi) quòd tam virulentum calamum in reginam bene meritam strinxisset, mœrensque optaverit ut tantisper superesset, donec maculas quas maledicentiâ falsò asperserat, revocatâ veritate, vel sanguine elueret; nisi (quod ipse dixit) hoc vanum esset, cum pro ætate delirare videretur.* This looks like a charitable account of the last minutes of his dying enemy. But yet Thuanus tells another story, if we may rely on the treatise which carries the title of (2) Thuanus Restitutus; wherein this addition is made to his former printed account of the famed historian and poet of Scotland: (3) *Cum autem morti proximus esset Buchananus, à rege alumno rogatus, ut quæ de Mariâ parente nimis liberè scripserat, revocaret, & infamiam ejus nomini scriptis suis inſtam inſigni aliquo testimonio elueret, nihil aliud respondit, quàm brevi fore ut ipsius desiderio abundè satisfaceret. Repetitis deinde vicibus per fidos eadem de re interpellatus, hoc postremo responſo regi satisfecit: se, quæ ex animi ſententiâ verè scripserat, revocare quidem non poſſe; cæterum, ubi expiraverit, in regis potestate futurum, ut de scriptis illius pro arbitrio suo statueret; tantum quid de eâ re acturus esset pro prudentiâ suâ antè maturè conſuleret, ſciretque, reges cum ſolutâ potestate Deo constitutos nihil non poſſe; ſed veritatem, quæ à Deo vires ſumit, quantum Deus*

(16) 8vo. A. D. 1558. (17) 8vo. Argent, 1559. (18) See Mr. Strype's Life of B. Aylmer, p. 240. (19) Printed without date of time or place. (20) 8vo. 1572. a back letter by Leprevick. (1) In Annal. Eliz. ad. An. 1567. (2) 12mo. Amstelod. 1663. (3) Addit. ad tom. 3. p. 582. B. lin. 4.

PART
II.

hominibus major est tantum potentia adversus ipsos reges præpollere. There is a (4) manuscript vindication of the queen, from the base slanders in this detection, by an abbot of Paisley; and occasional apologies are made for her by most of the following writers of her life. A good justification of her innocence, in (the main thing laid to her charge) the death of her husband, may be seen in a discourse written by the (5) Earl of Ruthven; who, at the instigation and command of King Henry Darnly, was one chiefly concerned in the Death of David Riccio. Before this tract there is a certificate, under the hand of Mr. Randolph, the Queen of England's minister then residing in Scotland; which avows, that the said Earl protested at his death, that all things in that narrative were punctually true. 3. Both the life and death of Queen Mary, were particularly recorded by (6) Robert Turner, scholar to Edmund Campion, and a minister of state in the court of Bavaria; who died in the year 1599. What Dr. Stillingfleet (7) means by making some question whether this same gentleman might have a just title to some part of Lesley's historical works, I do not know. 4. "Vita (8) Mariæ Stuartæ Scotiæ Reginæ, Dotariæ Galliæ, Angliæ, & Hiberniæ, Hæredis; Scriptore Georgio Conæo Scoto." The author himself (9) confesses there were many faults in this book: but, so greedy were those times of any thing that mentioned the name of that unfortunate princess, several additions were posted abroad before he could have leisure for a review. 5. Her history is joined with that of her son by (10) W. Sanderfon; upon whose performance Pet. Heylin has given us some virulent remarks, in the end of his *Examen Historicum*. 6. The History (11) of the Life and death of Mary Stewart, &c. by W. Stranguage; the same book which was (12) afterwards printed under the name of W. Udall. 7. Her life was written in French by Causinus in his *Holy Court*; which is since translated into English. 8. It is written in Italian by Francisco Marcaldi; whose book was communicated to me by the famous and truly honourable J. Evelyn, Esq; It gives only a very short account of this unfortunate princess's life and troubles, from her birth to the 36th year of her life and reign; where the manuscript breaks off, this copy being incomplete. However, it appears that there is not much wanting: for the dedication is from Venice, 29. of May. 1581. and the last chapter is, "Il presente Stato di Scotia, A. D. 1578." 9. "Histoire de la guerre d'Escoffe par (13) Jean de Beauge Gentilhomme Francois." This author gives the story of the wars that ensued in Scotland upon the death of King James the Fifth, and is principally large on the skirmishes betwixt the English and French forces, the siege of Haddington, and the taking of Inch-Keith; in most of which he was present. 10. There are several (14) anonymous writers on the entertaining subject of this queen's life: but the most eminent of these, as far as I can learn, is in the well-furnished library of S. Pepys, Esq; a folio book of 95 leaves, transcribed from a much valued copy in the possession of the late king. It is called, *The true History of the most illustrious and most glorious Mary Stewart Queen of France and Scotland*. The design of this unknown author seems to be an entire justification of her majesty, against all the clamours wherewith other writers had charged her. He particularly asserts her honour and virtue in relation to her Italian secretary; and clears her from having had any hand in the death of her husband. He accounts for her marrying of Bothwel from a necessity of state, and from the pernicious counsels of the Earl of Murray; who, by that match, hoped to ruin her in the opinion of the people, and to seat himself on the throne. He likewise avows her innocence, as to the conspiracy against Queen Elizabeth, carried on (during her imprisonment) by Ballard, Babington, and others; affirming, that Babington's Letters were never delivered nor communicated to her, but opened and answered by her secretaries in her name, and without her knowledge. Upon the whole, he attributes all her misfortunes to the jealousies of love and state; and her ill-usages in Scotland, to the encouragement and practices of Queen Elizabeth, the ambition of Murray, (her tool and instrument) and the seditious spirits of some of her other subjects. Having given his princess a good

(4) p. Rob. Mill. Cler. Sign. (5) Bibl. Yelverton MSS. vol. 48. (6) J. Pitts, p. 866. (7) Orig. Brit. p. 248. (8) 8vo. & 12mo. Romæ. 1624. &c. (9) In Præfat. ad Tract. de duplici Stat. Relig. (10) Fol. Lond. 1656. (11) Fol. Lond. 1624. (12) 8vo. Lond. 1636. (13) 8vo. Par. 1356. (14) Vid. Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 1. par. 1. Numb. 7598. Tom. 2. par. 1. Num. 5265, 5270, 5985, 6353. Bibl. Cotton. Vespasianus, F. V. 8.

many of the most exalted characters that oratory could invent, he makes this passionate reflexion on her death: "Whilst there shall be truths, virtues, and men on earth, this wound shall bleed; whilst there shall be eyes and tears in this vale of misery, they shall drop on these royal ashes; and the devotion of the living shall never be weary to strew with full hands, lillies, violets, and roses on her tomb." 11. In my (15) Lord Longueville's rich collection of manuscripts, there is a volume of papers relating to this queen; many of which are extremely curious. They were all collected by Mr. Beal; several of them being marked, and some written at large, with his own hand. Amongst the rest, there is an apology written by Bishop Lesley, in justification of that part which he had in the accusation of the Duke of Norfolk. This (as we are told by A. B. (16) Spotswood) was printed by the author in France, soon after he had made his escape thither in 1573. Another (17) volume, in the same library, contains a great many considerable papers relating to the intrigue betwixt her and the Duke of Norfolk; and also a discourse justifying her deposition by the lords who imprisoned her in Lochleven, and set up her son in her room. Another discourse there is, in this latter volume, giving reasons why the King of France ought not to be disturbed at the Queen of England's keeping her in durance. Both these, by their style, seem to have been written by an Englishman.

Her right of succession to the crown of England, upon the demise of Queen Elizabeth, was a point which was much bandied in her life; and which posted her to the scaffold. Her great champion, in this cause, was Bishop Lesley, who wrote a reply to a book published in 1560, by John Hales, sometime clerk of the Hannaper to King Henry the Eighth, and founder of the free-school at Coventry; who had asserted the right of the house of Suffolk, and was imprisoned for his pains; but released at the intercession of Secretary Cecil (1) who was supposed to have privately encouraged his undertaking: the bishop's book is the same which was afterwards published under the name of Morgan Philips, a Popish priest of Doway, and bore the title of (2) A Defence of the Honour of Mary Queen of Scotland, with a Declaration of her Right, Title, and Interest to the Crown of England. Under the same name was also printed, at the same time and place, another treatise, shewing the Regiment of Women conformable to the Law of God and Nature; which is also (3) affirmed to be Lesley's. His former book was, I believe, first penned in French: for in that language we still have it under the title of (4) Remonstrance au Pape & tous Roys, Princes, & Potentates Chrestienes, contenant Evidente Preuve & Demonstration du droit de Succession à la Couronne d'Angleterre, advenue à tres Illustre & tres Vertueuse Princeesse, Dame Mary de Stuard, Reyne d'Ecosse. The Round Book, as they called it, of Morgan Philips, was replied to as well as its original: but these answers were mostly such as are given us by the paragraph men of our own time, who publish their solutions for no other end, than to give the objections a more effectual vent.

In a treatise lately published in (5) France, under the title of *Recueil des Traités de paix, &c.* There are these three instruments relating to the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots: 1. Act Secret, par le quel Marie Reyne d'Ecosse annexe & unit Son Royaume à la Couronne de France, au cas qu'elle Vienne à deceder sans enfans, fait à Fountainbleau le 4. Apr. 1557, avant pacques, Communiqué en Original par Messieurs Godefroy. 2. Contract de Mariage de Francois fils du Roy Hen. 2. de puis Roy de France avec Marie Reyne d'Ecosse, du 19 d'Auvrill, 1557. 3. Traité de paix entre Francois II. & Marie Roy & Reyne de France & d'Ecosse, a'une part, & Elizabet Reyne d'Angleterre, d'autre, fait à Edinburgh, le 6. Juil. 1560. What was afterwards transacted betwixt her and her great cousin of England, is accounted for in Bishop Lesley's (6) Discourse containing a perfect account given to the most Vertuous and Excellent Princess Mary Queen of Scots, and her Nobility, by John, Bishop of Ross, Ambassador for her Highness towards the Queen of England, of his whole Charge and Proceedings during the Time of his Ambassade, from his Entris in England in Sep. 1568, to the last of March, 1572. To supply

Treaties
and Let-
ters.

(15) Vid. Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 2. par. 1. Num 5270. (16) Church Hist. lib. 5. p. 272. (17) MSS. Yelverton. Vol. 26. (1) Athen. O. on. Vol. p. 1139, 140. (2) 8vo. Leod. 1571. (3) Vid. Camd. Ann. al. Eliz. R. ad An. 1569. (4) Bib. Cotton. Titus, C. XII. 1. Vid. & Ibid. F. III. 14. (5) Vol. 6. A Paris, 1693. (6) Vid. Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 2. Par. 1. Num. 8714.

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II.

the defects of this, there is a full history, in my Lord (7) Longueville's noble library, of three treatises more betwixt these two queens: the first in 1570, at Chatterworth, managed by Burley and Mildmay; another in 1583, at Sheffield, by the Earl of Shrewsbury and Mr. Beal; and a third in 1584, at the same place, by Mr. Beal alone. This gentleman was clerk of the council, and sometime secretary of state to Queen Elizabeth; and was the collector of such of his lordship's papers as relate to those times. Many of which are originals, and all of them marked with Mr. Beal's own hand. To these may be added out of the famous library of the present worthy (8) Bishop of Norwich, the instructions given to Tho. Challoner, who went ambassador to the Queen Dowager of Scotland, in her daughter's non-age, A. D. 1555. A great many of the queen's letters are preserved in several of our English (9) libraries; especially in the royal one at St. James's and Sir John Cotton's.

Sufferings

The most considerable writers on her last sufferings are, 1. Rombald or Romualdus, as he writes his name in Latin, who published the (10) *Summarium rationum quibus Cancellarius Angliæ & alii persuaserunt occidendam esse Mariam Reginam Scotiæ, unâ cum Sententia Mortis & Supplicio ejusdem Reginæ*. 2. *Martyre de la Reyne d'Escoffe, &c.* by Adam Blackwood. It is a most virulent invective against Queen Elizabeth; whom he represents as the bloodiest monster, of an usurper, that ever sat on a royal throne. The author is a passionate advocate to the French king, and all the princes of christendom, to revenge the death of his sovereign; declaring *qu'ils sont indignes de leurs Noms s'ils ne s'en ressentent*. 3. *Maria Stuarta, Regina Scotiæ, Dotaria Franciæ, Hæres Angliæ & Hiberniæ, Martyr Ecclesiæ, innocens à cæde Darnleanâ*. Vindice Osberto Barnestapolio. This is printed in the end of a (11) second edition of the fore-mentioned *Summarium*; and treats chiefly on the same subject. 4. *Tragedie de la Reyne d'Escoffe*. Par (12) Anthoine de Mont-Chrestien. 5. *Prosopopœia Basilica*; an historical poem upon the translation of Queen Mary's body from Peterburgh to Westminster, (13) by Edmund Bolton. 6. The arguments for and against her detainer in England, were considered by the Earl of Leicester, and Sir Walter Mildmay; from whose original papers, in the hands of the learned Mr. Evelyn, they are now (14) published. 7. A numberless company of other papers, and anonymous tracts, there are dispersed in public and private libraries, which acquaint us either with the whole, or some special circumstances of this extraordinary case. We have (15) her tryal, condemnation, and execution at large; together with Queen Elizabeth's letters directed for her execution: an (16) account of her behaviour at her death: (17) an original of the French ambassador's memorial exhibited to Queen Elizabeth and her council, to stay the execution; with the replies that were made to it: the (18) opinions of the judges, touching the legality of her trial: a (19) discourse of Secretary Davison's, sent to Secretary Walsingham, on that occasion: and lastly, a full (20) narrative of all the proceedings, containing the following particulars: 1. Her removal to the castle of Fotheringay. 2. The coming thither of the lords commissioners for the hearing of her cause. 3. A sermon preached there before them, by Dr. Fletcher, dean of Peterburgh. 4. Her trial. 5. Her execution, with the exhortations and prayers. 6. A sermon preached before the queen, immediately after the execution, by the aforesaid dean. 7. The manner of her funeral. For a supplement to all these, the reader (if he be not already wearied with so sorrowful a subject) may please to consult the (1) *Discours contre les Conspirations pretendues estre faites sur l'Estat d'Angleterre, avec les Responses à celui qui defend la Cause & Innocence de la tres Illustre Reyne d'Escoffe*: and compare with it another treatise called (2) *Scotorum Reginæ Mariæ Supplicium & Mors pro fide Catholicâ*.

For the clear understanding of the true state of affairs in Scotland, during that part of King James the Sixth's reign, which preceded his accession to the throne of England, it will be convenient (in the first place) carefully to peruse the (3) *Memoirs of Sir James Melvil, of Hallhill, con-*

(7) MSS. Yelverton. 54. in Catal. Oxon. (8) MSS. D. Ep. Norwic. 484. 21. Ibid. (9) Bibl. Cotton. Jultus. F. VI. Vid. etiam Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 1 Par. 3. Num. 1090. Tom. 2 Par. 1 Num. 3767. 3680. 8802. (10) 4to. 1588. (11) 8vo. Colon. 1627. (12) 8vo. Rouen, 1604. (13) Bibl. Cotton. Titus, A. XIII. 23. (14) Hist. of Reform. Collect. ad Vol. 2. lib. 3. Num. 12. & 13. (15) Vid. Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 1. Par. 1. Num. 3515. (16) Ibid. Num. 5003. (17) Ibid. Tom. 2. Par. 1. 3828. (18) Ibid. Tom. 2. Par. 2. Numb. 57. (19) Ibid. Num. 383. (20) Ibid. Tom. 2. Par. 1 Numb. 3492. (1) 8vo. l'An. 1572. (2) 8vo. Colon. 1587. (3) Fol. Lond. 1683.

taining an impartial Account of the most remarkable Affairs of State during the last Age, not mentioned by other Historians; more particularly relating to the Kingdoms of England and Scotland, under the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, and King James. In all which Transactions the Author was personally and publicly concerned. Now published from the Original Manuscript by Geo. Scot, Gent. Here is a pretty full report of occurrences from the marriage of Queen Mary to the Dauphin, as low as the birth of Prince Henry; wherein many intrigues of the statesmen of that kingdom are discovered, and judicious characters given of them. Our great historian of the English reformation (4) observes, that there are in this book several important things relating to the settling of the like purity of religion in Scotland; and he is pleased to give the author the character of a Generous and Vertuous Man. I have seen some of another frame of spirit; and observes particularly that a side vanity runs through the whole, as when (p. 137.) he calls himself the only instrument under God, of the king's liberty, and tells his reader, (p. 138.) that the king reposed more in him than in all his council, &c. There is a large volume (5) of poems, collected and written by Sir Richard Maitland, father to Sir John, who was secretary of state, wherein some of the most remarkable revolutions in the beginning of this reign, are passionately considered and reflected on. The miseries of the civil war, which brought in the French on one side, and the English on the other, are recorded in a very lamentable ditty; wherein it is shewn how fatal the prevailing auxiliaries, on either side, may probably prove to the liberties of Scotland. There is a frank Admonition to the Earl of Marr, upon his being advanced to the regency; wherein the greatest wisdom and loyalty of his ancestors are recommended to his imitation, and such a virtuous conduct proposed as the noble poet thinks most becoming so high a station. The regent is particularly cautioned against calling in the English, upon any occasion whatever, and reminded of the ancient behaviour of their Saxon ancestors, who vanquished and enslaved those Britains who had craved their assistance. There are three several large poems on the case of the Earl of Northumberland; who had fled into Scotland for sanctuary, but was delivered back upon terms. The first of these is called "Ane Exclamation made in England, upon the Delyverance of the Erle of Northumberland furth of Lochlevin, quho immediately thairefter wes execute in Yorke:" in which are a great many severe things said on the treachery of that management. The next is a sort of reply to the foregoing, and is intitled, The Answer to the English Ballad; though in truth, it only observes, that the charge is there too general, and the whole Scottish nation is not to be blamed for the villainy of a few mercenary lords. The third agrees with both the former, in laying a load on those guilty lords, who were concerned in that scandalous fact; very unworthy in itself, and contrary to the practice and generosity of their ancestors; who always acted honourably on the like occasions; as might, he says, be instanced in the cases of many great lords, dukes, and kings, who (in their distress) fled hither for refuge, and were protected.

"Quhose Luc wes gude, they come not at Lochlevin."

If the reader would see this king in a borrowed lustre, let him peruse the (6) "Idea, sive, de Jacobo, Magnæ Britanniae Galliae & Hiberniae præstantissimi & Augustissimi Regis, Virtutibus & Ornamentis dilucida Enarratio, Ejusq; cum laudatissimis Veterum Regibus, Monarchis, & Imperatoribus, Comparatio exacta & enucleata. Authore Tho. Rossa, Scoto-Britanno." It is a fulsome piece of flattery of the king, his children, and chief favourites; dedicated to his majesty himself, with this introductory compellation—*Princeps omnium, quotquot sunt, fuerunt aut erunt, nisi fallant Fata, Maxime; &c, velint nolint, omnium Optime.* In (7) Bodley's library there is a manuscript history of part of his reign, from 1581, to 1593, and a like relation of the conspiracy of the Gowries, amongst (8) Mr. A. Wood's books. A good stock of the king's own letters are in the royal library at (9) St. James's; and a letter sent to dissuade him from invading England upon the account of his mother's death, may be seen in (10) Sir John Cotton's. There is a printed (11) ac-

(4) B. Burnet, Vol. 2. p. 408. & 411. (5) MS. Fol. p. D. Sam. Pepys, Armig. (6) 8vo. Lond. 1608. (7) Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 1. par. 1, Numb. 3499. 24. (8) Ibid. Num. 8494. (9) Ibid. Tom. 2. Par. 1. Num. 8681. (10) Julius F. VI. 28. (11) 8vo. Edinburgh 1687. from the London edition in 1603.

PART II.
 His Right of Succession.
 count of the baptism of Prince Henry Frederick, Prince of Scotland, and afterwards of Wales, on the 30th of August in 1594.
 King James the Sixth's right of succession to the crown of England was undeniably asserted by the most learned Mr. Tho. Craig; whose fair manuscript bears this inscription: (12) "De jure Successionis Regni Angliæ Libri duo. Adversus Sophismata cujusdam personati Dolomanni, quibus non solum Jura Successionis in Regnis, sed etiam ipsorum Regum Sacro-Sanctam Auctoritatem nititur evertere." The author dedicates his book to the King, Jan. 1. 1603. which (considering the Scottish computation) was near three months before the death of our Queen Elizabeth. He begins with asserting the reasonableness and rights of monarchy in general; the preference of an hereditary to an elective; and the independency of kings, in their administration on their subjects: in all which, he answers the arguments of his adversary. These are the contents of his first book. The second enquires into the legal establishment of the succession in England; shewing that the statute of the 25th of Edw. 3. does not exclude the Kings of Scotland, nor any ways touch the sovereignty; that the succession of the second brother before his elder brother's son (as in the Lancastrian case) was not agreeable to the English Laws, &c. The eighteenth (and last) chapter of this second part, is *Parænesis ad Angliam; ut præsentis occasionis beneficium amplectatur, & in totius Britannia concordiam consentiat*. In this he gives a most lively representation of the miseries of this island, under its ancient multitude of monarchs; its monstrous condition under two; and (lastly) enumerates the many benefits that may accrue to both the kingdoms by a right use of that providential opportunity, which they now had, of uniting into one nation and people; concluding with that of Virgil.

—————*Paribus se Legibus ambæ
Invictæ Gentes æterna in fœdera mittant.*

The publishing this treatise was, I presume, thought to be unnecessary, when the King's accession to the English crown, had so soon followed its penning: though I have seen a printed book in quarto, without any date of time or place, which seems to have been written about the same time with this, but in a different language. It bears the name of "A Treatise declaring and confirming, against all Objections, the just Title and Right of the most excellent and worthy Prince, James the Sixth, King of Scotland, to the Succession of the Crown of England." When we have mentioned the printed view of the (13) Arches of Triumph erected upon his entrance into, and passing through London, we have brought him to the English throne; and that is as far as the limits of our present undertaking will allow us to follow him.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Ecclesiastical Historians of Scotland: And first, of such as treat of the General Church History of that Kingdom.

Foreign-
ers.

THE Kingdom of Scotland, as well as all other members of the christian church, must be indebted to her neighbours for a good part of her ecclesiastical story; and, accordingly, some of her most learned sons have ever owned their obligations to our Bede, for his recording of the good services of Aidan and others. Our Spelman, Usher, Marsham, Lloyd, and Stillingfleet, have been highly useful to them in this last age; as Cardinal Baronius (to give one instance for all) was in the former. In his Annals many things are published which give great light to

(12) 4to. in Bibl. ICC. Edinburgh, Item in Bibl. Coll. Edinb. & Glasg. (13) Fol. Lond. 1603.

their

their affairs: particularly, in the years 604, 632, 639, 1073, 1180, 1181, 1182, 1186, 1188, 1192, &c. In Tho. Becket's Letters (published by Christianus Lupus) many things relate to the Scottish Church; and we have Pope Innocent the Third's instructions to the Bishops of Orkney, Ross, and St. Andrew's in the large edition of his letters at (14) Thoulouse. PART II.

Great helps at home may now be had from the copies of many bulls and briefs of several Popes, lately brought from Rome by Dr. John Jameson; who has also taken extracts of the consistorial proceedings of their national church from the year 1494. to the reformation. These shew it in another sort of dress and countenance, than it carries at present; as may also (in some measure be learned from a modern book, entituled, (15) "The Rights and Liberties of the Church asserted and vindicated against the pretended Right and Usurpation of Patronage."

Scotchmen.

Whether the bishops of Scotland were anciently subject to the metropolitan jurisdiction of York, is a question which has been long since disputed with a great deal of earnestness on both sides: and, though the controversy is now at rest, this chapter will hardly be thought complete, unless the reader finds in it some little direction where he may meet with a few of its remains. In the Cotton Library, there is a treatise to this purpose, to which the learned publisher of the catalogue gives this title: (16) *De Suffraganeis & Provincia Ecclesiæ Eboracensis; de Adventu Scotorum in Britannia; Nomina quorundam Suffraganeorum & Professorum. h. e. de Subjectione suâ fedi Eboracensi: Versibus Elegiacis.* There are likewise, in the same volume and some other parts of that library, several bulls of Popes and declarations of the Scottish Kings, which seem effectually to ascertain all the right which any of the primates of York-Province have ever claimed in that kingdom; some of the chief whereof the reader, for his better information in this matter, will find inserted at large in the (17) Appendix. To these may be added a manuscript in Bennet College, which is called (18) "*Scriptum, Utrum Eboracensis Ecclesia Primate super Scotos habeat.*" Jurisdiction of York.

One of the most ancient repertories of the primitive state and rights of the Scottish Church, is the old book of the Taxation of Ecclesiastical Benefices; whereof Sir John Skene has given us the following account: (1) "The Pape, in the time of King (2) James the Third, sent in this realm ane cardinal and legate, called Bagimont; Quha did make ane taxation of all the rentals of the benefices, that the samin might be knawin to the Pape: to the effect, that when ony person came to Rome, seikand bulles or right to ony benefice fra him, he might conform to the said rental as he pleased, sell the samin for sa meikle silver, or gold, as he thocht maist profitable." This is by no means exact, nor answerable to what we commonly have from that learned writer: for that very (3) law of James the Third, to which he refers, cites this taxation by the name of the "Provincialis Buik, or the auld Taxation of Bagimont;" and shews, that in this king's time, endeavours were used to raise the values of the livings above what they were rated at, to the advantage of the court of Rome, and against "the common gude of the realme." This act was confirmed by his son, and successor, James the Fourth; who made (4) the crime capital in laymen, ordaining that all such should "tine their life and gudes." We are therefore still in the dark, as to the true author of this ancient valuation; being certainly misinformed of the time wherein he lived, and (perhaps) knowing as little of his proper name. If I may be allowed to offer my conjecture, I should guess that this ecclesiastical survey is about the same age with that which was made (of the Lands in England) by our Edward the First; and possibly the names of (5) Rageman and Bagimont were heretofore one and the same. What this or the other means, or how both have been corrupted, let the nicer etymologists enquire. Bagimont

In all the histories of the Scottish Reformation, the reader will observe one great and fundamental truth, as it is acknowledged by an (6) ingenious native of that kingdom; that, "in the methods, by which that reformation was advanced, there was too great a mixture of the heat and forwardness that is natural to the genius of that countrey." Let it be farther observed, that Reformation.

(14) Fol. A. D. 1635. (15) 8vo. Edinb. 1639. (16) Cleopatra, C. IV. 3. (17) Num. V. (18) Vid. Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 1. par. 3. Num. 1606. (1) De Verb. Sign. in voce Bagimont. (2) It should be Alex. 3. Vid. Spotsf. lib. 2. p. 46. (3) Parl. 6. Ja. 3. Act. 43. (4) Parl. 4. St. 39. (5) Vid. D. Hen. Spelman. Gloss. in voce Rageman. & Repertory of Records, p. 26. (6) B. Burnet, Hist. of Reform. vol. 1. lib. 3. p. 320.

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II.

no considerable advancement was made towards the general change without somewhat of a Solemn League and Covenant. Two (7) of these I have seen: 1. "Ane original bond, containing ane confession of religion, in the time of Morton's regency; subscribed by churchmen." 2. "Ane bond of association for the defence of the protestant religion against the detestable conspiracy then called the Holy League, made by foreign Papists. Which bond is subscribed by King James the Sixth, with a great number of the nobility, gentry, and burgeses, anno 1588."

Acts of
Gen. As-
sembly.

In the College Library at Glasgow, there is a large manuscript with this title: "The Book of all the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland, since the Reformation; wherein the Heidis and Conclusionis devysit be the Ministers and Commissioneris of the particular Kirks thair of are specially expressed and conteinit, for the setting foorth of God's Glorie and the Furderance of trew Religion within this our kingdom. Begun in the Zeire of Remembrance 1560, at the Convention in 1562." Mr John Spotswood is herein registered as the first super-intendant, Mr. John Knox (of Edinburgh the first minister, and James Barrone and Edward Hope the two first commissioners. The acts of the Assembly of 1616, wherein the Earl of Montrose was the king's commissioner, and Archbishop Spotswood moderator, are the last in the book. Another copy of these acts is now, or was lately, in the hand of the author of the (8) Fundamental Charter of Presbytery; whose account thereof the reader may be pleased to take in his own words: "It was transcribed, says he, in the year 1638, when the National Covenant was in a flourishing state; for I find at the end of it the transcriber's name and his designation, written with the same hand by which the whole MS. is written; and he says he began to transcribe upon the 15th day of January 1638; and completed his work on the 23d of April that same year. He was such a reader as we have commonly, in Scotland, in countrey parishes. It is not to be imagined it was transcribed then for serving the interests of episcopacy; for, as Petrie and the presbyterians generally affirm, the prelates and prelatists dreaded nothing more than that the old registers of the kirk should come abroad: And it was about that time that Mr. Petrie got his copy from which he published so many acts of our general assemblies. Nor is it to be doubted, but that as several copies then were, so particularly that which I have perused was, transcribed for the ends of the Good old Cause. This I am sure of; the Covenant, as required then to be subscribed by the Green Tables, is set down at full length in the manuscript. Besides; the style and language testify, that there is no reason to doubt, that the acts of assemblies which it contains have been transcribed word for word, at first, from the authentic records: and if Calderwood's or Petrie's accounts of these acts deserve any credit, my MS. cannot be rejected; for it hath all they have published; and, for the most part, in the same terms, except where these authors have altered the language, sometimes to make it more fashionable and intelligible, sometimes to serve their cause and the concerns of their party. It hath chasms also and defects, where they say leaves have been torn from the original registers; and I have not adduced many acts from it, which either one or both these authors have not likewise mentioned in their histories." This writer afterwards, in his book, frequently quotes this manuscript, and endeavours to prove (from the acts thereof) that the first reformers of the Church of Scotland were not presbyterians; that super-intendency, or prelacy, was not designed by them to be only temporary, &c. In my Lord (9) Longueville's library there is a collection of debates in the General Assembly, relating chiefly to matters of discipline, during the minority of King James the Sixth.

J. Knox.

John Knox is supposed to be the eldest church-historian of Scotland since the reformation; and we have had several (10) editions of the history which bears his name. The famous Gordon of Straloch's opinion of this work is this: *Qui præsulis nostri historiam* [he means that of Archbishop Spotswood] *leget, & cum Knoxo, de honestamento historicorum, contulerit (nam ille se & sua tempora hoc scripti genere deturpavit) non parum discriminis inveniet. Author tamen hic* [Archiepiscopus, sc.] *cum tantæ masculæ in Knoxo (viro alioquin magno, & celebris in ecclesia nominis) eum puderet, negat illum esse authorem ejus operis. At non sensit ita nobilis & eruditus regni cancellarius*

(7) p. M. Rob. Wudrou, Bibliothecar. Glasguens. (8) See his Preface to that Book. (9) Bibl. Yelverton. MSS. fol. 132. (10) Fol. Lond. & 4to. Edin. 1644, long before both these, another in 8vo. or 12mo.

Joannes Metellanus, eorum temporum æqualis, qui illa omnia apprimè nōrat, quiq; acri & mordace epigrammate (quod adhuc extat) in illum & historiam illam lufit. The passage in Archbishop Spotswood's History (which this learned person here refers to) is this: (11) "As to the History of the Church, ascribed commonly to him, the same was not his work; but his name supposed to gain it credit. For, besides the scurril discourses we find in it, more fitting a comœdian on a stage than a divine or minister, such as Mr. Knox was, and the spiteful malice that author expresth against the Queen Regent; speaking of one of our martyrs, he remits the reader for a farther declaration of his sufferings, to the Acts and Monuments of Martyrs, set forth by Mr. Fox, an Englishman, which came not to light some ten or twelve years after Mr. Knox's death. A greater injury could not be done to the fame of that worthy man, than to father upon him the ridiculous toys and malicious detractions contained in that book." Whether the history be agreeable to the spirit of Mr. Knox or no, it is certain, that its referring us to Fox's Book of Martyrs is no such argument against its being written by him, as the good archbishop here represents it: for there was an edition of that work in Latin, at Strasburgh in 1554; and another at Basil. in 1559; both which were long before Knox's death; though the first English edition (in 1583) was indeed about a dozen years after it. However; it must be confessed, that (though this argument will not hold good, yet) there are some other passages in it which undeniably prove that some later person than Knox has made several interpolations; which are now printed as parts of the original history. So much is unanswerably remarked by a late ingenious (12) writer, who justly observes, that, "he has been a thorough-paced presbyterian who framed the history as we now have it; and that, by consequence, its authority is stark naught for any thing in it that favours presbytery or bespatters prelacy." That Knox himself wrote some such history, is (beyond dispute) clear from a passage in the manuscript (13) Calderwood; wherein (giving an account of the Assembly's proceedings in Nov. 1572. Sess. 3.) the historian tells us, that one Richard Bannatyne, servant to Mr. Knox lately deceased, presented the following petition to the assembly then sitting: "I your servitur R. Bannatyne servant to your umquhill most dearest brother, Mr. Knox of worthy memory, That quhareas it is not unknownen to your Wisdomes that he left to the Town and Kirk of Edinburgh his History, containing in effect the Beginning and Progress of Christ's treu Religion, nou of God's great mercy established in this realme, quhairin he heth continoued and perfectly ended at the year of God 1564. So that of things done be him sensyne nothing be him is put in that form and order as he hes done the former; yet not the less there are certain scrolls, papers, and minutes of things, left to me be him to use at my pleasure, quhair of one part are written be his own hand and subscribed, and another be me at his command, &c." He goes on begging the Assembly's encouragement towards the putting of these papers into a proper condition to be offered to the public: and they, accordingly order the said Richard the sum of forty pounds (to be paid out of the crop of 1572,) for the assisting of such learned men as the Kirk of Edinburgh shall appoint for that purpose, in putting the said papers and scrolls into good form as aforesaid. There is a manuscript copy of Knox's History, in the Library at Glasgow, which bears the following title: (14) "The History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realme of Scotland, containing the Manner and by quhat Personnes the Light of Christ's Evangel hes bein manifested wnto this Realme, after that horrible and Universal Defection from the Treuth which hes cum be the meines of that Roman Antichrist." This was lately presented to the College by Mr. Robert Fleming, a late preacher at Rotterdam, now at London, Mr. Knox's great grandchild; who having several of his said ancestor's papers in his hand, pretends to assure them, that this very book is penned by the person whose name it commonly bears. For the better proof of this matter, he sends them the preface of another book, written in the same hand, wherein are these words: *In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, &c. Septembris 4to. M^o Jo. Knox, Avgust. 18. Ao. 1581.* There might indeed have been some strength in this evidence, were we not assured that the famed Knox

(11) AB. Spotswood's Church History, lib. 5. p. 267. (12) Pref. to Fundament. Char. of presbyt. (13) In Bibl. Glasg. vol. 2. p. 399. (14) See it compared with the print, in the Appendix, Num. IV.

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II.J. Spots-
wood.

died in 1572; so that nothing could be written by him in 1581. There was one Mr. John Knox who was Moderator of the (15) Synod of Merse in 1586; who perhaps is Mr. Fleming's true ancestor as well as the transcriber of this book, and might be one of the assistants in the revising of it. An adversary of the author's, who commonly (on other occasions) writes with a great deal of temper, gives this bitter character of him: (16) *Homo nec humanitate nec artium cognitione, nec aliis vel naturæ vel ingenii dotibus (nisi effrenatam audaciam, ac virulentæ linguæ volubilitatem, stultè sine artis præscripto fluentem, dotes appellare volueris) ornatus.*

Archbishop Spotswood's (17) Church History was penned at the special command of K. James the Sixth; who, being told that some passages in it might possibly bear too hard upon the memory of his Majesty's mother, bid him (18) "write the truth and spare not:" and yet he ventured not so far with a commission, as Buchanan did without one. In the first of his seven books he discourses of the first planting of Christianity in Scotland; shewing (contrary to the assertion of their other historians) that episcopacy was the primitive government here, as soon as a church was formed. In the second, he gives a short story of the Bishops in the several Sees; and, in the five following, largely handles the beginning and progress of the Reformation, in evident confutation of their opinion who maintain that the Scots reformed; but Presbyter Gordon of (19) Straloch's Reflections on this History, run in another strain than the last we quoted from him: *Benè se habet & mihi ipsi gratulor, quòd antequam vitâ abeam videam has lucubrationes posthumas in lucem prolatas, de quibus edendis hoc perditissimo sæculo omnes desperaverant. Fætus hic est acris, vividi & sublimis ingenii, ubi candor & veritatis studium elucet; narratio simplex, nuda, procul omni affectu. Fælix iste præsul, non ex scholasticorum subselliis, sed in luce rerum & culmine negotiorum, tantis rebus dicendis par: non tamen ad hæc se accinxit nisi consulto Rege Jacobo, qui ad hæc eum impulerat, præfatus non se posse bonâ fide hanc historiam condere, nisi multorum offensâ, qui ipsi, aut quorum majores laboraturi sint. Jussit Rex audacter pergeret, & ubiq; veritati litaret. Quod ab illo non segniter præstitum. Modestia tamen & mansuetudo animi toto opere lucet. Rara hæc, in degenerate Sæculo, & corruptissimis moribus, præposita quâ tamen innocenter utitur, neq; usquam (quod sciam) à legitimæ historiæ legibus deflectit orationem, nec odio nec amoris indulgens. Qui hæc legerint, invenient historiæ nostræ τὰ λείψανα, qualia per tempus edax, bella externa, civiles tumultus, omnia atrocissima & rei literariæ infestissima, à cunabulis christianismi nostri supersunt: per eam longam temporum seriem, quæ mutatam & expurgatam religionem præcessere. Postea, mutatâ rerum facie politica & ecclesiastica, sic se miscuere ut, sine utriusque, exacta cognitione, neutra scire possis, &c.* I have now by me a very fair transcript of this history, the same which was provided by the author for the press; as both his name subscribed to the epistle dedicatory, with his own hand, and the licences given under the hands of the secretaries of both kingdoms (Sterlin and Windebank) do sufficiently prove. That which Mr. Royston procured afterwards, was less exact than this; as appears from the marginal notes, which are all in the author's proper hand-writing, and from some defects in the print (many of which are omissions of whole lines) which may be hence supplied. I shall instance only in a couple, which are within the compass of one (20) page, wherein the learned author tells us, that the Isles of Orkney were possessed by the Picts, whilst that kingdom stood; and that St. Kentigern's Hymn began thus:

*O sacer antistes, regis clarissima proles,
Per quem Laudonia nitet, & jam Cambria tota,
Magnaq; pars Scotiæ, fidei convertitur almæ.*

Both which stories are very defective in the printed books, of both editions. Dr. John Jameson wrote critical notes on the Escapes of this History, those especially which are in the two first books; which, I suppose, are now in the possession of the Doctor's Executor. Mr. Middleton

(15) So says the MS. Calderwood. ad An. 1586. (16) J. Less. Hist. Scot. lib. 10. p. 537. (17) Fol. Lond. 1655, and 1678. (18) See the Author's Life, p. 11. (19) In Epist. MS. sæpius citatâ. (20) MS. Fol. 55. b. Cod. Impres, p. 111, 112.]

wrote an Appendix to it; which is printed in a (1) volume fit to be bound up with the history itself, and gives a Continuance of the succession of Bishops in the several Sees. The Archbishop published another piece in defence of the Ecclesiastical Establishment in Scotland, which he called (2) "Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ;" the Doctrines whereof are opposed by Dav. Calderwood, in his *Altare Damascenum*. PART II.

This same Calderwood wrote also the Church History of Scotland; an abstract whereof (for it is no more) (3) is published, and in high esteem with the men of its author's principles. The epitomizer in the very first words of his supplement, thus acknowledges the defects and imperfections of his work: "I have, (says he) in the preceding history, only inserted such acts, articles, and answers to questions, as belonged to the scope of the history, and form of church-government; some few excepted touching corruptions in the worship of God, or the office and calling of ministers. But, because there are other acts and articles necessary to be known, I have **Selected** such as are of greatest use, passing by such as were **Temporary**, or concerned only **Temporary** offices." By temporary offices, he means those of bishops and superintendants, in the beginning of the reformation, the whole story whereof he thought fit to omit and pass by: and the English reader will easily know what he ought to think of such a selector. The author's entire work is in six fair volumes in folio, in the library at Glasgow; Mr. W. Dunlop (the Principal of the College) having procured a transcript of the whole, for the use (and at the expence) of the community. After the title of the first volume, there is the following note: "This work comprehended in—pages, is collected out of Mr. Knox's History, and his memorials gathered for the continuation of his history, out of Mr. James Mevil's Observations; Mr. John Davidson, his Diary; the acts of the general assemblies and acts of parliament; and out of several proclamations and scrolls of diverse: and comprehendeth a history from the beginning of the reign of King James the Fifth, to the death of King James the Sixth; but is contracted, and digested in a better order in a work of three volumes bound in parchment, and is comprehended in 2013 pages. Out of which work contracted is extracted another in lesser bounds, but wanting nothing in substance, and comprehended in—pages; which the author desireth only to be communicated to others, and this (with the other contracted into three volumes) to serve only for the defence of the third, and preservation of the history, in case it be lost." The first of the six volumes gives a large introduction; wherein the author undertakes to inform us of the time when, and the persons by whom, the island of Great Britain was first inhabited: and afterwards brings down the Scottish civil history, as well as the ecclesiastical, from the first planting of christianity, to the end of James the Fourth's reign. After his account of the affairs of the state and the church, we have a view of all the most considerable wars and battles (domestic and foreign) wherein the people of Scotland have been engaged, before the said period; as also of the ancient honorary titles, and their institution. On this last head he quotes an old manuscript, sent from Icolmkill to Mr. Geo. Buchanan, which testifies, that a parliament was held at Forfar, in the year 1061, wherein surnames are appointed to be taken, and several Earls, Barons, Lords, and Knights, were created. After this general preface, he begins his proper work; the History of the Scottish reformation: and, in this volume, advances as far as the marriage of Queen Mary with the Lord Darnley in the year 1565. In his story of Mr. Patrick Hamilton, the protomartyr in this cause, he gives a copy of the sentence pronounced against him; together with a congratulatory letter, from the Doctors at Lovain, to the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, on the occasion of his death. Amongst those learned men, who, upon the first persecution, fled into Germany, he reckons Mr. Geo. Buchanan. In his large account of the disputes and sufferings of the reformers, under the administration of Cardinal Beaton and the Queen Regent, we have the particulars of the contentions at Frankfurt; which are mostly taken out of a book entitled—"A brief discovery of the Troubles of Mr. John Knox, for opposing the English Service-Book in 1554." After which, we have Knox's

(1) Fol. Edinburg. (2) 12mo. Lond. 1620. (3) Fol. Edinburg. 1678.

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appeal from the sentence of the clergy to the nobility, estates, and community of Scotland; with a great many letters from the nobility to the queen regent and him on the subject of religion. All this part of the history, which in the printed book makes no more than 13 pages, ends at p. 571, from whence (to the end of the book, at p. 902.) there is a good collection of curious letters, remonstrances, &c. which are not in the prints, either of Knox or Calderwood. The second volume contains the history from 1565, to the arraignment of the Earl of Morton for treason, in December 1580, and contains 614 pages; wherein are many valuable discoveries relating to the practices of David Rizio, the king's murder, Bothwel's marriage and flight, &c. and a more perfect narrative of the proceedings in the general assemblies than the printed history will afford us. The third volume comprehends the entire history of both church and state, from the beginning of January 1581, to July 1586, when queen Mary's letter to Babington was intercepted. Under the year 1584, there is a severe character of Mr. Patrick Adamson, archbishop of St. Andrews; which, in the conclusion, refers us for a farther account of him to a poem made by one Robert Sempil, and entitled *The Legend of the Limmer's Life*. Here is also, "Ane Accompt of the State and Church of Scotland to the Church of Geneva," which was written by Andrew Melvil, in answer to the misrepresentations of the Scotch discipline, scattered in foreign countries by the said Archbishop Adamson. The fourth gives the like mixt history of affairs from July 1586, to the beginning of the year 1596. Here we have a full collection of papers relating to the tryal, condemnation, and execution, of the unfortunate Queen Mary; with abundance of others touching the most remarkable transactions of this Decennium. In the year 1587, there is a large account of the coming of the *Sieur du Bartas* into Scotland; of his being carried by King James, to the university of St. Andrew's; his hearing of the lectures of Mr. A. Melvil there, and the great opinion he had of the abilities of that professor, &c. In 1590, there are some smart reflections on Dr. Bancroft's sermon at Paul's cross, censuring the proceedings of J. Knox and others of the northern reformers; with the assembly's letter to Queen Elizabeth about that sermon. The fifth volume reaches from the beginning of January 1596, to the same month in 1607. After the account of the proceedings of the assembly in 96, the author subjoyns this pathetick Epiphonema: "Heer end all the sincere Assemblies General of the Kirk of Scotland, enjoying the Liberty of the Gospel under the free Government of Christ." "The neu and constant Platt of planting all the Kirks of Scotland," written by Mr. David Lindsay, one of the Octavians, is here inserted at large; as it was presented to the king and states in the said year, 1596. The history of the conspiracy of the Gowries, and the manner of its discovery, is likewise here recorded at length, in the same order, wherein the king commanded it to be published. The new form of nomination to bishopricks, the protestation in parliament against the restitution of episcopacy, and the reasons offered against it by others, are the remaining matters of consideration in this book. The sixth concludes with the death of King James the sixth: but this, being wholly without my bounds, is not to be accounted for at present.

A. Petrie. Alexander Petrie may well be reckoned among the reformed ecclesiastical historians of Scotland: for, though his book bears the title of (1) *A Compendious History* (of above a thousand pages in folio) of the Catholick Church from 600, to 1600; yet he is most copious in the great turn of religion in his own native country. The author being preacher to the Scottish congregation at Rotterdam, dedicates his work to the king, by the title of William the Third, by the Grace of God, Prince of Orange, &c. and, over the first page of the epistle, he has prophetically placed the arms of the kings of England, crowned and encircled with the garter. In the centuries before the reformation, he has no large discourses on the affairs of Scotland; the little that he gives us being almost wholly taken out of Major, Boethius, and Buchanan. He takes all opportunities of thwarting with A. B. Spotswood; especially in asserting the famed flory of the (2) Culdees, and that there were no bishopricks in Scotland before the reign of king Malcolm Canmore; but that the *Episcopus Scotorum*, before that time) was only some eminent priest or other, sent to assist in foreign synods. He (3) says, that he had the perusal of a manuscript register of Dunkeld, by the

(1) Fol. Hagæ. Com. 1662. (2) Cent. XI. p. 276. &c. (3) Cent. XII. p. 378.

favour of Alexander Lindsay, bishop there; as also a manuscript (4) history in the library at Edinburgh, the same, I presume, which he (5) afterwards observes to have been written by Lindsay. The sixteenth century makes half of his book, and is divided into three parts: whereof the first reaches from 1500, to 1517, when the reformation began; the second, from 1517 to 1563, when the council of Trent was ended; and the third gives the remarkables after that council to 1600. In the second of these, he brings large quotations out of Knox's history of the reformation; to which he sometimes opposes the authority of Buchanan. Two notable (6) proclamations he has, which are not elsewhere printed; the originals falling into his hands, amongst some papers of John Erskin of Dun. They run in the names of Francis and Mary, soon after their marriage; and support the reformation most vigorously. In the former of these, the council, in their majesties names, require all the clergy to "Join themselves to the congregation, and to renounce all manner of superstition and idolatry:" And, in the other, they condemn the "maintaining and upholding of antichrists laws and his consistory, boasting and fearing the simple and ignorant people with their cursings, gravatures, &c." He observes that (7) Spotswood has curtailed several passages in the book of discipline, declaring the co-ordination of super-intendants with other presbyters; which he insinuates to have been done with no honest design. In the third part he has transcribed a deal out of the Historical Narration of the Government of the Church; which, he says, was written by William Scot, an eminent minister at Cowper. This book, he observes, was perused by Calderwood, and was pretty common in manuscript; having been penned, or at least some part of it, about the year 1635. All the rest that is new in him, is taken out of the original register-books of the acts of their general assemblies; which are (8) observed to want several leaves, where the matters are most considerable. This mutilation he ascribes to the spite of the bishops; "who," says he, "would have all memory of ancient proceedings in the church abolished." By way of appendix, he gives us a continuation of these acts, never before printed, down to the restitution of episcopacy in 1605. In his transcripts of these, several notable passages are (9) said to be corrupted, and others concealed, in favour of the Good Old Cause. N. B. Scot of Cowper's book, so often quoted by this historian, is a mixt (ecclesiastico-political) discourse of 175 pages in folio, close written; beginning with the affairs of 1560, and ending with those of 1633. His first Course of Government, as he terms it, in the church of Scotland, is allowed to be by super-intendants, as low as the year 1572. From that period, he considers the gradual introduction of a fuller grown episcopacy; with large reflections on the occasion of that change, and the means by which such a prelacy was brought in and re-established. John Row, minister at Carnock, wrote also a sort of history of the church of Scotland since the reformation; which may be seen in the college library at (10) Edinburgh. Of a higher rank is that of Mat. Crawford, who died lately in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, and left a complete history of that church, of his own composition, from the beginning of the reformation to the late revolution. The learned men of that university are now considering of proposals for the publishing of it; and assure us that it will carry a bulk twice as large as that of the printed Calderwood. The author had picked up several rare manuscripts; particularly a late written history of Scotland, by one Forbes, in Folio. Another learned person (Mr. Archibald Simpson, minister at Dalkeith) has written *Annales Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ à tempore Reformationis ad Obitum Jacobi Sexti Regis*; copies whereof are in several hands.

Nor have the Scotch gentlemen of the Roman communion neglected the history of their country, even since the reformation; and when some of them wanted all intercourse with the registers and records of the kingdom. The chief of the ecclesiastical histories we have had from them are: 1. Geo. Thompson's book (11) *De Antiquitate Christianæ Religionis apud Scotos*; which makes their conversion, and subjection to the papal see, to be very early. 2. Of the same kind with this is W. Chambers's *Scoticanæ* (12) *Ecclesiæ Infantia, Virilis ætas, Senectus*: And, 3. Geo. Conæus's *Treatise* (13) *De duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos*. Libb. 2. In the former of these he

(4) Cent. XV. p. 559. (5) Cent. XVI. Par. 2. p. 191. (6) Cent. XVI. Par. 2. p. 215, 216. (7) Ibid. p. 219. (8) Ibid. p. 395. 397. 407. (9) See the Fundamental Chart. of Presbyt. p. 223, &c. (10) 4to. MS. (11) 4to. Romæ, 1594. (12) 4to. Paris, 1643. (13) 4to. Romæ, 1628.

PART
II.

runs over, in a declamatory way, the glories of that church in its Roman state ; and, in the second, is as eloquent in describing the confusions that followed upon the reformation. He ingenuously introduces the latter, with an acknowledgment of the notorious lewdness and immorality of some of their fathers, before these judgments befel them : (14) *Libido impotens, Sacrationis Vitæ morumque, Lues teterrima, in multorum Sacerdotum ædibus Scortum publicum, &c.* are his Words. 4. Tho. Dempster, though he was no Jesuit, stands fair for the remaining part of his character, that he (15) "was as well inclined to believe a lye as any man in his time ;" and was as well qualified to put it into a pretty dress of poetry. He calls his book, on this subject, (16) *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum Libris XIX, quæ viri Sanctitate, Literis, Dignitatibus, toto Orbe illustres, & familiæ etiam Scoticæ, in varias Urbes transmissæ, &c. recensentur.* He is a writer full of caprice ; but is more exact in his authorities here, than in other parts of his writings. He is severely chastized by D. R. an Irishman, in his (17) *Præcidaneum Nomenclaturæ Dempsteri*, for filching of saints, confessors and authors, from England, Ireland, and other nations ; and putting them all off, as the proper manufacture of his own country. This same Nomenclatura of his, was then newly (18) published ; and pretended to furnish out a list of no less than 274 saints, two popes, nine cardinals, thirty-eight kings and princes, forty-one apostolical missionaries, &c. who had obliged the world with their writings, and were all affirmed to be the author's countrymen and natives of Scotland. 5. (19) *Davidis Camerarii (Presbyteri Scoti) de Statu hominis veteris simul ac novæ Ecclesiæ & Infidelium Conversione ;* which may be compared with that of his namesake, Ja. Camerarius, de *Pietate, Doctrinâ, & Fortitudine, Scotorum ;* with which it is commonly bound up. 6. Of the same fiery spirit with most of these writers, and a proper companion for them, is R. Watson ; who wrote (20) *Historical Collections of the Ecclesiastical Affairs of Scotland, and Political relating to them, including the beheading of Queen Mary, and the murder of the Cardinal.*

C H A P. V.

Of the Histories, Register-Books, and Chartularies, of the Bishopricks, Monasteries, and Universities, of the Kingdom of SCOTLAND.

THE Bishops of Scotland had anciently no certain and fixed fees ; but every prelate exercised his episcopal office and jurisdiction indiscriminately, in whatever part of the kingdom he chanced to reside. In this (1) condition their national church continued till Malcolm the third founded the bishoprick of Mutlac ; saving only that, that of St. Andrews, by King Kenneth the Second's removal of the Pictish cathedral hither from Abernethy, has always claimed an elder succession.

St. Andrews.

The history of the metropolitical church of St. Andrews is drawn up at large in the (2) *Reliquiæ D. Andreae* ; written by George Martin of Cameron, late commissary clerk in that diocese. Herein an exact and critical account is given of the rise, advancement, dignities, honours, jurisdiction, and revolutions, of that ancient see ; as also of the church-benefices formerly appropriated, or, of late annexed to it, and the most remarkable acts of its prelates and inferior members. It is a finished piece in ten chapters ; on the small mistakes whereof remarks have been made by Dr. Jameson, who was a complete master of the antiquities of the place. In the (3) Cotton li-

(14) Lib. 2. p. 90. (15) See the B. of St. Asaph's *Hist. Account* p. 153. and Sir G. M's *Def. of the Royal Line*, p. 39, 40. (16) 4to. Bonon. 1627. (17) *Ad finem Tract. de vii. S. Bridgid.* 8vo. Paris, 1620. (18) 4to. Bonon. 1619. (19) 4to. Catalauni. 1527. (20) 8vo. Lond. 1657. (1) Vid. H. Boeth. *Hist. Scot. Lib.* 10. fol. 201. b. (2) 4to. MS. (3) Claudius A. I. 3.

brary there is a letter from the King of Scots to the Archbishop of Canterbury, requesting his aid and assistance in the promotion of a new bishop to the see of St. Andrews. In this, as in others of the kind, there are some passages which render its authority suspected: but the reader will best judge of that matter himself, when he has perused the letter at length in the (4) Appendix. Amongst Mr. Dodsworth's collections, there is (5) said to be a discourse about the first institution of metropolitans in Scotland, by Pope Sixtus the Fourth, in the year 1471. PART II.

The chief ecclesiastical historian for the diocese of Aberdeen, who has hitherto appeared in public, is H. Boethius; whose book carries the title of (6) *Vitæ Episcoporum Morthlacensium & Aberdonensium*. He begins his account at Beanus, the first bishop, and continues it to Gavin Dunbar; who was in the throne when this piece came abroad. A third of the whole is spent in the life of Bishop Elphinston, for whose (7) sake he undertook the work: who, having built the old college, gives him an opportunity of describing that whole fabrick, reciting the famous men that have been professors there, &c. So that the university seems to outdo the cathedral in the book; though this appears to have the better of the other in the title page. In the king's college of Aberdeen there is a fair original chartulary of the charters of kings, bulls of popes, and grants of private persons, together with their capitular orders and constitutions; which begins at the foundation of the see, and is continued down to the last Roman Catholick bishop. They have likewise another fair original register of all the jewels, chalices, in gold and silver, with other plate and vestments, anciently belonging to this cathedral: and both these give a good prospect of the primitive state of the church in this diocese, shewing the lameness and imperfection of Boethius's book. In another ancient manuscript, there are the statutes of this church; as likewise the *Statuta Generalia Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*. Of these last, there are seventy-six with rubricks or titles, and eleven without; all of which appear to have been penned in the time of Bishop Greenlaw; who (8) died A. D. 1424. To these is prefixed a bull of Pope Honorius the Third, for the holding of provincial councils; giving authority to chuse a Conservator, who should supply the defect of a metropolitan. Out of all these, the late learned Dr. Jameson compiled a (9) *Chartularium Ecclesiæ Aberdonensis*; in which, amongst other matters, are the following particulars: 1. *Constitutiones Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Abbyrdonensis Apostolicâ Autoritate per Reverendum in Christo Patrem, Colendissimumq; Virum, Magistrum Petrum de Ramsay, dictæ Ecclesiæ quondam Pontificem, Editæ, anno infra annotato [i.e. 1256.] cum Novellis aliis dictæ Ecclesiæ Consuetudinibus & Statutis magis Approbatis.* 2. *Donatio Ecclesiæ de Kildromy Ecclesiæ Abbyrdonensi ad Communiam Capituli, per Tho. Com. de Mar. A. D. 1362.* 3. *Concessio Ecclesiæ de Logy in Buchan. ad Communiam, ut supra, A. D. 1362.* It is a grant from King David the Second, confirmed by the bishop. 4. Exemptions, by several bishops, of the annexed churches from payment of procurations. 5. Several chapter-acts of the year 1366, confirmed by the bishop. 6. Augmentations of the falleries of the vicars choral, by proportionable sums yearly paid by the bishop, dean, dignitaries, and prebendaries, agreed to by two bishops; W. Elphinston and G. Dunbar. 7. *Theauraria per Decanum & Capitulum reperta & visitata, A. D. 1518.* In which list is, *Brachium Argenteum, cum Reliquiis beati Fergusii, Ornatum lapidibus pretiosis.* 8. Charters from King David the First, downwards, and bulls of privileges and possessions: all confirmed by King James the Fourth, A. D. 1498. 9. Boundaries of the church-lands, both of the bishop and chapter, from the lands of neighbouring temporal lords. 10. *De Ordinatione Chori, & de Stationibus, Sessionibus, & Conversionibus, ad Matutinas, Missam, & Vesperas, in eodem faciendis, tam in Feriis quàm in Festis per totum annum.* In the end of the book there is a transcript of a kalendar, wherein the festivals of a great many British saints are noted: Jan. 13. Kentigerni Epi. Feb. 1. Brigidæ Virginis IX. Lect.—17. Finani Episcopi & Confessoris IX. Lect.—18. Colmanni Episc. & Confess. IX. Lect.—Mar. 6. Aldredi Episc. & Confess. IX. Lect.—18. Finani, Episc. & Confess. IX. Lect.—20. Cuthberti Episc. IX. Lect.—21. Benedicti Abbatis IX. Lect. 31. Olavi Regis & Mart. Maii 9. Translatio St. Andreae. 12. Congalli Abbatis.—16. Brandani Abbatis III. Lect.—19. Potentianæ Virginis III. Lect.—

(4) App. Numb. V. (5) Vid. Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 1. Par. 1. Numb. 5054. (6) 4to. Prælo, Afrasiano. A. D. 1522. (7) Vid. H. Boethius Hist. Scot. Lib. 12. fol. 264. a. (8) Spotiswood, p. 104. (9) 4to. MS. p. D. Tho. Innise.

PART II. —Junii, 9. Columbæ Abbatis.—19. Margaritæ Reginæ Translatio IX. Lect.—22. Albani Prothomartyris Anglorum IX. Lect. Julii, 6. Paladii Episcopi & Apostoli Scotorum.—8. Festum Reliquarium hujus Ecclesiæ celebrat.—29. Olavi Regis & Mart.—Aug. 23 Ebbæ Virginis.—31. Aidani Episcopi IX. Lect.—Sep. 4. Translatio Cuthberti Episcopi IX. Lect.—16. Niniani Episcopi.—25. S. Fymberti Episc. & Confessoris IX. Lect.—27. Cosmæ & Damiani Mart. III. Lect.—28. Macharii Episcopi. Oct. 31. B. Begæ Virginis IX. Lect. Nov. 12. Macarii Episc. min. duplex.—16. Margaritæ, Reginæ Scotiæ IX. Lect.” In the conclusion of this, we have a note which informs us who was the church’s benefactor in this particular; Reverendus in Christo Pater ac Dominus, Dominus Gawinus Dunbar, Episcopus Aberdonensis me fieri fecit Antverpiæ, A. D. 1527.

Cathnes. I have seen nothing that relates to the diocese of Cathnes, and its history, saving only a dry list of the bishops of that see; under the title of “Nomina Episcoporum Catteynensium à tempore Malcolmi Tertii Scotorum Regis usq; ad tempus Caroli Primi, quem Deus conservet in Ævum.” It begins with S. Barrus; and ends with John Abernethy. It is in the end of a manuscript history of the Earl of Sutherland’s family, mentioned below, by Alexander Ross; and seems to have been compiled by that author himself.

Dumblain. David Camerarius, (1) cites one George Newton, who about the year 1500, being then Archdeacon of that church, wrote the acts of the cathedral of Dumblain; and therein affirms that he had seen the Autographum of the letter from (2) Mellitus and Justus to the bishops and abbots of Scotland, among the records of that church. Supposing this to be true, I know not that it will thence necessarily follow, that this same epistle must have been written to the Scots in Great Britain; because otherwise, (3) “it had not been in the custody of the churchmen at Dumblain. I know not where the original letter is now to be found: but it should seem that there did not so much as a copy of it fall into King Ælfred’s hands, when he translated Bede’s ecclesiastical history. The Saxon version only acquaints us, that there was such an epistle written; but does not accommodate us with it, as the Latin editions do, in print.

Dunkeld. The diocese of Dunkeld is well accounted for in the (4) Liber Dunkeldensis; wherein there is a continued history of the bishops, and their several benefactions, from the first foundation of the see, to the time of Gawin Douglas. To this bishop the book is dedicated by Alexander Miln, prebendary and official of that church; and a particular character is given in it of that excellent prelate, and the several members of the chapter in his time.

Glasgow. Upon the change of religion, Archbishop Beatoun carried the chief records of the church of Glasgow into France; where he himself fixed, first as ambassador to Queen Mary, and afterwards to her son, in the year 1560. These he deposited in the Scotch College at Paris, founded by a bishop of Murray, A. D. 1325, where they still remain. Here are two chartularies: whereof one is pretty ancient, the character being supposed to be 450 years old; the other is called the Red Book of Glasgow, and was written in the time of Robert the Third. Here are likewise a good stock of original charters, (one of K. David the first, with the seal at it) and bulls of popes; with grants to and from most of the bishops of this see, from its first erection. There are also letters and minutes of the said archbishop, digested in a good orderly manner, which might furnish out a valuable history of the troubled face of affairs, during all his ministry; and, consequently afford some of the best light for the story of a couple of reigns, which were both full of extraordinary occurrences. The proceedings of the assembly here in 1581, are registered in the Scottish language; and may be seen nearer (5) home.

Murray. The late Bishop of Murray had, and, perhaps, still has, two large and fair manuscripts in parchment, relating to the affairs of his own diocese; whereby its history might be much illustrated. These are chartularies: and we have, (6) besides, an old rental of the revenues of that church.

(1) In Append. ad Lib. 3. p. 231. (2) Bede Eccles. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 4. (3) Sir G. M’s Defence of the royal line, p. 168, 169. (4) 4 MS. in Bibl. ICC. Edinburg. Pergam (5) Vid. Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 2. par. 2. Num. 210. (6) In Bibl. ICC. Edinburg.

In the old monasteries of Scotland, there were, at least, three several sorts of register-books: as 1. a general one, which, by way of annals, or chronicle, gave the yearly occurrences relating to the publick; as the *Liber Pasletensis*, &c. which seem to be the same with those *Chronica*, and *alia Chronica*, so frequently quoted by Fordon. 2. Their obituaries; wherein were recorded the times of the death, and places of interment, of their chief benefactors, abbots, priors, and other great men, of their respective houses: and of this kind is the *Liber Kinlossensis*. 3. Their Chartulary or register, properly so called; wherein were recorded the charters of their kings, and the bulls of the popes, which had passed in their favour, and the more private grants of inferior benefactors: and such are those of Dumfermelin, and other places, which have charters from the reign of Malcolm the Second, in the beginning of the eleventh century, to the reformation. The monasteries of Scotland have had far less care taken of their histories and records than those in England. Sir William Dugdale (7) could procure no more than the endowment-charters of a few of them, communicated to him by Sir James Balfour; who has left behind him a small treatise of his own compofure, which he was pleased to call *Monasticon Scoticum*; though it looks more like an Index to such a performance, than the compleat work itself. I have seen (8) four more books bearing the like titles; whereof two are, as Sir James's also is, in Folio, and the other in Quarto. In every one of these the curious antiquary will meet with several particulars that are overlooked in Dempster's Apparatus. An inventory of all the pious donations, to churches and hospitals, from the reign of King James the First, to that of James the Sixth, is in the hand of (9) Mr. George Martin of Cameron; and in the (10) Norfolk-library, there are some notes on the state and condition of the bishopricks and monasteries of that kingdom, since the year 1212, collected out of the history of Lanercost, near Carlisle.

PART
II.Monaste-
ries.

The Register-books and records of particular monasteries in Scotland are not very numerous. In a collection of ancient (original) charters, battered on a book of imperial paper by Sir James Balfour, I observed several grants from K. William the First to the canons regular of S. ANDREWS; as also a confirmation, by K. David the Second, of a donation made to them by David Earl of Huntingdon in the year 1362, with an elder charter of Robert the Bruce in 1327. There are likewise some transcripts of David the First's grant; together with pope Innocent the third's bull, and others. Some (11) Extracts there are out of the register-book of that priory; but where the book itself may be had, I cannot tell. There are two (12) parchment manuscripts, which carry the same title of *Registrum Monasterii de Arbrothoc*, or *ABERBROTHOC*; whereof the one, and much the more valuable, is in Quarto, and contains the most ancient charters and bulls, of kings and popes, with the privileges, exemptions, &c. granted by the bishops of S. Andrews, Aberdeen, Brechin, Dumblain, &c. and appears, a great share of it, at least, to have been written about the year 1400, or sooner. Towards the end of this there is a copy of the laws of Robert the First; which differs very little from that which is published by Sir John Skene. The other, in Folio, is not so old; seeming to have been written about the beginning of the sixteenth century, under K. James the Fourth. In the same place is the (13) "*Registrum Monasterii de BALMERINOC*," written about the year 1400, which begins with a charter of Alexander, followed by other grants from popes and bishops. That of (14) *CAMBUSKENNETH* has the donation-charter of David the First in the third year of his reign; witnessed by several of the bishops of that time. The royal charters, and other grants, belonging to the ancient monastery of *COLDINGHAM*, were many; and, it may be, no greater numbers of the originals, of any one religious house in either kingdom, are now extant, than are still to be seen, in the dean and chapter's treasury at Durham, of those of this place. There are near seventy of the kings of Scotland, with their seals appendant; besides a good number of those of the nobility and grandes of that kingdom, together with some ratifications &c. of the kings of England. See a list of the chief of them in the (15) Appendix.

Particular
Registers,
&c.

(7) *Monast. Anglic.* 2. in Append. (8) MSS. P. D. R. S. (9) 4to. MS. (10) Vid. Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom 2. par. 2. Num. 54. (11) P. D. R. S. Vid. D. G. M. Def. of the Royal Line, &c. p. 33. (12) In Bibl. ICC. Edinburg. (13) 4to. MS. Pergam. (14) P. Dom. Areskin, Com. de Marr. (15) Num. V.

I have

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II.

I have seen a transcript, on large Lombard-paper, of the (15) Liber S. Mariæ de DRYBURG; wherein there is a confirmation, of King Malcolm the Fourth's, of several donations made by R. de Morevilla; who is therein stiled Constabularius Regis Scotorum. There are other, less considerable, grants from private men; and the whole seems to be as old as the beginning of the sixteenth century. It appears, in many instances, to have been either unskilfully, or too hastily written; as the royal style in the very first charter, of M. Rex Scotiæ, instead of Rex Scotorum, sufficiently proves, with others of the like kind. The foundation grant of Hugh de Morevil is confirmed by K. Robert; as also (together with those of his wife Beatrice de Bello Campo, by Henry Earl of Northumberland. Here are many grants of other great men, who seem to have been branches of our English nobility, as by John and William de Vallibus, (a surname turned into Vaulx in Northumberland, and into Wallis in Scotland) Robert and Alan de Veteri ponte, &c. The chartulary of (16) DUNFERMELIN gives first the grants of kings, beginning with those of David the First, though the monastery was founded by Malcolm the Third; afterwards, those of the bishops; and lastly those of the barons and other great laymen. After all these come the bulls of the popes. It is observable in this, and other register-books of that kingdom, that few of the instruments bear date before the reign of Alexander the Second. This begins with *S. Margaritæ de Dumferlin, liber iste*: and then proceeds to the charters of David the First; one of which confirms those of his predecessors, and is, itself, confirmed by several subscribing bishops, with crosses, according to the fashion of the times, before their names. It ends: *Si quis ea perturbare voluerit, et nostra Defensionis Statuta divellere, imminuere ac violare, contenderit, non ignoret se contra ipsum mundi salvatorem niti, & idem (nisi resipuerit) aternæ dampnationis sententiam incurrere; cumq; Deus de libro vitæ deleat, qui, ecclesiæ præfatæ de concessæ protestatis jure aliquid abstulerit. Amen. Fiat.* The book is penned in various hands; some of it seeming to have written about the middle of the thirteenth century, and other parts as late as the sixteenth. The Liber Monasterii de KINLOSS is a formal history of the abbots of that place, and other remarkables of their monasteries; written in Latin by Ferrerius, the continuer of Boethius's history. The author came into Scotland with Mr. Robert Reid; who was afterwards abbot here, and bishop of Orkney. it begins with the foundation of the abbey, and is brought as low as the year 1535, whence there are some imperfect additions down to 1542. Here are also the lives of bishop Reid and his immediate predecessor, in the abbey of Kinloss very particularly and at large; together with many curious remarks, on publick and private transactions, for a succession of four hundred years. The original, written by the author's own hand, as appears from several of his letters to Cardinal Beaton, still extant in the Scotch College at Paris, was lately met with, in the Queen of Sweden's Library at Rome, by Dr. Jameson; who transcribed it correctly, and kindly communicated his copy to several of his learned countrymen. The registers of (17) LINDORIS, (18) MELROS, (19) PAISLEY, and (20) PITWEEM, are in several hands; and I have seen, in the custody of a private person, a manuscript piece which was rightly called "Monasterii [Scotici] Sancti Jacobi, Ordinis S. Benedicti, Ratibonæ Descriptio." The (1) Antiquum Chartularium Monasterii S. Trinitatis de SCONA, is but a thin book; and is thought to have been written about the end of the fourteenth century. There is in it a bull of Pope Honorius in the year 1226, with many charters, and other grants, of kings, noblemen, and bishops, of somewhat a later date. In an inspeximus of King Robert the First confirming a grant of Malcolm's, the style of this monastery is Abbas & Canonici S. Trinitatis & S. Michaelis Archangeli de Scona. King Malcolm's charter is thus directed; "Episcopis, &c. Cunctisq; aliis probis hominibus suis, Clericis & Laicis, Francicis & Anglicis, Scotis & Galwilenfibus, tam posteris quàm modernis." Another of the said Robert's confirmations ratifies such profits as they enjoyed *tempore bonæ memoriæ Alexandri regis Scotorum Prædecessoris nostri ultimo defuncti*; which shews, that he did not allow John Bailliol to be reckoned among the kings of that realm: and a third gives his reason for his being so kind to the place,

(15) 4to. in Bibl. ICC. Edinburg. (16) Fol. in Pergam. ibid. (17) 8vo. Pergam. in Bibl. Icc. Edinburg. (18) p. Dom. Hamilton, Com. de Hadinton. (19) p. Dom. Cockrain Com. de Dundonald. (20) p. G. Martin de Cameron. (1) in Bibl. Icc. Edinburg. & p. D. Joh. Murray de Drumkairn.

pro eo quod reges regni ibidem dignitates suas recipiant & honores: several grants of churches and advowsons, by the bishops of St. Andrews and Dunkeld, are dated in Insula S. Columbæ; and the prior of that isle is commonly one of the witnesses: but it ought to be observed, that thereby is not meant the monastery at Icolmkil, but that of Inch-Columb in the Frith of Edinburgh. To these register books, and such others of the like kind as shall hereafter be discovered, we may add the (2) *Processus super Ecclesiæ Collegiæ de STRIVELIN*; and a transcript of the history of (3) St. Giles's church at EDINBURGH.

What a share the university of Aberdeen has, in the history which Boethius pretended to write of the affairs of the church in that city, we have seen already; and this author (with the more modern Philopoliteius, accounted likewise for above) is all that, as far as I know, have meddled in that matter. That at St. Andrews has a sufficiency of records in her archives to clear up her whole history; with confirmation of her privileges from their kings, archbishops, and bishops. The statutes of the faculty of Divinity are, in style and body, somewhat altered from what they were at first; for which this reason is given in their very title, *Jam abolito Papismo, & Reformatâ Religione, circa Annum Domini, 1560 in pare Mutatâ, & juxta Normam Verbi Dei in Melius Reformatâ*. Of these, and their other public instruments, I have seen a fair transcript; taken by Dr. Skene, the late provost in S. Salvator's college in that university. The chief of these were, 1. King James the First's charter, dated at Perth, in the twenty-sixth year of his reign; attested by most of the great courtiers, and assented to by the prior and arch-deacon of St. Andrews. 2. Pope Benedict's bull thereupon, with an enlargement of their privileges. 3. A concordant between the scholars and citizens; made by James Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews. 4. *Statuta Facultatis Theologiæ in Universitate St. Andræ condita, & jam abolita, &c.* as above. 5. Confirmations of the privileges by W. Shives, archbishop, in the 1479, by King James the Fourth, in 1512; James the Fifth, in 1522, and his exemption of them from the payment of all manner of taxes. 6. The foundation of S. Salvator's college in 1458; of St. Leonard's, in 1512, and of the new college in 1553, with their particular statutes. In the college at Glasgow, they have a full chartulary, which contains their charters, &c. from their first erection to the reign of James the Sixth. *Acta Scotorum in Academiâ PARISIENSI* is the title of a large manuscript volume, now in the Scotch college at Paris, compiled (about six or seven years ago) by direction of their present principal; wherein there is an account of all the eminent Scotchmen that have been members of that university, and especially of the fellows of this college. They have likewise here a chartulary of all the grants and donations that have been made them, in parchment; wherein are registered all instruments of that kind, from the foundation of the college (in the year 1525. to this time. The original charters themselves are kept in the archives of the university; being safely deposited in a proper box, under three keys.

C H A P. VI.

Of the SCOTTISH Biographers; or, such Writers as have treated on the Lives of Men of extraordinary Eminence in that Kingdom.

IN John of Tinmouth's voluminous (1) *Legendary of British Saints*, (epitomized by Capgrave and others) we have the lives of several martyrs and confessors whom the Scottish writers claim as theirs, against the contrary pretensions of their neighbours of Ireland; who

(2) P. D. Tho. Hope: de Craig-Hall. (3) P. D. R. Hay Canon. Reg. (1) MS. in Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, E. 1:

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allow them indeed to be *Scoti Veteres*, an expression which (they think) ought to be translated by the word Irishmen. This is the language of J. Colganus, in his (2) *Acta Sanctorum Veteris & Majoris Scotiæ seu Hiberniæ, &c.* and in his (3) *Triadis Thaumaturgæ, seu Divorum Patricii Columbæ & Brigidæ, trium Veteris & Majoris Scotiæ seu Hiberniæ, Sanctorum Insulæ communium Patronorum Acta*. Dempster (4) was not the first that challenged these; both Hector Boethius and Geo. Buchanan had done it before him; and it was their credit in the world that occasioned the (5) *Vindiciæ Sanctorum Indigenarum Hiberniæ, &c.* I shall not pretend to intermeddle in the controversy: but leaving the country to be ascertained hereafter, shall only point at the lives of such as have hitherto been reputed natives of the present Scotland. H. Boethius is very peremptory in it, that S. BRANDAN, whose Legend has been of so great use to J. Fordon, was properly a Scotchman; and that his first building a little (6) hut (or booth) in the Isle of Both, gave name to the place. The life of this saint, in several shapes and languages, is very frequent in our English (7) libraries; and therefore it is no argument of his being an Irishman, that it is also found in that of the college at (8) Dublin. That S. BRIGIDE was a Scot, educated in the Isle of Man, and (at last) buried at Abernethy, about the latter end of K. Corannus his time, is affirmed by the (9) Scottish historians; though it is well known that the Irish as confidently challenge her for theirs, and assert that she lies buried (with S. Patrick) in the cathedral church at Down. Archbishop (10) Usher seems to think that there might be a couple of the name in these islands, and so each kingdom may justly value themselves on their own reliques: but Boethius will have his Scotch lady to be that very woman whom his countrymen and their neighbours have ever jointly esteemed the next saint to the Virgin Mary; and Bishop Leslie cautiously distinguishes her from the Swedish BRIGIT, who was much younger. Amongst the many Irishmen who have taken care to preserve the memory of this (single, or double) saint, there is one who has published a particular treatise, under the title of (11) *Brigida Thaumaturga*: though, indeed, the main of his book consists in digressions, recounting the many correspondencies (and long intercourses) that have been betwixt France and Ireland, in matters of religion and learning. One of that virgin's choice miracles (in restoring a withered and dry tree to a flourishing state, by a touch) is applied to that subject; and the youth of the Irish College in Paris, to whom the declamation is addressed, are encouraged to hope that the languishing condition of the catholic religion in that country may feel the like effects from the same power. Other histories of her life, revelations, and visions, may be seen in (12) Sir John Cotton's library and others; whereof one is written by (13) Ælred, Abbot of Rievaulx, and translated by Laur. of Durham. S. COLUMB's Life was written by Adamnanus, Abbot of Hye, or Icolmkil; who, being sometimes surnamed Coludius, is suspected by (14) Fr. Thynne, to be no Scotchman: for Coludi, says he, is a place in Yorkshire, belonging to the bishoprick of York, and now at this day is in English called Caldwood. Were this remark stanch and well grounded, it would mightily shake the credit of the famous Culdees: but, in truth, this no more proves Adamnanus to be an Englishman, than St. Columb's being called Scotus, evinces his being an Irishman; which (as a learned and ingenious person (15) once observed of it) is rather a bull than a reason. This life is printed in (16) Jerom Porter's *Flowers of the Saints*; and a good manuscript copy of it is in my Lord Tarbet's library. It is mainly taken out of another more ancient written by one Jonas, who may likewise be presumed to have copied his from his master Eustatius; of whom (17) Vossius gives this account: *Primis annis imperatoris Heraclii claruit Eustacius, discipulus Columbani. Hic magistri sui iter descripsit, Quicquid verò de magistro prodidit Eustatius, hoc historiæ suæ*

(2) Tom. 1. Fol. Lovan. 1645. (3) Tom. 2. Fol. Ibid. 1647. (4) In Appar. ad Hist. Scot. Lib. 1. Fol. Bonon. 1623. (5) Vid. Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 2. par. 2. Num. 783. (6) Descript. Scot. fol. 8. a. (7) Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, D. III. 28. Vespasianus, A. XIV. 16. B. X. 1. 2. D. IX. 1. Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 1. Par. 1. Num. 1071, 2567, 3496. (8) Ibid. Tom. 2. Par. 2. Num. 193. inter MSS. Coll. Trin. Dubl. Num. 53. Tract. etiam. 53. (9) H. Boeth. Lib. 9. fol. 158. b. Less. Lib. 4. p. 142. (10) Eccl. Brit. Hist. p. 461. (11) Auct. D. R. 8vo. Paris. 1620. (12) Julius, F. II. Claudius, B. 1. Nero, E. I. 29. Otho, A. XIV. 6. D. VIII. 3. Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 2. Par. 2. Num. 501. (13) Ibid. Tom. 1. Par. 1. Num. 1052. (14) In Append. ad Hist. Scot. Rad. Holinshed. (15) Sir G. M. Def. of Royal Line, p. 160, 161. (16) 4to. Duac. 1632. (17) De Hist. Lat. lib. 2. cap. 27.

de vita Columbani inseruit Jonas. This work of Jonas's is in the Surius's collection on the twenty-first of November; and that the author lived not long after the saint himself, appears from this expression in his life: *Pergentes ergo simul, adolescentem Summarium, qui etiamnum superest, comitem sibi adjungunt, & ad destinatum eremi locum perveniunt.* Segenius's Life of S. Columb, is printed in the *Sæcula Benedictina* of Father Mabillon; who has likewise published another narrative of the same by Cumineus Albus, Abbot of Hye. One passage there is in Vossius, which (on this occasion) I shall transcribe, though I cannot say that I perfectly understand it: (18) *Feus Belchamus, sive, ut aliis nuncupatur, Belcharius, Florentinus, anno claruit 1470, ac cum abis sibi nomen paravit, tum vitâ B. Columbani, qui ordinem instituit Jesuitarum.* To these add, 1. The works of (19) S. Columb, in Irish verse; and some (20) hymns in praise of him, in the same language: 2. *Vita & Miracula* (1) St. Columbæ Episcopi. I have here (all along) joined St. Columba and Columbanus; and if the reader sees cause to distinguish them, he is at liberty to do it. St. KENTIGERN (or St. Mungo) makes also a considerable figure in Porter's Flowers; and I know not but the Life that is there, may be a translation of the (2) *Libellus de Vitâ & Miraculis S. Confessoris & Pontificis Kentigerni, à quodam Monacho rogatu sive intimatione Herberti Episcopi Glasguensis compositus.* In a manuscript breviary, communicated to me by my worthy friend Mr. R. Thoresby of Leeds, but formerly belonging to the Church of New Abbey (or St. Mary's de dulci corde) in Galloway, this saint's day is on the fourteenth of January: and, in the body of the book, the offices for the day (if I mistake not the meaning of the Rubrick, which is *de Sco. Kentigerno sicut de Sancto Willielmo*) are the same with those on St. William's, the tenth of that month. Though St. KILIAN was Bishop of Wurzburg in Germany, yet (coming from the Monastery of Hye) he may justly be reckoned amongst the saints of Scotland; and we have his life, in the legends, on the eighth of July. It was written by an anonymous author. Surius gives it in his own politer language: but Canisius has honestly published it just as he found it in the manuscript. Turgot's Life of S. MARGARET and her Husband, could not but be well written, for the reasons justly observed by (3) H. Boethius: *Conscripsit* (says he) *vernaculâ quidem linguâ, sed non minori elegantia quam pietate veritateq; ut qui illis familiarissimus, dum viveret, fuerit, optimusq; testis utrique virtutum suarum extiterit.* It is published in English, in the forementioned Flowers of the Saints: as it is also in Spanish by (4) Juan de Soto, and in Italian by (5) Guilielmo Lesley, brother to Count Lesley, now living. Her life was likewise written by one Theodoritus; which (6) Papenbrochius has taken care to preserve to posterity: and we have in our own language, the (7) Idea of a perfect princess in the Life of St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland. The Life and Miracles of S. NINIAN (written by Ælred, Abbot of Rievaulx) is in the Cottonian library: but where that of S. PANDIONA is, which is said to be penned by another Englishman, I cannot tell. Hear what Vossius says of that matter: (8) *Richardus Eltesley, Anglus, Elteslegiensis ecclesiæ in Pago quodam apud Grantanos, seu Cantabrigienses, parochus fuit. Elteslegæ autem requiescebant reliquæ Pandionæ virginis, quæ tyrannidem patris sui, Scotiæ Reguli, fugerat. Atq; ea occasione Pandionæ hujus vitam & virtutes, stylo triviali Richardus conscripsit; ut à Lelando, in quarto de viris illustribus, proditum est.* Let me close this long paragraph, of the Lives of the Scottish Saints, with what is offered by the late worthy Sir Geo. Mackenzie on the behalf of one of them: (9) "It is pretty ridiculous, (says he) to see a whole book written by Vardæus, and glossed by Sirin, and published at Lovain in 1662, to prove that RUMOLDUS, Archbishop of Mechlin, was an Irishman: since the arms of Scotland (which are Or, a Lion Rampant Gules, within a double Tressure flowered and counterflowered with Flower de Lis of the same) are placed upon every window of the cathedral church built by him, and are to this day parts of the arms of that archiepiscopal see; Rumoldus himself being a cadet of the Royal Family of Scotland: and in which

(18) De Hist. Lat. lib. 3. cap. 8. (19) Inter Codd. Laud. in Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 1. Par. 1. Num. 784. (20) Ibid. Tom. 2. Par. 2. Num. 501. (1) Bibl. Cotton Tiberius, D. III. 47. (2) Ibid. Titus A. XIX. 19. (3) Hist. Scot. lib. 12. fol. 259. b. (4) 4to. Alcal. 1617. (5) 8vo. Romæ 1674. (6) In Vitt. Sanct. ad 10 Junii. (7) 8vo. Lond. 1661. Vid. etiam Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 1. par. 1. Num. 2527. & 5094. (8) De Hist. Lat. lib. 3. Par. 2. Lit. R. (9) Def. of Royal Line, p. 184, 185, 186.

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Nobility
in general

Great numbers of manuscripts there are which illustrate the histories of the noble families of Scotland; whereof the most considerable (which have come to my knowledge) are these: 1. (11) The Names and Matches of the Nobility of that kingdom, in the year 1588, with their Arms blazoned in Colours, with Supporters and Mottoes; to which are added, the names of the governors of the several Shires and Stewarties of the Realm, with those of the King's Officers and Privy-Counsellors. 2. (12) Seals and Arms of the Scotch Nobility, in several methods. 3. (13) Their Genealogies, collected by Robert Glover, (Somerset Herald in England) in the year 1602. 4. (14) An Account of the noble Families of Scotland, with their several Interests, Dependencies, &c. by D. Molyneux, Esq; Ulster King at Arms in the kingdom of Ireland. 5. Two large volumes of the Genealogies of the Scottish Peers were left by Sir James Balfour; written in English, but dedicated in Latin to King Charles the First. A third noble volume there is amongst his manuscripts, which begins with the Stem of Stewarts and their Arms; proceeding afterwards to those of the Twelve Competitors for the Kingdom; and, from them, to those of the Douglasses of Angus, Hamilton, Gordon, Crawford, Graham, Hay, Campbell, Montgomery, Keyth, Kennedy, Cunningham, Lesley, Sinclair, Ruthven, Maxwell, Hume, &c. In the book there is the following note, written with Sir James's own hand: *Cambdeni, Clarentii armorum regis regni Angliæ, collectiones quedam genealogicæ & historicæ regni Scoticæ. Ex dono domini Rob. Cotton, militis baronetii antiquarii excellentissimi, dicti Cambdeni testamenti executorum alterius, 1629.* 6. I have also seen a large alphabetical history of the chief families of that kingdom which was digested (out of the papers of Mr. Thomas Crawford) by Sir Geo. Mackenzie of Rosehaugh (late Lord Advocate) and Sir Patrick Lyon of Kerse. 7. Lastly, To this part of the Scottish History we ought to refer the excellent poems of J. Johnson of Aberdeen; to which he has truly given the title of (15) *Heroes ex omni Historiâ Scoticâ Lectissimi*. He begins with the noble and loyal Ferchard, the chief of King Reuther's grandees, in the latter end of the third century before our Saviour's birth; and ends with the valorous exploits of his countrymen, in his own time, who lost their lives in the civil wars of the Netherlands. He prefixes a short history of each hero, before his several epigrams: which renders the whole of more use and consideration to those for whom this library is intended, than otherwise it would have been. If the reader thinks the glories of courtiers and grandees look the better by being a little shaded, let him peruse (16) The staggering State of the Scottish Statesmen, collected by Sir John Scot, Director to the Chancery from 1550 to 1650, wherein he will have a view of all the misfortunes, &c. of the great officers in that century.

The greatest honour that has been done to any particular family of Scotland, in a printed account of its history, is that which David Hume has paid to the most noble house of DOUGLAS; whereof he has elegantly written the (17) story in two copious parts. It begins with an account

(10) Art. 14. p. 281. (11) P. Dom. S. L. Kniveton, Armig. Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 1. Par. 1. Num. 8549, & Tom. 2. Par. 1. Num. 9018, 9950. & Par. 2. Num. 195. (12) Ibid. Num. 4162. Bibl. Cotton Tiberius, D. X, & Vespasianus, D. VIII. 4. (13) P. Rei Heraldicæ peritiss. D. Pet. Le Neve. Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 2. Par. 1. Num. 3547, & 4228. (14) Ib. Tom. 2. Par. 2. Num. 1659. (15) 4to. Lugd. Bat. 1603, (16) MS. in Bibl. ICC. Edinburg. (17) Fol. Edin. 1644. MS.

of its original grandeur in Shalto Douglas's vanquishing of Donald Bane in the year 767, under King Solvathius; and brings down the succession more perfect than could be expected, considering (as the author observes) that the Lord Douglas was one of the chief sufferers in our Edward the First's time, having all the evidences of his estate (which lay near England) utterly pillaged and destroyed. However, this rise of them was confirmed by a very ancient manuscript in the hand of one Alex. Macduff of Tyllysaul, near Strathbogie, where William Earl of Angus, who was confined to the North in 1595, saw and perused it. He also refers to some fresher MS. collections, relating to the antiquities of this house, made by Sir Richard Maitland of Lithington; who was father to John Lord of Thirlstane, sometime Lord Chancellor of Scotland. He branches off his history to other lords (of Galloway and Niddesdale; that bore the name, and were men of chief note in their respective times: so that we have here most of the general history of Scotland, with corrections of a great many faults in their most celebrated historians, till the earldom of Douglas fell (with its own weight) in the year 1488. The second part treats of the house of Angus, a younger branch; wherein are revealed a great many secrets of the reign of James the Third, which got Earl Archibald the surname of Bell the Cat. Having (towards the end) shewn himself a zealous presbyterian, and a most vigorous asserter of Master Buchanan's Jus Regni, he concludes in 1588. This work was corrected and enlarged by (18) Mr. Thomas Crawford: and a contracted view of both of them may be had in a genealogical tree of this potent family, with all the changes in their arms, by matches, achievements, &c. brought down to the beheading of the Earl of Morton, about 1586. W. Drummond of Hawthornden wrote the Genealogy of the noble and ancient house of DRUMMOND; containing a true account of its original extraction, offspring and allies; deduced from the first of that name, an Hungarian gentleman, and continued to this present time. So speaks the title: but that which I saw was imperfect, ending at the year, 1328. It may, in a great measure, be supplied by another (19) genealogy of Stobhall, from the year 1383 to 1620, drawn from the records of that family; being a large patent of several sheets joined in one plan.

That of GORDON may be had from, 1. (20) *Historiæ Compendium de Origine & Incremento Gordoniæ Familiæ* Johanne Ferrerio Pedemontano Authore, apud Kinloss fideliter Collectum 1545. 2. (1) *Genealogie de la Maison de Huntly, depuis Elizabet Gordon Heretier d'icelle.* 3. *Origo & Processus Familiæ Illustrissimæ Gordoniorum in Scotiâ*, written by the learned and famous Sir Robert Gordon of Straloch; several copies whereof I have seen, of about nine sheets in quarto. It brings down their story, in a good Latin style, from the Days of Macbeth to the year 1596, and is done with great judgment and integrity. Some escapes there are in it, occasioned by the author's great age; he being above seventy when he composed it: but these, it is said, are noted and corrected by the late Lord Cramond, father to the present Bishop of Salisbury. 4. *Vera Narratio ingentis & Miraculi plenæ Victoriæ partæ apud Avinum* (that is, Glen-Aven or Glen-Livet in Strathbogy, part of Aberdeenshire) in *Scotiæ Borealibus partibus à Georgio Gordonio Huntlæo, & Francisco Hajo Errollo, Catholicis Principibus, contra Archimbaldum Cambellum Argadorum Imperatorem, 5^o. Nonas Novembris, A. D. 1594.* Authore Alex. Machoræo (or Macquair) Soc. Jes. Presb. qui prælio interfuit. This is in a manuscript volume of collections made by (2) Mr. Camden, wherein there is also another account of this rencounter (called here the battle of Balrinnies) in Scotch verse. Besides what we have here, the glories of the renowned family of HAY are recorded in an heroic poem of fifty pages in quarto; the substance whereof is thus summed up in the title: *Historico-Politica Narratio Danorum ad Scotiam Appellentium, eorumq; extremi ad Internecionem usq; ad Vicum Loncarten Excidii, Virtute cujusdam Cognomento Hay, Rustici Vulgo crediti sed reverà ex antiquissima Cantii Regum prosapiâ oriundi, Mente & Virtute verè Heroicâ Insignes & Illustres parentes referentis, mirâ in patriam Charitate, & invicta in hostem magnanimitate; in quâ etiam describitur Celeberrimæ & Antiquissimæ Haiorum Gentis Origo.* This was written about twenty years

(18) Fol. p. D. R. S. (19) p. Eund. (20) MS. 4to. (1) & Fol. inter. MSS. Balfour, MS. p. D. R. S. (2) Inter MS. Balfour.

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ago, by J. Ross, schoolmaster at S. Johnston, and is now in the hand of Sir Robert Sibbald, who has added his own learned notes concerning the History of the house of Errol, and is the most proper judge, whether it will be any honour to that noble family to alter any one circumstance in the received story of the Danish conflict, only for the sake of bringing them within the pedigree of a little Saxon monarch. A genealogy and history of the illustrious house and surname of SEATOUN, to the month of November 1558, was collected by Sir Richard Maitland of Lithington, a sister's son of that family; and is still carefully preserved by many of its branches. It is continued by another hand, to the year 1603, and dedicated to George Lord Seatoun, the fifth of that name. The history of the Earls of SUTHERLAND, may be had in a book entituled; *Southerlandiæ Comitum Annales; in quibus eorum Origo & Incrementa, Vitæ & res bello pacèq; gestæ, dilucidè explicantur: multa quoq; Notatu digna in Regionibus Scotiæ ultra Caledonios, à Scriptoribus Nostreis vel breviter tacta, vel penitus omissa, fusius proponuntur. Authore Alex. Rossæo Aberdonense Scoto.* The dedication (3) bears date from his study at Southampton, Aug. 1, 1627. He begins with a description of the county; and largely proceeds, with the annals of the earls, to the year 1625. Genealogies of several other noble families in Scotland, not so much as touched upon in the foregoing collections, are in the hands of Mr. Geo. Martin; or, at least, have been seen and perused by him. As 1. That of the Mackenzies, by the Lord Tarbet. 2. Of the Humes of Wedderburn, by Mr. David Hume of Godscroft (Theagrus) a son of that family. 3. Of the earls of Rothes, by Sir John Malcolm. 4. Laurus Leslæa; by one Lesley, a Jesuit. This is printed. 5. Of the Marquis of Twedale, from the inscriptions on the marble monuments in the church of Yester. 6. Of the Earls of Marr; by Sir Thomas Hope, the king's advocate. 7. R. Bodii, *Elogium Familiæ Bondianæ.*

The famous Sir William Wallace, who was so barbarously treated by our King Edward the First, is still remembered as one of the greatest patriots and champions that Scotland ever had; and, as such, had his exploits recorded by several hands. The poem (4) which goes commonly about, in old Scotch rhyme, describes him like a true knight errant; cleaving his foes generally (through braun and bane) down to the shoulders, and never striking off less than an arm or a leg. He engaged with several great northern Englishmen, whose names are still well known on the borders of Cumberland and Northumberland; as Sir Gerard Heron, Captain Thirlwal, Morland, Martindale, &c. To some of the oldest editions of this book, there is an elegant epitaph in Latin prefixed; which begins thus:

*Invida mors tristi Gulielmum funere Vallam,
Quæ cuncta tollit, sustulit:
Et tanto pro cive cinis, &c.*

The rest the curious reader may meet with in D. Hume's History of the (5) Douglasses, where it is observed, that there is not a verse in the whole copy, whereof Buchanan himself needed to have been ashamed; and there is a translation of them added, which is no foil to the original. This piece of heroic poetry is said to have been composed by a blind man; of whom (6) J. Major gives us the following account: *Integrum librum Guillelmi Vallacei, Henricus, à nativitate luminibus captus, meæ infantiae tempore, cudit, & quæ vulgo dicebantur carmine vulgari in quo peritus erat conscripsit, (ego autem talibus scriptis solum in parte fidem impertior) qui historiarum recitatione coram principibus victum & vestitum, quo dignus erat, nactus est.* As low as this historian sets the truth of the narrative, there is a (preface in (7) Hart's edition of it) which places it in another sort of light, and confirms the whole out of the Scoti-Chronicon, &c. However, this is not the first piece which was penned on the subject; some of the patriot's own contemporaries and acquaintance having written his story in Latin: for, so says the (8) book itself:

(3) MS. 4to. p. D. R. S. (4) 8vo. Edin. 1594. &c. Glasg. 1699. (5) Par. 1. p. 22. & 23. (6) Hist. Scot. lib. 4. cap. 15. (7) 8vo. Edin. 1620. (8) Lib. 5 Viri fol. 42. a.

" Maister John Blair was ane of that message,
 " Ane worthy clerk, baith wise and richt savage,
 " Leirit he was befor in Paries toun,
 " Amang maisteris in science of gude renoun;
 " Wallace and he at hame in scule had bene
 " Sone efterwirt as veritie was sene:
 " He was the man that principal undertuke,
 " That first compylit in dyte the Latine buke
 " Of Wallace Life richt famous of renown,
 " And Thomas Grey perfoun of Lybertoun,
 " With him the war, and put in historial,
 " Oft ane or baith meikle of his travall.
 " And theirfoir heir I mak of theme mentioun."

Whether Blair's christian-name was John, or no, is a question: for I have such a (8) manuscript history as is here mentioned, which bears the title of, *Relationes quædam Arnoldi Blair Monachi de Dumfermelin & Capellani D. Willielmi Wallas Militis, &c.* It is said to have been written in the year 1327, and begins with, *Memorandum quòd anno salutis M.CC. LXXXVIII. Dominus Willielmus Wallas factus est Scotiæ gubernator*; ending with this remarkable paragraph: *Anno M. CCC. VIII. Septimo die Septembris nobilis Willielmus Wallace, per Dominum Johannem de Menteith apud Glasgou, nil mali suspicans, fraudulenter, & prodicionaliter, capitur & Regi Angliæ traditur, Londini demembratur, & ejus membra per diversa loca Angliæ & Scotiæ in opprobrium Scotorum turribus suspenduntur. Et notandum est hic tria concurrere (viz. Edwardum tyrannum, Johannem de Menteith immanem proditorem, & Dominum Willielmum Wallace innocentem) ad inscribendam gloriosam famam nobilis Wallacii æternitatis libris, damnandus sit dies nativitatis Johannis de Menteith, & excipiat suum nomen ex libro vitæ! Maledictus sit in æternam inhumanus iste tyrannus; cum nobilis ille Scotorum ductor pro suæ virtutis præmio vitam æternam habebit in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.*

Non Scotus est Christe cui liber non placet iste.

Patrick Panter (a divine of St. Andrews) wrote also a poem which he named (9) *Valliados Libris 3. opus Inchoatum*: It is a fine heroic poem: the first book whereof recites the wars against the Danes, repelled by the immortal Hay. In the second, the author proceeds to the story of the feuds betwixt the two kingdoms, and the mighty prowess of Sir W. Wallace; *qui* (10) *solus eâ tempestate liber, cum omnes reliqui turpissimè Anglo sese ac Patriam in servitutem dedissent.* The third breaks abruptly off in the very middle (or first onset, rather) of his intended work. A western schoolmaster has completed a Latin poem, of six books, to which he has likewise given the name of *Valliados*; but these, falling short of the other's spirit, have never yet been printed.

As Sir Robert Sibbald has taken indefatigable pains in preserving the remains of the Scotch Writers in history, so he has been particularly industrious in securing to posterity the memoirs of such of general. his countrymen as have benefited the public by their learned writings. On this subject he has compiled several treatises, under the following titles: 1. *Catalogus Alphabeticus Scotorum qui de variis Scientiis & Artibus scripserunt post annum 1500.* 2. *Catalogus Historicorum, Geographicorum, & Politicorum qui de Rebusoticis scripsere.* In this indeed there are a great many names recorded, that are not of the growth of Scotland; though, in the course of their works, they are all nearly related to that kingdom. *Accessit quæ, (by way of appendix) Poetarum Scotorum, qui Latine scripsere, Catalogus.* 3. *Tractatus de Scotis qui Scriptis suis Remedicam vel promoverint vel Illustraverint.* This was begun, about a dozen years ago, to

(8) Ex dono etis Lecti M. Rob. Wudour, Bibliothec, Glasg. (9) 8vo. Edinb. 1633. (10) H. Boeth. Hist. Scot. lib. 14. fol. 299. a.

PART II. serve Monsieur Catiër; who had projected a general history of the writers in that faculty: but, since that time, it has had many and very considerable additions made to it. There are likewise in his custody, some manuscript collections of other men looking this way; as, 1. An anonymous history of the lives of the most eminent writers of the Scottish nation, in Latin; beginning with S. Alban, and ending with Robert Balfour, who died in the year 1610. 2. Mr. Thomas Crawford's original account of the like writers; beginning with *Cælius Sedulius*, in Fergus the Second's time, and ending at 1532. 3. Oratio habita [à Magistro Gilb. Grey] in Academiâ Aberdoniensi pro Laureâ, A. D. 1611. It is a panegyrick on the writers and men of most eminent learning in that kingdom; of three large sheets (in folio) close penned. Mr. Geo. Martin has another Latin oration, *De Viris clariis Academiæ S. Andreæ*; spoken by Dr. Hovey, D. D. in that university.

Particulars.

To one that considers how many great men of letters, in all faculties, the kingdom of Scotland has produced, and what a figure the gentlemen of that nation have frequently made in the universities of Italy, France, and Germany, it must appear very strange and unaccountable, that so few of these have been the particular subject of other men's pens; and that such mighty heroes in learning, to whom old Romans or Athenians would have erected altars, should want even the cheap acknowledgements of a paper-monument. The only writer, I think, before the reformation (whose life has been handed down to posterity in a distinct treatise) is Johannes Duns Scotus; who, though he was of note enough to be patron of a prevailing party of schoolmen, met not with a suitable return from any of those that owned themselves to be his followers. They were content with the bare name of their admired benefactor, without troubling themselves in a nice enquiry into his country and parentage; insomuch that it remains a dispute to this very day, whether he was any more than a nominal Scot. The scholars of Merton-College in Oxford, affirm that he was born on the south of Berwick, and believe themselves able to prove as much from an authentic evidence in their own library. Others have endeavoured to make him an Irishman: but they certainly confounded him with (a much elder author) Joannes Scotus Eri-gena, whose Cognomen was thought to look towards Ireland; and yet even this man has been ascertained to the kingdom of Scotland, by the late learned and pious Bishop Fell. Against both these opinions, Matth. Ferrhi has attempted the settling him on the north-side of the Tweed, in a treatise which he calls (11) *Apologia pro Johanne Duns Scoto*: and he afterwards published his (12) life at large. There is also a panegyrick written upon him and his works, by (13) Nicolaus Vernulaus; and out of all these together the reader may be pretty well convinced of the truth of his epitaph:

*Scotia me genuit, Anglia suscepit,
Gallia edocuit, Germania tenet.*

Upon the reformation of religion, learning and learned men began also to recover their ancient repute; and several lives of the Scottish divines and other writers, who flourished about that time, are now in our hands. The chief of those that have fallen into mine, I shall here briefly mention. 1. John Knox's is written by Mr. Thomas Smetoun; who has thought fit to make this a part of his character: *Nemo in subeundis animi & corporis laboribus minos sibi pepercit, nemo in concreditam sibi provinciam intentior fuit nemo tamen dum viveret, odiis impiorum hominum magis impetiis est, & maledicorum calumniis laceratus, quamvis illi ea fuit animi magnitudo ut contra audentior iret.* The same life is written in English, by David Buchanan, who prefixed it to his own edition of Knox's ecclesiastical history: but there is very little in this but what is scattered in that history itself, till he comes to the circumstances of his death; and these seem to have been wholly taken out of Archbishop Spotswood's church-history, which went about in manuscript some years before this edition of Knox's. 2. Robert Rolloc, the first principal of the college at Edinburgh (and a great commentator on the bible) has his life written by (14) Geo. Robertson; who

(11) 8vo. Bonon. 1620. (12) 8vo. 1644. (13) 8vo. Montib. 1644. (14) 12mo. Edinb. 1599.

sometimes seems to be as poetical in the account he gives of him, as any of the epitaphs which are published with his book. 3. That of Patrick Hamilton may be had in any of the histories of the reformation; and the excellent Robert Boid's is prefixed to his lectures on St. Paul's epistle to the Ephesians. 4. The famous George Buchanan has written his own life; which is commonly printed before the collection of his poetical pieces. It is certain no man could do this in a more elegant strain than himself, his pen having betimes merited that applause which it afterwards brought home to his native country, PART II.

“Imperii fuerat Romani Scotia Limes;
“Romani Eloquii Scotia Finis erit.”

But yet, methinks, so much is due to the memory of that great man, that some care should be taken that he may not live only in a monument of his own erection. A new and noble edition of all his works together is just now projecting; and it is hoped that the undertakers will do the nation and themselves that right, as to collect the scattered remains of his life as well as his labours. There may probably be found some spots in his conversation, as there are in his works: but these black patches will set off the author's beauty to greater advantage, and increase the lustre of his justly admired excellencies.

C H A P. VII.

Of Records, and Law-Books.

KING Eugene the Seventh, about the beginning of the eighth century is (15) said to have ordered the depositing of all records, and books relating to the history of Scotland, at Icolm-kil; where he caused their old library (much neglected and decayed) to be pulled down and rebuilt in a very splendid manner, for this sole use and purpose. How long they continued there, and how well that king's excellent design was answered, I know not: but it is now too sad a truth, that most of these venerable remains of antiquity are quite perished; and it is generally agreed, that they were destroyed on (16) three remarkable occasions. The first of these was, when our King Edward the First, having claimed the sovereignty of Scotland, made a most miserable havoc of the histories and laws of that kingdom; hoping that, in a short time, (17) nothing should be found in all that country, but what carried an English name and face. To this end, he forbad, on severe penalties, the keeping of any such books or records; and proceeded so far, as even to (18) abolish the very name of Claudius Cæsar in his famous round temple, which he ordered to be called, as it is to this day, Arthur's Hoff, pulling away the stone which preserved the memory of that great emperor and his conquests. That a great deal of this story is true, appears from the scarcity of Scotch records in our state-archives in England. Amongst the foreign treaties in the Exchequer, there are about 70 original instruments, bagged up and inscribed, “Scotia ante Unionem:” And in the Tower, about 100 rolls relating to the affairs of that kingdom, under the title of Scotia. The former of these (19) begin at the reign of Edward the First, and end with that of Queen Elizabeth; and the latter commences as before, but falls no lower than the reign of Edward the Fourth, the rest being to be looked for in the Chapel of the Rolls. But, these are all the produce of our own country; and, instead of enriching us with the spoils of our neighbours, seem rather to prove, that King Edward had an equal spite at the ancient records

(15) H. Boeth. lib. 10. fol. 180. b. (16) See Sir G. Mackenzy's Def. of the R. Line of Sc. p. 44. (17) Less. Hist. Scot. lib. 6. p. 226. (18) H. Boeth. lib. 14. fol. 293. a. (19) See the Report. of Records, p. 118, 119, 120, 126, 161, 162, &c.

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of both kingdoms. So little is there of apology to be made for so notorious a destroyer of the publick registers, together with the private monuments, evidences, and conveyances of lands ! I do not doubt but the reason of such barbarity has been justly enough assigned by those who represent (20) him as " Having a jealous eye over any thing that might encourage his new vassals to rebel, endeavouring to root out all memorials of the nobility, and to embase their spirits, by concealing from them their descent and qualities." I have seen a manuscript (21) list of such records as were carried off by his order. It begins, *Ista monumenta subscripta capta fuerunt in thesaurario de Edinburg in presentia Abbatum de Dunfermelyn & de S. Cruce de Edinburg, & Johannis de Lytkegranes, Guil. de Lincoln, & Tho. de Fisseburn, & Guil. de Dumfreys, custodis rotulorum regni Scotiæ ; & deposita sunt apud Berwick per præceptum Edwardi regis Angliæ, & superioris domini Scotiæ. Videlicet, &c.* After the recital of them, the catalogue ends : *In quorum omnium testimonium tam prædictus dominus rex Edwardus Angliæ, & superior dominus Scotiæ, quam prædictus dominus, Job. de Balliolo rex Scotiæ, huic scripto, in modum chirographi confecto, sigille sua alternatim fecerunt apponi. dat. apud Novum Castrum super Tynam 30 die mensis Decembris, anno dom. 1292, & regni prædicti domini Edwardi regis Angliæ & superioris domini Scotiæ, 21mo.* The second great loss of the Scotch records, happened upon the mighty turn of the reformation ; when the Monks, flying to Rome, carried with them the register-books, and other ancient treasure of their respective monasteries. The third, and killing blow, was given them by Oliver Cromwell ; who brought most of the poor remains that were left into England ; and they likewise were mostly lost in their return by sea. Of such as are yet in being, a few short hints to the reader where they may be sought for, how, and by what marks they may be known to be authentick, &c. will not be unacceptable.

Charters.

The royal charters of privileges or immunities, lands, honours, &c. when granted in parliament, or confirmed by any act of that great council, had usually the king's broad seal affixed to them : (1) on the right side whereof were also appended the seals of the ecclesiastical members, and, on the left, those of the nobility ; the instrument concluded with these, or the like words : *In quorum omnium fidem, ac corroborationem, & laudationem eorundem, præfatus supremus dominus noster rex, & regni status per se singulariter requisiti, sua sigilla, quorum nomina sigilla repræsentant, præsentibus appendi jusserunt.* These were usually prefaced with recounting of the reasons and motives inducing the prince to make such grants ; and why to such a person, or body of men. Though this be still the custom, yet it is observed, that in the main, and most valuable part, preambles have been much varied from what they were in ancient times. (2) *Sæpe enim hodie narratio hæc ex fictis & ementitis ad arbitrium impetrantis causis confarcinatur, præter antiquum principum morem ; pudebat enim antiquitatem aliquid in literis principum inserere quod cum veritate pugnaret, nos nihil pudendum pudet.*

Signatures.

Royal Signatures have their names from the ancient custom of their being signed (for now they are superscribed) with the king's own hand ; though that formality is not enough to compleat their legal being. If they contain no more than grants of temporal casualties, as wards, marriage, escheats, &c. or moveables, they pass only the privy-seal : but investments into lands, or other heritable rights, must be transmitted under the great-seal, as are likewise all commissions not allowed by statute to pass otherwise. Writs and process at law are issued under the quarter-seal ; which carries the shape of a fourth part of the great-seal. " These seals," says my (3) worthy author, " Were invented to be checks upon such as obtained gifts from the king by surreption or obreption ; that is to say, by concealing what is true, or expressing what is false : " for, even after the signature is passed the king's hand, it may be stopped in these cases." Another (4) great man, speaking of the common process in the English and Scotch courts of judicature, expresses himself thus : *Formas actionum & procedendi modum in foro, scimus omnes aliam à nobis, aliam ab illis observari ; sed, pace vicinorum nostrorum dixerim, neque temere mihi videor hæc asserere, nostras formas actionum & procedendi in judicio, omnium gentium, quas unquam vidi, formis præferendas.* Summons, or warrants to cite persons before the lords of the sessions, pass only the signet ; giv-

(20) D. Hume, Hist. of Engl. p. 2, 3. Vid. etiam Spotsw. p. 50. (21) Inter MSS. Balfour. p. D. R. S. (1) Vid. D. G. Mackenz. Herald. cap. 1. p. 7. (2) D. Th. Craig, Jus Feud. lib. 2. cap. 3. (3) D. G. Mackenz. Instit. Lib. 2. Tit. 5. p. 92, 93. (4) D. Th. Craig, in Ep. Ded. ad Jus Feud. p. 2.

ing a small impression on soft wax. This is kept by the secretaries of state, to whom it is of a PART II.
very considerable advantage.

The titles and style of the Kings of Scotland, varying in some reigns, are carefully to be heeded in all these publick instruments. King William the First had the title (5) of Defender of the Church given him by the pope; as that (6) of Protector of the Christian Faith was afterwards bestowed on James the Fourth. When our Henry the Eighth took upon himself the title of King of Ireland, it was much grumbled at by James the Fifth, who thought himself injured and incroached on (7) since (for many ages) the northern parts of that kingdom had been possessed by Scots, who had ever owned themselves subjects of the Scottish kings. The continued and lasting title of these monarchs is yet unmentioned: for, when Queen Mary moved for a fixed hereditary poll-tax to defray the charges of a standing army, pretending that this would put an end to their being harassed by the continual invasions from England, her nobility (A. D. 1556.) replied, (8) that her majesty's predecessors had always styled themselves Kings of Scots, and not Kings of Scotland; intimating that they valued themselves more upon the dutiful affection of their subjects, and their personal and ready services upon every emergent occasion, than on the wealth and extent of their country.

Anciently an authentick (9) seal of a body corporate was accepted in Scotland, as a sure testimony of such an instrument's being the genuine act of the corporation whose seal it bore: but afterwards, for the better prevention of frauds in officers, &c. the subscriptions of the several members of every such community, or the greater part of them, was always added. Nay, by the statute-laws of James the Fourth, and Fifth, it is now enacted, that no court shall admit of any deed or conveyance, as good and valid, unless it bears the grantor's manual subscription, as well as his seal; or, in case he be not scholar enough to write his own name, unless it be signed by a notary. At this day, in all matters of moment, (seisin excepted, which requires only one notary and four subscribing witnesses) two notaries are to subscribe, together with four other witnesses, where the principal party himself cannot. In many old (10) grants, another man's seal is used, where the conveyer is not master of one of his own: but, in such a case, the lender's name and other designations are always specified. The seals of the inferiour nobility, and better sort of freeholders, were in common use as early as David the First's time (11); and were then esteemed as undeniable evidence in courts of judicature; so that if a man's seal was proved, he was obliged to warrant the instrument to which it was affixed, and to submit to whatever inconveniences his own negligence, in the careless suffering of it to fall into ill hands might bring upon him. It should seem that, some time after this, the impressions on their seals, were usually cyphers, or some other conceits; rather than coats of arms, or the like known badges and distinctions of their several families. This gave occasion to that law of Robert the Third, which provides (12) *Quod quilibet Baro, vel alius tenens de rege, habeat sigillum proprium; & qui non habuerit incidet in amercium regis: & quod Sigilla sint, & non Signeta, sicut ante ista tempora fieri consuevit.* In observance of this law, (13) every gentleman, till of late it grew into disuse, sent his seal to the court in lead, which the clerk kept by him: many of which are yet in their hands.

The high court of chancery, with the proceedings in it, is (14) supposed to be one of the English customs which were brought home by King James the First; who was so happy as to be in an easy and honourable confinement here for some years, in the beginning of his reign: So that we are not to expect any records of that of a more ancient date than the said period.

Some of the (15) greatest lawyers of Scotland have acknowledged, that the clergy there were not anciently under the king's jurisdiction, but the pope's only; which is more than their neighbours will agree to, and would be a means of sending us to Rome for every bit of our instruction in the ecclesiastical history of that kingdom. But the (16) act of parliament, which provides a

(5) Heft. Boeth. lib. 13. fol. 277. b. (6) Less. Hist. Scot. lib. 8. p. 330. (7) Id. lib. 9. p. 431. (8) Id. lib. 10. p. 486. (9) D. T. Craig, Jus Feud. lib. 1. cap. 11. (10) Jus Feud. lib. 2. cap. 4. (11) Reg. Majest. lib. 3. cap. 8. (12) Statut. Rob. 3. cap. 1. Vid. & Parl. 9. Jac. 1. cap. 130. (13) D. G. Mackenz. Herald. cap. 1. p. 6. (14) D. Th. Craig, Jus Feud. lib. 2. cap. 2. (15) D. J. Skene, Not. Margin, ad. Reg. Majest. lib. 1. cap. 19. (16) Stat. Rob. 3. Cap. 6.

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Conservator Cleri, or vicar general, during the schism betwixt the Italian and French popes, seems to speak another language; and to shew, that all the powers that were ever exercised here by the Roman pontiff, were dependant on the state. The registries of the Scotch Commissariats are answerable to those of our diocesan chancellors.

Coroners.

Coroners inquests should be of an ancient date, since their office is largely prescribed in the laws attributed to (17) King Malcolm the Second; where all matters are said to be cognisable by them, which are breaches of the king's peace, and they are required to have clerks to register depositions and matters of fact, as well as verdicts of jurors.

Court
Baron.

A Court Baron in Scotland is admitted, by some learned men of the law, to be a court of record. Thus J. Skene gives his opinion: (18) "Albeit, says he, ilk lauchful court, sik as ane barron-courte, hes their awin recordes and interloquutours; in all sik actions as are intended and desired before them, and nocht advocate to ane superiour judge." The same learned person (19) observes, that the book, written in the Scotch language, which bears the title of *Modus tenendi Curias Baronum*, is of no great antiquity. In the main, it is a sort of commentary upon the *Quoniam Atachiamenta*; and the forms of process are not agreeable to those of modern use. There is in that (20) book a pleasant account of the ancient way of appealing, then called (1) Falsing of Doom, from this court, through that of the Sheriff and the Justice-Court, to the High-Court of Parliament, wherein the appellant protests, that the "dome given is evil, false, rotten, and stinkande, in the self, &c." And this he is to do, "or he steir his taes quherc his heil stude."

Regalities

A Regality is a jurisdiction with power of trying all causes, civil and criminal, treason only excepted, by their own proper officers, execution of convict persons, &c. such as was first granted to the (2) Earls of Fife by Malcolm the Third, upon his accession to the throne by the assistance of the great Mac-Duff. These belonged anciently to the ecclesiasticks; and were appropriate to all such lands as they were possessed of in property, or superiority. In the recorded sentences of these courts, and those of the itinerant justices, the historian is to seek for matters of fact in trials of notorious offenders.

Deeds of
Sale.

There are two sorts of public registries kept in Scotland, for the recording of conveyances of the lands and possessions of private subjects; whereof the one is General, and is fixed at Edinburgh for the use of the whole kingdom; the other is more particular, in the several shires, stewartries and regalities. They are not of any great age, having had their first establishment in an act of parliament (3) of King James the Sixth's reign; since which time they are the best repositories of records, relating to the history of the civil rights of the subjects of Scotland: but, some years before that, they were registered in the secretary's register. It is reported of Robert Stuart (4) Earl of Fife, second son to King Robert the Second, and, in his father's old age, Duke of Albany and regent of Scotland, that it was his custom, whenever he saw any long deed, to commend the honest simplicity of former times, when titles were transferred in fewer words; always repeating on such occasions, a charter of King Athelstane's, which was brought to him as he marched his father's army over the sands of Solway-Frith, and was in these words: "Athelstane giffx heir to Paulane Odam and Rodam als gud and als fair als euir ya myn vare, and yairto witdes Maln my wyf." Which says my author, is in Latin thus: *Ego rex Athelstanus do Paulanæ dominium de Odam & Rodam ita libere sicut ego hæc possedi; & huic dono Matildis mea uxor testimonium dabit.*

Old Laws.

I shall not dispute, whether tradition or writing preserves laws the better; nor do I much doubt, but some of the laws of Scotland have been as long kept in memory as even (5) Lycurgus's were: but in this, I presume, all are now agreed, that when they grow numerous and confused, it is the common subject's interest to have them reduced into a more easy form and method. This was projected by the Earl of Morton, some time (during King James the Sixth's minority) regent of Scotland; and he committed the task to Sir James Balfour and master J. Skene, clerk-register and

(17) LL. Malcolm. 2. cap. 3, 15 & 16. (18) De Verb. signif. in voce Recordum. (19) In fine Lib. de signif. Verb. Edit. 4to. p. 170. (20) Cap. 15. (1) In the Latin Copies falsatio Judicii. Quon. Attach. which words were changed into that of Appeal long after Parl. 6. Jac. 3. cap. 99. Like expressions of False, &c. a learned person observed in Car. Sigonius. (2) H. Boeth. lib. 12. fol. 256. a. (3) Parl. 22. Ja. 6. cap. 16. A. D. 1617. (4) J. Major. Hist. Scot. lib. 6. cap. 2. Vid. & H. Boeth. lib. 16. fol. 331. a. (5) Vid. D. G. Mackenz. Def. of R. Line, p. 16.

master of the rolls. "The work (as I am informed, says my (6) Author) was well advanced; but when he quitted his authority, they left off any farther proceeding in it. And I have heard since some question it, whether or not it would have done good to the subjects; as if it were to be doubted, whether it were better to have some order, or none at all. So apt are men to calumniate any thing that hinders their particular emolument, or limits their unwarrantable power, and curbs them from doing what they list."

The Mac-Alpine laws are reckoned by the (7) Scotch historians, as an abridgment of the voluminous statutes of former kings, with some little addition; which K. Kenneth ordered to be drawn up for the convenience and ready use of his judges. A very short manual indeed they are; the whole number of the state-ordinances being only twenty-nine, and those relating to ecclesiastical affairs not half so many. I shall not repeat the reflections made upon this report by a late (8) learned prelate of our English church: but thus much the most judicious civilians of Scotland have allowed me to say, that, though H. Boeth and others be exact in registering them, it is certain their whole authority is founded on oral tradition, if not on a more treacherous bottom: since, (9) before the days of Malcolm Canmoir, who was contemporary with our William the Conqueror, the Scots had no sort of written laws. Their kings gave judgment from some little mount, whence they could be most conveniently heard and seen by the parties concerned; which, for that reason, was commonly known by the name of the Mute-Hill: and all emergent controversies, of an inferior nature, and in common-pleas, were ended by a jury of seven, nine, eleven, thirteen, or, as was most usual fifteen, honest men of the neighbourhood. These were the ordinary judges of both law and fact; and the majority of their votes was always acquiesced in, as a definitive and final sentence. Gesner, speaking of the Mac-Alpine laws, says, they are some of those, "*Quibus per Angliam jurisconfulti utuntur*;" which blunder was occasioned by his misunderstanding of his author Bale, who writes in some of the same words, "*his in foris publicis utuntur jurisconfulti*." This was certainly meant of the men of law in the kingdom of Scotland, though the transcriber fancied he intended those of his own country; and, the truth is, he might with equal justice have asserted it of either of them.

The first authentick body of laws of the kingdom of Scotland, if even that may be justly esteemed so, is their (1) *Regiam Majestatem*; which has its name from the two first words in it, as Glanvil's book might have been called *Regiam Potestatem*. [The truth of the matter is, both these authors, if they may be said to be two, are, throughout their whole works, chiefly employed in apeing the great Justinian's Institutions; which, in like manner, begin with *Imperatoriam Majestatem*. And it is known to be the common practice of the doctors of the civil law, to make their citations sometimes by the first words of the cited chapter or book, sometimes by the figure, and often by both; the last method being intended to guard against any failure or mistake in the printer or transcriber. The compiler (2) declares that King David the First put him upon making the collection; and that it was taken out of a vast number of old law books, as a manual of the most known and common practice of the then courts of judicature. The process is generally the same in form here and in Glanvil; and the publisher (3) observes, that a deal of it is borrowed from the civil law. Some (4) particulars are not to be had in that English writer; and yet, on the other hand, there are many passages which, though a vast number of faulty copies were (5) compared, could never be set right without his help. There was an edition of this book, translated into the old Scotch language, before this, in the original Latin, by the same Sir John Skene; who frequently, in (6) his notes, refers to it, and allows it to be well done. In his preface to that he assigns the reason of the ancient laws being in Latin, because they were penned by clergymen; who desired to maintain the pope's and their own usurped authority, by "continuing both kings and their people in ignorance, which is ane great pillar of their kingdom, and so have in their awne and only power the conception and interpretation of the laws." Here are two treatises, about the Order of Process observed before the

(6) D. Hume, Hist. of Engl. Par. 2 p. 358. (7) *Legum immensa Congeries*. H. Boeth. lib. 10. fol. 200 b. primum & Sanctissimum Legum Arohetypum. (8) B. Stillingfleet, Pref. to Orig. Brit. pp. XLI, XLII. (9) Vid. D. Th. Craig, Jus Feud. lib. 1. cap. 8. & lib. 3. cap. 7. (1) Fol. Anglice. Edinb. 1609. & Lat. Lond. 1613. (2) In Præfat. (3) Fol. 14. a. (4) Lib. 1. à Cap. 28. ad finem. Lib. 2 cap. 13, 14, 15. (5) Vid. Præfat. ad Lect. p. 1. (6) Fol. 10. b. 21. a & c.

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lords of council and sessions, and concerning crimes and judges in criminal matters, which are not in the Latin. Some of the publisher's annotations, in his Latin edition, seems to have been penned in haste. For example; in the same (7) page he says *Affisa passim in his libris pro lege & constitutione sumitur*; and presently *Affisa in his libris multis modis accipitur*: which last is very true, but very inconsistent with his former assertion. Nor can any other excuse be made for a man of his great learning's being (8) at a loss for the etymology of the word *thurpanansec*. The very title of the law gives it *Byrthinfak*; and the explication of it, which immediately follows, shews that the copiers had only mistaken the Saxon *p* which is *th* for a *p*. so that here is no occasion to ramble (9) after, I know not what *pana* and *panadour* in the Gascoigne language. A very proper judge of the value of this book has rejected its authority, with indignation, in the following words: (10) "Ut caliginem nostratum omnium oculis & animis offusam, quaq; misere haftenus occæcati fuimus, detergam, assero nihil in eis libris, (speaking of the four books of Regiam Majestatem,) contineri quod ad mores nostros sive usum nostrum forensem con-ducatur, neq; unquam scriptoris illius fuisse institutum, ut aut nostris hominibus prodesset, aut leges nobis præscriberet. Autor enim eorum librorum fuit Ranulphus de Glanvilla; qui tractatum de legibus & consuetudinibus Angliæ, regnante Henrico Secundo, edidit. Hunc tractatum in tredecim libros partitus est; quem fortasse, ab initio, in quatuor tantum partes diviserat. Hi sunt illi quatuor libri qui nobis sub nomine Regiæ Majestatis obtruduntur; nam de verbo in verbum excerpti sunt et transcripti ex tredecim libris Ranulphi, licet in quatuor redacti. Aut si quis novus homo fuit, qui velut suos ostentavit manifesti furti reum esse oportet; qui aliorum scrinia & opellas in publicis nostris nudinis exposuit vendendas. Plura de his quatuor libris, & de eis quæ subsequuntur speciali opusculo [what is become of this?] post nostros has de fudis lucubrationes exponam. Sufficit hoc jam monuisse, nullo modo autoritatem eos libros habere; nihil unde causæ decisio quæri potest continere, & nunquam in foro pro authenticis consuetudinibus habendos; imo ne nominandos quidem. Si quis aliter sentiat, postquam rationes nostras perlegerit, nemini vim faciam." And, in other (11) places, he shews that several English customs are, in these books, alledged as part of the known laws of Scotland; which never had the least footing in that nation. Notwithstanding this great authority, we have a greater which establishes and effectually naturalizes this book: for, in a commission from K. Charles the First, with (12) consent of the estates of parliament, for the compiling of a new body of the laws of Scotland, particular mention is made of "the book intituled Regiam Majestatem, which contains "Ane record of the ancient laws and customs observed within the said kingdom." To which we may add that its authority is expressly asserted by (13) some acts of parliament, and that by (14) others we are referred to it for the manner of process in trespasses, essoigns, assizes, or inquests, &c. Nor did master Craig himself question its being genuine, when he wrote his (15) epigram in commendation of the publisher. Before the Regiam Majestatem we have the laws of K. Malcolm the Second; which, if rightly fathered, must be acknowledged to carry the greatest age of any in the book: but I cannot see that the statute of James the Third, referred to in the margin, proves them to be of so ancient a date, though it shews that they were looked upon as acts in force. Wards and Reliefs were hardly so old; nor were the officers of the king's household and courts of judicature so regulated, and their fees so ascertained, as here we have them. I should rather think they belong to Malcolm the Third, or Canmore: for (16) *wrang* and *unlauch* are words that were not fashionable in Scotland before his reign. Indeed the Scotch (17) Justinian allows them to be Mackenneth's: but, in this, may we not suppose that great man to have been a little too forwardly willing to catch at an argument that presented itself so openly on behalf of the great antiquity of the feudal law in that kingdom? In the Latin editions, the following treatises are subjoined to it:

(7) Fol. 71. b. (8) Fol. 52. a. 98. b. (9) Vid. Tract. de Signif. Verb. in Voce Thurpan. (10) D. Tho. Craig. Jus Feud. Lib. 1. cap. 8. p. 38, 39. (11) Ibid. Lib. 1. cap. 11. & lib. 2. cap. 6. (12) See the Catalogue of the Unprinted Acts of 1633. (13) Parl. 3. Jac. 1. cap. 54. Parl. 19. Ja. 3. cap. 155. Parl. 5. & 12. Ja. 6. (14) Parl. 2. Ja. 1. cap. 112. Parl. 9. Ja. 1. cap. 114. Parl. 6. Ja. 3. cap. 47. (15) Quod vid. Edit. Lat. præfix. (16) L. L. Malc. 2. cap. 8. (17) D. Tho. Craig. Jus Feud. lib. 1. cap. 8.

1. *Quoniam Attachiamenta*; named likewise from its first words. It has 101 short chapters, of the like contents with those in the *Regiam Majestatem*; and is supposed to be about the same age. PART II.

2. *L. L. Burgorum*, made by K. David the First at Newcastle upon Tyne; wherein are all things requisite for the good government of boroughs and market-towns, in 143 chapters. A few of the last of these are not thought to be so authentick as those in the beginning; and (18) others are expressly said to be enacted by later powers.

3. *Curia quatuor Burgorum*; being some By-laws of that court, held at Sterling in the year 1405; and an act of parliament, in 1368, to make Lanark and Lithgow two of the four, as long as Berwick and Roxbrough continued in the hands of the English.

4. *Statuta Gildæ*; made by Robert Durham, Mayor of Berwick, and his brethren in 1282. They are 46 rules for the right government of that corporation in their trade, the ordering of the river, &c.

5. K. David the First's affize about weights and measures, at Newcastle; confirmed expressly by parliament 4. Ja. 1. cap. 68.

6. *Iter Camerarii*; the process, and matters of enquiry, in the lord chamberlain's courts, in 39 chapters. Some say these were compiled, and first put in practice, in the reign of James the Third; though it is certain such courts were held long before his time.

7. *Brevis & succincta Forma Itineris seu Curiae Justiciariorum*.

8. *Statuta Wilhelmi Regis*, at several places, as Perth, Montrose, and Scone, in 39 chapters. They speak of the iron (19) and water-ordeal, as trials still in fashion.

9. *L. L. Forestarum*. They contain 22 chapters, and are ascribed to K. William the First in an old manuscript of Sir David Lindsay's; but R. Burnet (20) says the author of them is not certainly known.

10. *Statuta Alexand.* 2. in 25 chapters. They begin at 1214, the first year of his reign.

11. *Statuta Prima Rob.* 1. in 35 chapters. In (1) one of which it is ordained that the judges of all inferior courts have copies of the laws given them by the lords justices.

12. *Statuta Secunda Rob.* 1. Some of the 38 chapters here are fathered at a venture.

13. *Statuta Regis David.* 2. in 52 chapters; wherein are some good laws against pardons and dispensations.

14. *Statuta Roberti* 2. in 17 chapters.

15. *Statuta Rob.* 3. in forty five

There are a great many manuscript copies of the *Regiam Majestatem*; some whereof have other law-tracts annexed to them than are here mentioned. In (2) one of these we have these following never yet printed: 1. *In quibus Causis amittitur Feodum*. 2. *Processus Curiae purpresturae*. 3. *De Tutoribus & Curatoribus*. 4. A Scotch Treatise of 18 Rubricks. 5. *De quatuor Modis tenendi Terras de Rege*. 6. The Manner of Battail within Lifts. 7. *Notabilia quædam concernentia Iter Justiciariorum, antequam ad Iter procedat*. 8. A Treatise concerning the Procedure before the Justice-Court. 9. *De Obligatione, & eam concernentibus*. 10. Some Questions about Divorcement, &c. 11. *De ratione Cartæ Conficiendiæ*. 12. *De pregnante damnata*. 13. *Constitutio de Mercatura*. 14. Several other Constitutions. 15. The Laws and Customs of Ships. [Hear the censure which master J. Skene long since gave of this piece. "It is," says he, (3) "Ane treatise collected and written be sum particular person, quilk is not authentick, and conteinis ane brieve summe and abridgement of the auld laws, and is swa called because it conteinis the ordinances anent the customs of ships, pass and forth of this realm or arryvand to the samin, ladened with merchandise, and the form of customs, bai-h outward and inward"] 16. *Quædam Questiones Juris*. 17. The Forest Laws. It is here a large treatise; though only four leaves in the printed book. 18. *De Judicibus*. [Of this

(18) Vid cap. 135. (19) Capp. 15, & 16. (20) Præfat. ad D. Tho. Craig, Jus Feud. (2) Cap. 32. (2) In Bibl. ICC. Edinburg. (3) De Verb. Signif. Edit. 4to. p. 172.

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likewise Mr. Skene gives this indifferent character: (4) "Ane long and large rapsodie, collected furth of all the buikes conteinan the civil law of this realm. It is not authentick, but zit very profitable for exposition of findry places of the principal and authentick buikes. It is swa called, be reason the beginning thereof is, de Judice Eligendo." 19. Tailzies. 20. Leges Marchiarum. 21. Statuta Militum prædictorum. 22. Several Titles of the Acts of K. Robert the Third, not in print. 23. The Order of falling Doom. 24. Expositio quorundam Vocabulorum in Chartis. 25. Apud quem Judicem Causa Feodi debet agitari. 26. The Form and Method of Procedure in several Actions. 27. Tractatus Coronæ. 28. The Order and Manner of shewing Holding. 29. Ultima Statuta Regis Roberti Bruis. 30. Points belonging to the Wardens-Court. The chief matters, it is true, in most of these are moot-cases in the civil law: but there are also so many of the usages and customs of Scotland interspersed, that they ought not to be wholly overlooked by our historian. There is another fair copy of the Regiam Majestatem in my Lord Longueville's rich (5) library of manuscripts; which begins as the printed book, but is afterwards carried on (in Lib. 7.) in a method somewhat different. The first book contains 38 titles, and treats *de jure personarum*. The second has eight, and is *de contractibus*. The third has six, *de ultimis voluntatibus*. The fourth fifteen, *de præparatoriis judiciorum*. The fifth twenty two, *de actionibus civilibus*. The sixth seventeen, *de causis criminalibus*. The seventh three, *de remilitari*. The last of these three titles is Leges Marchiarum; which makes a distinct treatise in the manuscript at Edinburgh: and so most, if not all, of the forementioned are here taken into the body of the book. In the same (6) place there is a third copy agreeing more with the print; in the conclusion whereof is this note, *Expliciunt constitutiones regni Scotiæ editæ per David regem Scotiæ quæ intitulantur quatuor libri seu quatuor partes regis majestatis, scriptæ per me M. A. 5to Junii, 1570.* The *formæ literarum cancellariæ*, mentioned in the (7) Oxford-Catalogue, are constitutions made by some of the James's; probably the first of that name. Some of the titles of them are these, Breve Inquisitionis post Mortem Alicujus; Saisina post dictam Inquisitionem, quam Terræ tenentur de Rege; Breve quod dicitur Furche, directum Baroni vel Domino Superiori; Breve de Aquæductu, &c. There is a fourth manuscript copy of these laws in the library of the Right Reverend the present Lord Bishop of Norwich; the contents whereof are particularly recited in the printed (8) catalogue, and are, all of them, the same with some of those already mentioned; unless perhaps the 18th title may be different, which is said to treat de Legibus Feneffe. I suspect it ought to be de Legibus Mackeunath.

Acts of
Parliament.

The Scotch acts of parliament lay long unregarded in the rolls and archives of the state, till they were collected and published (in an old black letter, whence they had the name of the Black Statutes) by one Leprevick: after whom J. Skene, at the (9) special instance and command of K. James the Sixth, caused the (10) acts of James the First, and his successors, as low as the end of the year 1597.) to be printed together; and there have been since added to these the acts of succeeding parliaments. in such order of time as they were severally passed.

There are several things in the black letter acts which are omitted in the following editions. Particularly, two statutes made in the year 1567, wherein those were published: whereof one is "Anent the Retention of our Sovereign Lords Mothers Person;" and the other "Anent the Keeping of the Kings Mother in the House and Fortalice of Lochlevin." These were printed by Robert Leprevick fore-mentioned, in pursuance of an act of council empowering "Edward Haryson LL. D. to prent and sell the laws and acts of parliament of Scotland, that is to say, the books of the law called Regiam Majestatem &c." This licence is dated Jun. 1. 1566.

• See the
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Though the Regiam Majestatem, which, by the way is observable, be here reckoned within the grant, and as part of the old laws, yet the print gives only the acts of Ja. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. and Queen Mary; whose parliament is held A. D. 1564. and * subscribed by Ja. Balfour clerk of

(4) De Verb. Signif. Edit. 4to. p. 172. (5) Vid. MSS. Yelverton, in Catal. Oxon. Num. 55. (6) Ibid Num 36. (7) Ibid Num. 37. (8) Vid. Catal. MSS. Oxon Tom. 2. Par. 1. inter MSS. D. Ep. Norvic. Num. 225. (9) Vid. Præfat. ad Reg. Maj. (10) Folio Edin. 1597.

the register, as the preceding is by Ja. M'gill; before whom no such officer appears in the conclusion of any acts of parliament. After this follow the acts of Ja. 6. A. D. 1566, and 1567, subscribed by Ja. M'gill, who seems to have been sometime turned out of his office, and restored, by Queen Mary. Subjoined to the queen's licence, is her commission to a good many lords and others, amongst whom are John [Lesley] Bishop of Ross, Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich, Mr. David Chalmer Chancellor of Ross, and Mr. Edward Henrison LL. D. or any six of them, conjointly to correct the laws, &c. beginning at the Regiam Majestatem. Next to this there is a preface to the reader, wherein the bishop of Ross, lord of the privy council and college of justice, is particularly commended for his moving this publishing of the laws: as is likewise Sir James Balfour for "making the registers, wherein the particular acts were, patent; and that at all tymes without regard to his own perticuler affairs and profet."

The lords of the Session or the college of justice, as it now stands, were instituted by King James the Fifth and his parliament, in the year (11) 1532, when the number of these judges, the place of their judicature, and the times, or terms of their trying of causes, were first fixed. The first court of session was erected by King James the First, who ordained, (12) "That his chancellor, and with him certain discreet persons of the three estates, to be chosen and depure be our soveraine, lorde the king sall sit fra thine fourth three times in the zeir, quhair the king likis to command them: quhilk sall knaw and examine, conclude and finally determine all and findrie complaints, causes, and quarrelles, that may be determined before the king and his counsell. The words finally determine are (13) afterwards explained to be but ony remeid of appellation to the king or the parliament. Before this institution, the Justice-Court was (under the parliament) the supreme court for shires, and the Chamberlain-Court for burroughs. The Second session, by the name of Dayly Counsel, was instituted by (14) James the Fourth; and was to consist of certain persons chosen by the king to sit dayly at Edinburgh, or elsewhere as he should appoint, &c. but this had no effect. The Third and last, which continues to this day, was finally fixed in (15) 1537, and yet the journal book of that court, which they call the books of Sederunt mention the same lords to be sitting in 1532, whom the parliament (16) afterwards appoints to that office in 37. This difficulty is taken off by those who tell us, that the institution was first recorded in that parliament, which likewise has established the rules of court; but it was in being, and use, some years before. Hereupon, the solemn judgments, and sentences given in law-causes, began to be collected by several persons of eminence in the profession; some whereof were such as had sat on the bench, and others had pleaded at the bar. These Practiques, as they call them, a word of the same import with that of Reports in England, were, for a long time, the sole directors of the young students in the laws of Scotland; and truly some of them were but very uncertain guides. The most ancient were those of Balfour, Ledington, Weems and Hamilton; which were frequently so ill copied, that hardly any (17) sense could be made of them. Sir Thomas Hope, some time the king's advocate, and Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie, one of the lords of the session, were persons of extraordinary judgment and skill, in matters of their profession; and have left accurate states of the tried causes of their time. In all these, the Civil Law, strictly so called, is so entirely the rule of all proceedings in the court, where the statutes of the realm are deficient that, as a great (18) judge himself owns, the acts of parliament are almost the only proper laws of that kingdom. Several new rules of court, for the laying aside vexatious and dilatory process, were made in (19) 1555, at the instigation of H. Sinclair Dean of Glasgow, at that time vice president. The reader, by the way, ought to take notice, that though the word *pratique* be commonly applied to such judiciary determinations of cases as these, yet it is sometimes taken in a more extended sense: thus Sir Thomas Hope's (20) Minor Practiques gives only short rules for pleadings; whereas his (21) larger confirms the said rules by authorities, and the solemn opinions of the Judges. Balfour's are a body of old Scotch laws; and so are Durie's, or Gibson's.

(11) J. Less. H. Scot. lib. 9. p. 416. (12) Parl. 3. Ja. 1. cap. 65. (13) Parl. 14. Ja. 2. cap. 63. (14) Parl. 6. Ja. 4. cap. 48. (15) Parl. 5. Ja. 5. cap. 36. &c. (16) Ejsd Parl. cap. 41. (17) R. Burnet, in Prefat ad Jus Feud. p. 2. (18) D. Tho. Craig, Jus Feud. lib. 1. cap. 8. p. 39. (19) J. Less. Hist. Scot. lib. 10. p. 483. (20) MS. in 16to. (21) MS. Fol.

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Balfour's
Practiques

Without such a caution as this, an Englishman, or other stranger to the law-proceedings of Scotland, will be a little surprised to find such a word made use of to denote even the theory-part of the profession. For example, There is a curious (1) manuscript volume which carries the title of Balfour's Practiques, in golden letters on the back-side of its cover: but how it comes by such an inscription, there is no sort of indication within. From the subscription in the end, (for it has no title-page) one would rather guess it to have been the work of another person. For thus it concludes:

Archd. Finis propositi, laus Christi nescia finis. Allane. But, Archibald Allane was certainly no more than the transcriber; as Robert Douglas appears to be of two other tracts in the same volume, of the former whereof we shall say more anon. These Practiques are a treatise of 469 folio leaves: and (on a blank page in the beginning) there is this note, by one who well knew what authority he had for suffering it to carry the name of Balfour.

Presented to the Duke of Lauderdale, by his
Grace's most humble servant,

14th Dec. 1676.

Geo. Mackenzie.

There are in it above 160 titles, subdivided into chapters. The titles run thus: 1. Of the Law. 2. Of the King. 3. The King's Secret Council and Household. 4. Of Sheriffs. 5. Of the trew and Halie Kirk and Kirk-men. 6. Of Baronies. 7. Of Burrow-Laws. 8. Of Gild-Laws, &c. The first of these (to give the reader also a sample of them) includes these twelve chapters: 1. The Division of the Law. 2. Be quhome and to quhat End Lawis ar made. 3. The thrie Estiatis Allennarlie may mak Laws. 4. Of the Publication and Observatioun of the Lawis. 5. That all the Actis be copiet for the Clerk of the Register and Proclomit. 6. Quhome be the Actis of Parliament sould be Proclomit. 7. Actis of Parliament beand published, has the Strenthe of Law. 8. That the Actis of Parliament sould be imprinted. 9. That nane interprete the Kingis Statutes. 10. Anent the Execution of the Actis and Statutes. 11. Anent the Breakeris of the Actis of Parliament. 12. That all the Kingis Liegis lieve and be governit be the Lawis of the Realme. In the same volume there is a small treatise (of nine leaves) which, on the back-side of the book, bears the title of the Old Sea-Law. Its margin (which is pretty large) is crowded with quotations out of the admiralty-laws of France, Denmark, &c. and its titles or chapters are these: 1. The Sowme and Ordour of this Treatise. 2. Of the Judge Ordinair to Sea-fair Cauffis, and his Power and Jurisdiction. 3. Of the Admirall Clerk. 4. Anent Advocatis in the Admirall-Court, and thair Officiaris thair. 5. The Manner and Form of Proceedings in Sea-fair Cauffis. 6. Anent Persons Ordinair in Schippis. 7. Of Frauchting of Schippis. 8. Of the Maister of the Schip, his Power and Dewty thair anent. 9. Of the Dewty of the Maister to the Merchand and Passenger, and of his Priviledgis. 10. The Maisteris Dewty to the Marineris. 11. Marineris their Dewty and Priviledgis. 12. Of the Clerk of ane Schip. 13. Off a Pilot or Steiris-man. 14. Off Money lent one or to the Sea. 15. Off the Outreadieris of Schippis, and of Actionis baythe for and against theme, and off discordis amangis themselfis. 16. Off Contributionis, and first of Guidis Cassin. 17. Off Contributionis for Pyrates. 18. Off Contribution for spilt Gear. 19. Off Contributionis for lighting of Schippis, and for other Chancis. 20. Off the common Manner of Contribution, and Execution thaireof. 21. Off Priviledgit Schippis. 22. Anent Shipwrack. 23. Off all thingis found (and of gear takin) on the Sea, or within the Flood thair of.

Sir Geo.
Mac-
kenzie.

The sum of whatever is to be found, in all these volumes, relating to criminal matters, is judicially collected (and placed under proper heads and titles) by the late learned Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, in his excellent treatise of the (2) Laws and Customs of Scotland in Matters Criminal; the first whereof treats of the crimes themselves, and the second of the several judicatures wherein they are cognisable. To this is now fitly added another (no

(1) Inter MSS. D. Sa. Pepys, Arm. (2) 4to. Edinb. 1678, and Fol. ibid. 1699.

less learned) discourse of Mutilation and Demembration, by Sir Alexander Seton of Pitmedden, Baronet; who likewise accurately compares the laws and customs of Scotland, with those of other nations, both in defining the nature, and awarding the punishments of these crimes: and to both are subjoined Sir George's observations on the act against (3) dispositions made in defraud of creditors, &c. much of a kind with what our English lawyers call readings on the like subjects. With these let us remember the (3) institution of the laws of Scotland, by the same late worthy advocate; who herein observes the method of Justinian and our Bracton, giving an account of persons, rights, and actions, in a very agreeable order. They that have been conversant in the municipal laws of England, may (by what's here advanced) easily discern what harmony there is betwixt those and the laws of Scotland. The advocate indeed tells us, that their common-law is the same with the imperial or civil; which is always valid where neither statute nor custom are against it. The Scotch acts of Sederunt are the same with our rules of court; their proclamations revive obsolete statutes, and so do ours; their letters of advocacy are all one with our prohibitions; the Archbishop of St. Andrews's commissars at Edinburgh are equal to our judges of prerogative courts; their secret examination of married women in passing of fines, agree with our practice; and their Jus Relictæ (their terces, and our thirds) are alike in both nations. Their wadsets and reversion differ no more from our mortgage and defeazance, than their poinding of goods after letters of horning, varies from our execution upon an outlawry: nor does the king's remission there free from assything, any more than his pardon here forecloses an appeal.

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After these, J. Skene's useful book (4) *De Verborum Significatione* ought to have a very special remembrance. It is an alphabetical exposition of the law-terms of Scotland; of the same nature with Sir H. Spelman's Glossary. In his larger discourses on several of the most considerable courts and offices (as those of itinerant judges, sheriffs, &c.) he states the law out of the *Regiam Majestatem*, and the annexed old treatises; to which he gives a much greater authority than is allowed them by some later writers. Several cases, out of the decrees of lords of council and session, are occasionally cited; and many difficulties, in the abstruse points of the Scotch law, are fairly examined and removed. The learned author (a good while after the first publishing of this work) was knighted. He had been employed in public embassies at several courts abroad; and, at home, was made lord-register: which (as a modern (5) writer tells us) is the best post in the kingdom; if the honour, profit, and interest in the government, which it brings him that has it, be jointly considered.

J. Skene.

The incomparable Th. Craig's (6) *Jus Feudale* will be a lasting monument of the extraordinary learning of its great author. The worthy publisher of his book, who was his grandson, (7) gives the reader a good account of the writer's great abilities and uncommon modesty: and himself (8) acquaints us best with the design and method of the undertaking. It seems to have been intended as a preparative to the most longed-for union of the two kingdoms, by removing (the main obstacle) that general prejudice which had then gotten into the heads of some of the most eminent men of the long robe, in both nations; that our laws and government were so fundamentally opposite, as never to be reconciled and made one. He shews that (9) neither of us had the feudal law before the eleventh century; and that the conquest first brought it into England, a little while after the Scots (who still retain it in a greater purity) had the knowledge of it. How this agrees with his acknowledging the laws of Malcolm the Second to be authentic, I cannot see; and yet that opinion of his is backed by a learned foreigner (Bassanage) in his (10) *Commentary upon the reformed Customs of Normandy*, who thinks the feudal law is of a greater age in Scotland than in his own country. The whole is divided into three books; whereof the first treats of the nature of feudal tenures; the second, of the several ways of acquiring such rights; and the third, of those of losing them.

T. Craig.

(3) Parl. 23. Ja. VI. (4) Fol. Edinb. 1597, in the end of the statutes. It. 4to. Lond. 1641. (5) G. Redpath, in *Epist. Ded. Tract. de Homin.* (6) Fol. Lond. 1655. (7) R. Burnet. *Præf. ad Lect.* p. 3. (8) In *Epist. Ded. & alibi.* (9) Lib. 1. cap. 7. pp. 29, 30. (10) *Impress.* 1678. p. 356.

PART
II.
DeHomi-
nio.

There is another elaborate treatise of the same author's composition, which bears the short title De Hominio; proving that the kings of Scotland never paid, nor owed any homage to those of England. This was penned in Latin, a little before the happy union of the two crowns in King James the Sixth's reign; whose peaceful accession to the English throne seems to have inclined the author to lay it aside, and it has ever since continued in (11) private, till Mr. Rymer lately occasioned its being translated into English, and published by the name of (12) Scotland's Sovereignty asserted. Our English historiographer had unluckily printed a pretendedly ancient form of homage, said to have been done by King Malcolm the Third to our Edward the Confessor; and, to take off all objections that might be started about the intent of the publisher, it was alledged, that this was only a fore-runner of some volumes of public treaties which would shortly be sent abroad. It was an unhappy stumble at the threshold, to begin the work with such a counterfeit monument as this; which (13) Mr. Redpath (the translator of Mr. Craig's book) has deservedly exposed, and convicted of several notorious and undeniable marks of forgery. To prevent any calumny that might hereafter be raised, of the like kind, it was thought convenient to publish this book in the English tongue, that the subjects of both kingdoms might discern on what equal terms their ancestors stood. The author proves, that homage and liege-fees were not known in this part of the world, before the days of Charles the Great; nor was there a king in England big enough to demand any such thing, before Egbert. The testimonies which our historians give of the matter, ought (he thinks) to be rejected; as being monkish, domestick, and partial. Having abundantly shewn, that the realm of Scotland could not possibly be a fee held in vassalage under England, because of the constant enmity of the two nations; the rest of his pains (in convincing us that neither the ancient Britains, Saxons or Normans, were ever such superior lords of that kingdom, as our men have pretended) might have been spared: but it must be acknowledged, that he is learned even in his arguments against Brutus and Clotenius, and that his weapons are solid and substantial where he fights only with shadows and hobgoblins. He is every where much too hard for (his adversary) the English historian; whom he treats a little scurvily, for daring to meddle with the nature of tenures and the feudal law, things so very much out of his road, and above his reach. He should, however, have taken notice, that the first book of the description of Britain (to the 22d chapter whereof, his book is intended for an answer) was written by W. Harrison, chaplain to my Lord Cobham, and not by R. Hollinhead; and therefore the latter ought not to have been chastised at such an unmerciful rate, for the blunders of his friend. He (14) asserts (somewhat too roundly) that, from the end of Bede's age, to the time of Henry the First, the English have no certain history; but it appears that he had no opportunity of being acquainted with the Saxon Chronicle, &c. and therefore derides Florence of Worcester's quoting the text of the English Chronicles. The very preface to Malmesbury's first book De Gestis Regum, which seems to have been his chief authority in this point, might have prevailed with him to believe that such chronicles were in being: nor can I imagine how he (15) came to think that this preface was written by some other person than the author of the following book, since it runs in his name and style. Certainly, a bare prefacer (who had only handed that author's work to the public) would never have expressed himself in this manner: *Quicquid de recentioribus etatibus apposui, vel ipse vidi, vel à (fide dignis) audiui.*

MSS. on
the same
subject.

There are in England a great many treatises and papers which endeavour to support the argument on the other side; as very agreeable, in sundry junctures, to the will and inclinations of several of our kings. In the famous Cottonian Library, we meet with the five following: 1. (16) Excerpta ex Mariano Scoto, Rogero de Hovedon, Guilielmo de Malmesbury, de Jure Regis Angliæ ad Terram Scotiæ sub se & de se tenendam. 2. (17) Origo & Processus Gentis

(11) MS. in Bibl. ICC. Edinburg. & penes D. Rad. Thoresby, de Leeds. (12) 8vo. Lond. 1695. (13) In Præfat. XXIII. &c. (14) Cap. 5. (15) Vid. p. 132. (16) Julius D. VI. 1. (17) Nero, E. V. 2.

Scotorum; ac de Dominio & Superioritate quæ, ex Antiquissimis temporibus & a primævo, PART II.
 habuerunt Inclyti Reges Angliæ super Regnum illud. This book belonged heretofore to the illustrious Humphrey Duke of Gloucester. 3. (18) *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, incipiens à Bello quod Angli gesserunt in Scotia, viz. 28mo. Anno Regis Edvardi Primi, ad annum 1300. Ubi de Superioritate Regis Angliæ in Scotos agitur; insertis Literis Bonifacii P. ad illum Regem pro Scotis, cum Epistola Responsoris Magnatum Angliæ ad Papum. It is all published by Prynne. 4. (19) *De Jure Superioritatis Regum Angliæ in Regnum Scotiæ*, ex Annalibus Prioratus S. Manæ de Huntingdon. 5. (20) *De Concilio Prælatorum & Magnatum Angliæ*, habito apud Norhamiam super Twedam: quod convocavit R. Edv. 1. de Jure Regum Angliæ in Scotiam. In the (1) Norfolk library, there is also a treatise on the debate, *Quare Jus habet Rex Angliæ ad Terram Scotiæ*. It begins, *Anno Domini Nongentesimo, Edvardus Monarcha, &c.* which looks, as if the author himself had lived in that king's time, and before the end of the thirteenth century. Amongst a deal of tracts, relating to the affairs of several foreign nations, in a (2) volume of my Lord Longueville's, are these concerning Scotland. 1. *Malcolmi Homagium factum Edvardo Filio Ethelredi*, A. D. 1043. It is the very same with that published by Mr. Rymer, and will afford new matter for the antiquaries to wrangle about. For the date of this, without more ado, proves it could not be made by King Malcolm the Third, though it might be to Edward the Confessor. 2. *Homagium Johannis Ballioli*, A. D. 1296. 3. *Homagium Roberti Bruis*, A. D. 1319. 4. *Remissio sive Relaxatio facta Regibus Scotiæ de fidelitate facta Regibus Angliæ*, A. D. 1340. 5. *Homagium David Regis, cum Clausula de non Obstantibus omnibus & singulis Relaxationibus, quietis Clamationibus, Remissionibus, & aliis quibuscunq; per Reges Angliæ in contrarium Regibus Scotiæ ante factis sive concessis*. It bears date in the XXVIth year of Edward the Third, and the year of our Lord MCCCXLVI; which can never be rightly jumped together. In the Tower at London there is likewise a manuscript (3) book, entitled, *Homagium & Servitia, in quibus Scotia ab Anglia pendet*. Amongst those of my Lord Bishop of Norwich, (4) *De honore & conductu qui fieri solet Regi Scotiæ quoties venerit in Angliam ad mandatum Regis Angliæ*. John Harding's character, and his inveterate hatred against the whole Scotch nation, has been remarked in the first part of the English Library: so that the reader will be prepared to judge of his (5) *History of the Homage of that Kingdom*, if he chances to meet with it. John Leland was as warm a gentleman as the former; and his discourse, (6) *De Imperio Anglorum in Scotos*, will not be of much greater authority.

Give me leave to conclude this chapter of law-writers, (and indeed the whole work, so far as refers only to the paper-monuments of the kingdom of Scotland) with those that have obliged us with discourses on the union of the two kingdoms. These were most fashionable and numerous upon the accession of King James the Sixth to the crown of England: But (long before that time, even in 1548) one James Harrison wrote a book on that subject, and dedicated it to the Duke of Somerset, at that time protector of the English crown and kingdom. This I take to be the same, which was (7) printed soon after King James's coming into England, under the title of, *A Treatise of the Union of the two Realms of England and Scotland*; said in the title-page to be written by J. H. The next year, (8) another was published under the name of John Bristol, written by John Thornborough, Bishop of Bristol and Dean of York, which was called, *The joyful and blessed Re-uniting, &c.* Some (9) expressions in it were thought to reflect on the honour of the two houses of parliament, and were complained of before the lords; but the matter was quickly dropped. It came out afterwards, with a new dress and title, *A Discourse shewing the great Happiness that hath, and may still accrue to his Majesty's Kingdoms of England and Scotland, by re-uniting them into one Great-Britain*, in two parts; the author behaving himself very well in both, both as a bishop and a statesman. This was soon after translated into

(18) *Vespasianus*, A. IX. 4. (19) *Titus*, A. XIII. 3. (20) *Titus*, D. XXII. 20. (1) *Vid. Catal. Oxon. Tom. 2. par. 1. Numb. 3112.* (2) *Ibid. Num. 5408. (Vid. etiam & Tom. 2. Par. 2. Num. 311.)* (3) *Ibid. Num. 5777.* (4) *Ibid. Num. 9568.* (5) *Vid. J. Pitt's de Scrip. Angl. p. 653, 654.* (6) *Ibid. p. 744.* (7) 8vo, Lond. 1604. (8) 4to, Lond. 1605. (9) *Vid. Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 3.*

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II.

Latin, and reprinted at Edinburgh. About the same time, Mr. Thomas Craig is said to have written his book *De Unione*; wherein (as (10) one expresses it) he has, with all the strength of reason, wit, and eloquence, demonstrated the necessity and expedience thereof. He had, no doubt, fully considered what was fit to be said on the subject; himself being (11) one of the thirty commissioners appointed by parliament in 1604, to treat on it in England. But I guess he never wrote any more on that subject, than what has been already taken notice of in his book *De Successione*. For, though I was frequently assured there was such a treatise in the libraries of Edinburgh and Glasgow, I could not possibly meet with it. Sir Francis Bacon's, (12) with several speeches of some of the English peers, to the same purpose, had several impressions: but Sir Henry (13) Savil's (written at the particular request of the king, and for his majesty's own use) was not permitted to be made so common. The Scotch gentlemen appeared as vigorous in furthering this good work as the English; and kept pace with our men in publishing their thoughts. R. Pont (writing himself Pontanus) was, as I take it, the first that openly engaged in it; printing his sentiments in a small treatise (14) *De Unione Britannicæ*. This learned person was minister at St. Cuthbert's, commonly called the West-Kirk, in Edinburgh, and afterwards one of the lords of the session; father to Tim. Pont, the great chorographer of Scotland. He was soon followed by the eloquent D. Hume, who favoured the public with the former part of a discourse, *De* (15) *Unione Insulæ Britannicæ*. This is written in a clear Latin style, such as the author was eminent for, and is dedicated to the King. It shews how great an advantage such an union would bring to the island in general; and, in particular, to the several nations and people of England and Scotland; and answers the objections against the change of the two names into that of Britain, the alteration of the regal style in writs and process of law, the removal of the parliament and other courts into England, &c. His second part (in reply to an occasional speech made in our English parliament) is still (16) in manuscript. Nor was Ireland wholly unconcerned in this grand debate of the time: for, there W. Clerk wrote his (17) *Ancillans Synopsis*, which disputes this question; but as it should seem with no such strength of reason as to be much coveted by the public.

These gentlemen have set their names to their several performances: but others have obliged the two nations, without letting either of them know who were their benefactors. Of this tribe, I suppose, the author of a Treatise on the Union, in the same volume with (1) Sir Henry Savil's forementioned; another in the (2) library at Caius-College in Cambridge; a third in (3) Mr. Bromley's; and a fourth in my Lord (4) Longueville's. This last begins with a dry panegyrick in commendation of unity, stuffed with Aristotle's metaphysical distinction of *Unum Transcendentale*, &c. In answering the common objections against the modish project, he shews, that diversity of laws cannot be any bar against finishing the design; since the several countries of Britain may still be governed by their ancient customs, as Wales and the Dutchy of Lancaster (though parts of England) are by theirs; that trade must be improved when staples are erected in Scotland, and their commodities brought hither, the marshes peopled and brought into right culture, &c. In the same library there is an account of a conference betwixt the two houses of parliament in England (Feb. 25, 1606) upon the question, "Whether the Scots, born since the decease of Q. Elizabeth, were aliens or no?" The commons maintaining the negative side. Here are only two arguments, one by Judge Popham, and the other by Sir Edward Cook, for the affirmative.

(10) G. Redpath, in *Præfat. ad Tract. de Homin. p. XXXI.* (11) R. Burnet, *Præfat. ad Jus Feud. p. 3.* (12) (12) 4to. Lond. & Edinb. (13) Manuscript. in *Hyper. Bodl. Oxon.* (14) 8vo. Edinb. 1604. (15) 4to. Lond. 1605. (16) Penes D. R. Sibbald. (17) Manuscript. in *Bibl. Coll. Trin. Dublin.* (1) *Vid. Catal. MSS. Oxon. Tom. 1. Par. 1. Num. 3499.* (2) *Ibid. Par. 3. Num. 1187.* (3) *Ibid. Tom. 2. Par. 1. Num. 3981.* (4) *Ibid. Num. 5367 in Bibl. Yelverton. vol. 129.*

C H A P. VII.

Of the Medals and Coins of SCOTLAND.

THERE are not many Scotch coins found on the borders of the two kingdoms, notwithstanding the frequent conflicts that have happened there : and one great reason, why they are more rarely met with than the English is, because (as our Edward the Second observed in his (5) speech) the kings of Scotland used not, in old time, to pay their armies, but every man followed at his own expence, and carried his own provisions. He that wrote the short catalogue of the king's prefixed to H. Boethius's history (I speak thus doubtingly of it, because it could not be written by that historian himself, since it concludes with Queen Mary's two husbands) affirms roundly, that there was no coined money in the days of K. Reutha ; but that all manner of payments of wages, or prices, were made in corn or beef. In the (6) history itself this king is said to have ordered the salaries of men of different professions in a certain and critical manner ; so as that a counsellor at law was to have the Ox's tongue, the physician two ribs out of each of his sides, &c. Bishop (7) Lesly indeed reports this matter much otherwise ; and assures us that King Reutha coined money of leather, " Numum ex corio bubulo cudi jussit : " but, long after this, the Brigantes are (8) said to have been strangers to the use of any sort of coin ; their whole treasure (in Caractacus's reign) being in re pecuria, in their stocks of cattle.

We are told that (9) Brudus, King of the Picts, sent a considerable sum [*missa ad eum ingenti pecunie vi*] to the Saxon King Edwine, as his stipendiary against the Scots : but, whether this was of his own or some foreign coin, we are not informed. Picts.

It is probable enough, that some sort of coined money they had, even long before that time, if their neighbours the Scots were made acquainted with the thing as early as K. Donald the First's days. And so says (10) H. Boethius, whose very expressions are mostly transcribed by the following historians, and are these : *Donaldus, primus omnium Scotorum regum ut in nostris annalibus proditum est memoria, nummum argenteum aureumq ; signavit, una parte salutiferæ crucis, altera sui ipsius effigie expressa, quo susceptæ à se primum inter Scotos reges christianæ pietatis memoriam ad posteros propagaret. Enimvero nostrates antea aut nulla pecunia signata, sed ejus loco mercibus commutationis causa, aut Romana aut Britannica, in commerciis utebantur.* He proves the latter part of this story from great quantities of Roman money found in Fife, and other parts of the kingdom ; but his authorities for the rest, which is of chief concern to us, are omitted. K. Donald

I do not much doubt, but that these parts of Great Britain have all along maintained their commerce, and may they ever continue to do so, in the same methods and fashion with those that are more southern : so that the value of money, and the prices of goods, have generally been at a par, amongst the several nations which anciently inhabited this island. An early instance we have of this in the (11) laws of King Malcolm the Second ; wherein a colpendach (or young heifer) is valued at thirty-pence ; the very same price which is set on an ox in some of our (12) Saxon laws, which are supposed to have been enacted about the same time. Malcolm II.

How long the Scots have coined gold is very uncertain ; though I think, we may in the gross venture to affirm, that they hardly did it before the English : and we have elsewhere ascribed the beginning of the matter there to King Edward the Third. What the (13) Nummus Aureus was, which Malcolm Canmoir appointed to be paid in lieu of that obscene privilege given to the grantees of Scotland, by Euenus the Third, upon their marriage of their tenants and vassals, I cannot certainly tell ; though my author says, it was of the same kind with what (in his own time) was well enough known by the name of Marcheta. *Dimidiata Argenti Marca*, is the expression Gold.

(5) J. Major. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 5. (6) H. Boeth. lib. 2. fol. 20. a. (7) Hist. Scot. Lib. 2. p. 24. (8) H. Boeth. lib. 3. fol. 46. a. (9) H. Boeth. lib. 10. fol. 194. a. (10) Id. lib. 5. fol. 86. b. Lesl. lib. 2. p. 109. and Buchanan. lib. 6. p. m. 175, says, Sterling money was first coined by Donald the Fifth, about the middle of the ninth century. (11) LL. Malc. 2. cap. 3, 7, 8. (12) Vid. LL. ASS. Edit. Wheloc. p. 96. (13) H. Boeth. lib. 3. fol. 35. a.

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he (14) elsewhere uses ; and I suppose this may suit the thing better than Nummus Aureus. The five last chapters in the Regiam Majestatem are observed to be of a suspected authority ; or otherwise, we might seem to have a pretty good evidence of King David the First's coining of gold : for thus runs one of the laws, (15) *Pro vulnere in facie vulnerans dabit unam peciam Auri, videlicet, unam imaginem Auri.* These are all uncertainties.

Before we enter upon the times wherein we have better light, it will be convenient to observe two things to the reader. 1. That the proportion betwixt gold and silver, in the kingdom of Scotland, has usually been as one to twelve ; so that when the ounce of gold was at three pounds, the ounce of silver went at five shillings, &c. This is more particularly cleared in a manuscript note of (16) Sir James Balfour's, which he had called " Pryffes of the Cunzie in the hail Tyme of Ja. 1. Ja. 2. Ja. 3. Ja. 4. Ja. 5. and Queine Marey. A. D. 1437," (says that note) King James the First, at his death, had a standard equal to that of England : silver was at five shillings (Scots) the ounce, and gold at 3l. A. D. 1440, King James the Second raised silver to 8s. the ounce ; and gold to 4l. 19s. A. D. 1469, James the Third raised the silver first to 10s. 8d. and the gold to 5l. Afterwards he again mounted the ounce of silver to 12s. in November 1475 ; but in February 1483, he reduced it to 11s. 8d. the gold he advanced to 6l. A. D. 1489, James the Fourth kept both at the last-mentioned value. There are no remaining acts of council concerning coinage in King James the Fifth's time ; though great alterations were made in that reign. The Douglas groats of 10d. fine, and babies of 3d. fine, were then brought in use ; as were likewise the bonnet pieces of gold. He left the ounce of silver at 10s. 9d. and of gold at 12l. A. D. 1542, in Queen Mary's time, the ounce of silver rose to 30s. and she coined placks of only 2d. fine, at 4l. 16s. the ounce. 2. Another thing whereof I am to admonish the reader is, that he will find the weight of the gold and silver in the following account of the coins of both metals, computed by different standards. In the former is observed that of the goldsmiths of Edinburg ; who divide their ounce into sixteen drops, and their drop into 36 grains, 27 of their grains making our penny-weight. In weighing of the silver coins, I have kept to our common English weights, by ounces, penny-weights, and grains. The reason of this difference, is, because all the golden coins are now in the possession of my worthy and communicative friend, Mr. James Sutherland ; who was pleased nicely to examine their several weights by the standard of his own country. Most of the silver pieces are in the hands of the most Reverend Father in God, the present Lord Archbishop of York ; and his grace, amongst the many generous acts of favour which I have had from him, has kindly obliged me with his own most learned and curious remarks upon them. These two things premised, I begin the Scottish coins in gold.

K. Rob. II. These, as I take it, cannot be carried higher than the sovereignty of the Royal Family of the Stewarts : the eldest golden coin of Scotland seeming to be no older than the reign of King Robert the Second. To this Prince, I suppose, belong the three following :

1. The Scotch lion within a shield crowned, a small circle about the shield, and *Robertus Dei Gratia Rex Scot.* R. St. Andrew on the cross, betwixt two flower-de-lys's with *Dns. Protector MS. & Libera.* Weight 1 dr. 9 gr.

2. Another differs only in the words *Liberato* and *Scoto*, and the weight is but one dr.

3. The Scotch lion in a shield not crowned. *Robertus Dei G. Rex. n̄ Sco.* R. Sco. R. St. Andrew's cross, with two flower-de-lys's and two trefoils. *Dns. Protector MS.* W. 20 gr.

Rob. III.

The five next I guess to belong to Robert the Third ; since they carry a motto on the reverse, which was not, I think, more early in this isle. King Henry the Fifth was the first that bore it in England. It is true (17) Le Blanc gives this motto on a coin which he ascribes to King Lewis the VIIth, which would carry the antiquity of such an inscription somewhat higher : but he that curiously examines that coin, will find the shield of the royal arms enclosed in a rose not used in England before Edward the Third's time : And, if the fashions of money were brought from France hither, as perhaps every body will allow, yet I think all agree, that we followed their ex-

(14) H. Boeth. lib. 12. fol. 260. a. Vid. & Reg. Majest. lib. 4. cap. 31. (15) Reg. Majest. lib. 4. cap. 40. v. 7. (16) Penes D. Rob. Sibbald. (17) *Traité Historique des Monnoyes de France*, 4to, Amsterd. 1692. p. 154.

ample always pretty early, as the Scots did ours. So that it may be worth the considering anew, whether this coin be truly so old as Le Blanc puts it. PART II.

1. The Scotch lion, within a shield crowned, *Robertus Dei Gra. Rex Scottorum*. R. St. Andrew stretched upon his cross, XPC. Regnat. XPC. Vincit. XPC. Imp. W. 2 dr.
2. Different only from the former in *Robertus Dei Gratia Rex Sco.* W. 1 dr. 4 gr.
3. The shield not crowned, *Robertus Dei G. Rex. Scoto.* R. as above. W. 1. dr.
4. The shield as before, *Robertus Rex Scottorum*. The reverse the same with the two last mentioned. W. 34 gr.
5. About the shield (not crowned) a garniture somewhat representing a rose, *Robertus Dei Gratia Rex co.* R. as before. W. 34 gr.

A Sixth without co.

King James the First may probably challenge the two next, being of a near resemblance to some of those of his immediate predecessor. James I.

1. The Scotch lion in a shield crowned, betwixt two flower-de-lys's, *Jacobus Dei Gra. Rex Scottorum*. R. St. Andrew stretched on the cross, XPC. Regnat, &c. W. 1 dr. 24 gr.

2. A small crown on each side of the shield, *Jacobus D. Gratia Rex Scotor.* R. The flower-de-lys's not crowned as in the former, *Salvum fac Populum tuum*. W. 1 dr. 24 gr.

In the fourteenth year of King (1) James the Second, it was enacted in parliament, that "There be stricken a new penny in gold, called a lion, with the prent of the lion on the one side, and the image of St. Andrew on the other side, with a side coat even to his fute, holding the samin weight of the half English noble." This was to go at 6s. 8d. and its half at 3s. 4d. exactly at the same rates with the demy and half-demy. Afterwards, in his (2) eighteenth year, the demy and new lion were ordered to go at 10s. Of one sort or other of these are the six following: James II.

1. The Scotch shield crowned, with a crowned flower-de-lys on each side, and *Jacobus Dei Gratia Rex. Sco.* R. St. Andrew as above, *Salvum fac P Plum.* W. 27 gr.

2. The flower-de-lys's on the side of the shield not crowned, *Jacobus Dei Gra. Rex Scottorum*. R. St. Andrew on the cross, with flowers uncrowned, *Salvam fac Pplum Domine.* W. 27 gr.

3. St. Andrew carrying his cross, *Jacobus Dei Gratia Rex Sco.* R. The lion in a shield crowned, *Salvum fac Populum tuum Domine.* W. 1 dr. 20 gr.

4. The lion within a shield in form of a lozenge, with a small crown over it, *Jacobus Dei Gratia Rex Sc.* R. a small St. Andrew's cross betwixt two small flower-de-lys's, within a pretty hexagonal star, each point ending in a flower de-lys, with a small rose betwixt every two points, *Salvum fac Populum tuum Do.* W. 1 dr. 27 gr.

5. A piece of the same size and stamp with the last mentioned. W. 1 dr. 18 gr.

6. Another of the same stamp, but somewhat smaller size. W. 30 gr.

James the Third, in his (3) third parliament, ordered the demy and lion to be raised to 12 s. but in the (4) next he held, which happened to be within a very few months, they both returned to their old value of 10 s. In his (5) eighth, the demy is set at 13s. 4d. and the Scottish Crown (which, I imagine, is only another name for the lion) at 13s. In his (6) thirteenth a fine penny of gold was ordered to be stricken of the weight and fineness of the rose-noble; which is to pass at the value of 30 new groats, of ten in the ounce fine silver. Another penny of gold, of the same inscription, to go for 20 groats; and a third for 10. Of the two latter kinds, as I suppose, are these two: James III.

1. An unicorn holding a shield with the Scotch lion, a small St. Andrew's cross under the unicorn's feet, and *Jacobus Dei Gra. Rex Scottorum*. R. A cross flory, charged with a great blazing star, *Exurgat De. & dissipet. Nimici. ej.* W. 2 dr.

James the Fourth, in his very (7) first year, coined money (both of gold and silver) of the same weight and fineness with that of his father; and some of them seem to have carried the very same impression. The following four may probably belong to this king: James IV.

(1) Parl. 8. Ja. 2 chap. 33. Oct. 25. 1451. (2) Parl. 13. cap. 29. Oct. 19. 1455. (3) Oct. 12. 1467. cap. 18. (4) Parl. 4. cap. 23. (5) Nov. 20. 1475. chap. 67. (6) Feb. 24. 1483. cap. 93. (7) A. D. 1488, Parl. 1. Jac. 4. cap. 2. Vid. & ejusd. Parl. 4. cap. 40.

PART
II.

1. One exactly stamped as those two are which we have allotted to the foregoing reign, varying only the first legend thus: *Jacobus 4. Dei Gra. Rex. Scotorum.* W. 2 dr.

2. The king on horseback in armour, holding a sword, circumscribed *Jacobus Dei Gra. Rex Scotor.* R. The Scotch lion in a shield crowned, with a great cross reaching the outer ring of the piece, *Salvum fac Populum Tuum Domine.* W. 2 dr. 18 gr.

3. The same with the former, saving that the legends are transposed. *Jacobus, &c.* being about the shield. W. 1 dr. 8 gr.

4. A lesser piece of the same stamp with the last. W. 22 gr.

In the old (8) ordinance of the king of Spain, there is a piece, called the Croone van Schotlandt, which seems to be of this King's coining. It bears the shield of Scotland crowned, and *Jacobus Dei Gra. Rex Scotorum IIII.* R. St. Andrew on the cross, and *Salvum fac populum tuum Domine.* Its weight is set at 2 dr. 16 gr.

J. Duke
of Albany

Between this king and his son (and successor) King James the Fifth, we ought to place a noble medal in gold, struck by John Duke of Albany, the great governor of Scotland in the young king's minority. It bears the Duke and Duchess's arms in a shield crowned with a ducal crown, a large cross throughout the field, and *Joannis Albanie Duc. Gubern.* R. A dove spreading her wings on the top of another shield, with the Duke's own coat of arms, 1524, and circumscribed *Sub Umbra Tuarum.* W. 7. dr.

James V.

There are also some pieces of James the Fifth himself, which seem to be of the medal-kind, rather than intended for an ordinary current coin. Such I take the three following to be.

1. A maffy one as broad as a new English half-crown, and very thick, bearing the Scotch shield crowned betwixt two small crosses, with *Jacobus 5. Dei Gra. Rex Scotorum.* R. A cross floree, with four thistle-heads, inscribed, *Crucis Arma sequamur.* W. 1 ounce, 2 dr. 30. gr.

2. A smaller of the same stamp with the former. W. 1 dr. 24 gr.

3. The king in bust crowned, *Jacobus 5. Dei Gra. Rex Scotor.* R. The Scotch lion in a shield not crowned, with a large cross through it, inscribed *Villa Edinburgh.* W. 7 dr. 27 gr.

Indeed the common golden coins of this reign (well known by the name of bonnet-pieces, and said to have been coined out of the gold found in the kingdom of Scotland) are extremely beautiful, and little inferior to the finest medals. Of these they have the four following:

1. The king in bust, with a Scotch bonnet on his head, *Jacobus 5. Dei G. R. Scotorum,* 1539. R. The Scotch shield crowned, *Honor Regis Judicium diligit.* W. 3 dr.

2. The same exactly, 1540.

3. Another, a third less, 1540. W. 2 dr.

4. Half of the last mentioned, 1540. W. 1 dr.

The same year with the first of these, there was another piece coined, of the same weight and size with the bonnet, carrying the Scotch shield crowned and incircled with a chain of thistle-heads; the inscription, *JACOBUS 5. DEI G. R. SCOTORUM.* 1539. R. A large St. Andrew's cross, charged with a crown betwixt *Y* and *R*, in the upper quarter a thistle-head, and in the lower a flower-de-lys, inscribed, *HONOR REGIS JUDICIUM DILIGIT.* It is a curious rarity; and very lately communicated to me by Mr. Sutherland.

Q. Mary.

Q. Mary's life (in all the several stages of it) was so full of wonderful circumstances, that no reign afforded more copious matter for medals than hers; and yet I have seen none in gold that respects her history. Mr. Sutherland indeed informs me, that he has seen one with the same stamp of the first of her coins, exactly of the weight with the first-mentioned medals of her father: which I take to have been struck (as his probably was) at the first opening of her mint. Her ordinary coins, in that metal, are these:

1. The Scotch shield crowned, betwixt two stars, with *Maria Dei Gra. Regina Scotorum.* R. A cross flory, with a thistle head in each quarter, and *Crucis Arma sequamur.* W. 1 dr. 24 gr.

2. The shield as above, *Maria D. G. R. Scotorum,* 1543. R. MR. with a crown above, and a star below, *Ecce Ancilla Domini.* W. 1 dr. 16 gr.

3. The shield crowned betwixt the letters J. and G. *Maria D. G. Scotorum Regina*. R. A PART
cypher including all the letters of *Maria Regina*, with a crown above, and a star on each side, II.
Diligite Justiciam, 1553. W. 2 dr. 18 gr. The letters J. and G. shew James Earl of Murray to have
been governor when the piece was coined.

4. Half of the same. W. 1 dr. 9 gr.

5. The queen's effigies, with her head in dress, *Maria D. G. Scotorum Regina*. R. The
Scotch shield crowned, *Justus fide vivit*, 1555. W. 4 dr.

6, 7. Two more, of the same stamp and weight, coined in the years 1557 and 1558.

8. Half of the forementioned, of the same stamp, coined in 1555. W. 1 dr. 32 gr.

9, 10. Two more, of the weight, &c. last mentioned, coined in 1557 and 1558.

11. Francis and Mary, face to face, with a large crown above their heads, *Fran. & Ma. D.*
G. R. R. Scotor. Delphin. Vien. R. Four pair of dolphins linked together and crowned, a cross
of Lorrain betwixt every two pair, and a St. Andrew's cross in the middle, *Horum tuta fides*, 1558.
W. 4 dr.

The largest and most valuable of King James the Sixth's golden coins, is the rose-noble James VI.
of Scotland, of the same weight with that of England. On the other side are the arms of
Scotland crowned, in a ship with two flags, betwixt the letter J and the figure 6, with a rose
on the one side of the ship, *Jacobus 6. Dei Gra. Rex Scotorum*. R. Two scepters, or batons, put
in the form of a St. Andrew's cross, each end of them crowned; in the quarters of which are
four lions rampant crowned. All this in a large rose, between every leaf whereof there is a
thistle; as there is also in the center of the cross. The legend, *Florent Sceptra Piis. Regna his*
Jova dat numerari. W. 4 dr. I call this the largest of that king's golden coins; because I reckon
the four following, all of that metal, to be properly medals.

1. The king in bust, crowned, holding a sword in one hand, and an olive branch in the other,
beneath which, *In utrumque paratus*, 1575, circumscribed, *Jacobus 6. Dei Gra. Rex Scotor.*
R. the Scotch shield crowned, *Parcere Subjeclis & de bellare superbos*. W. 1 ounce.

2. Another of the same stamp, size and weight, struck in 1576.

3. The king's effigies laureat, *Jacobus 6. D. G. R. Scotorum*. R. A branched thistle, with six
heads, the uppermost crowned, betwixt the two letters of J and R, both crowned, under the
thistle the figure 6. *Nemo me impune laceffet*, 1590. W. 1 ounce.

4. The king and queen with a crown above their heads, *Jacobus 6. & Anna D. G. Scotorum*
Rex et Regina. R. The whole arms and atchievement of the kingdom of Scotland. *In Deffence*.
W. 2 ounces, 12 dr.

The other, more ordinary and current, golden coins of this reign, are:

1. The king bareheaded, *Jacobus 6. Dei Gra. Rex Scotorum*. R. The Scotch shield crowned
betwixt 15 and 80. *Exurgat Deus & dissip. Inimici ejus*. W. 3 dr.

2. IR. with a crown above, placed four times in the field, cross-wise, with a letter S in the
center, *Deus Judicium tuum Regi da*. 1588. R. The Scotch crest, being a lion crowned holding
a sword and scepter, *Post. 5. & 100. Proa. Invieta manent hęc*. W. 2 dr. 18 gr.

3. Half of this coined in 1584. W. 3 dr. 27 gr.

4. Another of the like, coined in 1587. W. 1 dr. 21 gr.

5. A quarter of the same, 1584. W. 27 gr.

6. The king in a strange cap, behind a thistle-head, *Jacobus 6. D. G. R. Scotorum*. R. A
lion crowned, holding up a scepter to the clouds, in which are the Hebrew letters of *Jebovah*,
te solum Vereor, 1591. W. 2 dr. 9 gr.

7. Another of the same size, weight, and stamp, coined in 1593.

8. The king on horse-back, in armour, under his horse 1593. *Jacobus 6 D. G. R. Scotorum*.
R. The Scotch shield crowned, *Spero Meliora*. W. 2 dr. 18 gr. This is what, in the Dutch
books of ordinances for money, and elsewhere, is called the Scotch rider; and was long the
most common gold coin in this country; pieces of the same weight, impression, &c. with this,
as likewise half of the same, having been coined in 1594, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 1600 and 1601.

PART
II.

To these the statute of his fifteenth (1) parliament refers, which ordains, that fine gold, of 22 carats fine, pass at 30l. the ounce; and that, out of every such ounce, there be coined six five-pound-pieces, or twelve fifty-shilling-pieces.

9. The Scotch shield crowned, *Jacobus 6. D. G. R. Scotorum*. R. A sword and scepter placed cross-wise. In the upper quarter a crown, a thistle-head in each of the next, and 1601 in the lowest. *Salus Populi Suprema Lex*. W. 2 dr. 18 gr. Though this piece, commonly called the Scotch angel, be of the same weight and intrinsic value with the former, yet it was coined to go at 6l. the value of silver being now risen from 50s. to 60s. by the ounce; which of necessity, enhanced the rate of gold in the like proportion.

10. The half of these (W. 1 dr. 9 gr.) carrying the same impression. This was the last gold coined before the happy union of the crowns in King James the Sixth's reign; and we are not, for the present, to bring our enquiries any lower. I have seen an (2) extract of the register of the mint, from December 1601, to December 1602; whereby it appears, that there was that year coined at Edinburgh 119 stone of silver. I have also read, that in the (3) beginning of this king's reign, a golden bason, of the contents of four English quarts, was presented by the regent Mortem to the French king, filled with coined pieces of gold called unicorns; both the money and the vessel being made of the native gold of Scotland. Such pieces I never saw.

To one that considers how few English coins we have of about half a score of our kings next after the conquest, it will not look strange, that the silver-money of our neighbouring kingdom, of the like age, is not now very plentiful. The oldest that even Mr. Sutherland himself has been hitherto able to discover, is a penny of Alexander the First's; which yet (he is not very sure, but it) may belong to one of the other two princes of that name. For the better and more skilful distinguishing the ancient silver-coins of Scotland, these preliminary cautions, which I have from a very (4) great hand, will be found to be of mighty use. 1. The merchants weights in Scotland are different from ours, sixteen pounds Troy, as several acts of parliament have provided, going to the stone, and every such pound being divided into sixteen ounces: but the silver weights are the same, their ounce-pieces exactly agreeing with ours. How their standard, or the fineness of the metal, has varied from ours, or agreed with it, will be observed in the several reigns below. 2. The sums by which the Scots always computed, and do still compute, are the same with ours, they reckoning by farthings, half-pence, pence, shillings, marks and pounds, as we do; and all the sums bearing the same proportion to one another, as ours do; that is a shilling contains twelve pennies, a mark thirteen shillings and four-pence, a pound twenty shillings, &c. But there has been a great difference in the two nations, at several seasons, as to the value of those sums. At the first, perhaps, the Scotch pieces, being of the same weight and denomination with the English, might also be current at the same rate with ours: but from the beginning of King James the First's reign, which is as high as their printed statutes will carry us, it was otherwise; and the difference increased in the following reigns, as will appear presently. 3. There is no doubt but that, for a long time, the coined pieces of silver in Scotland, as well as in England, were only pence and half-pence: after which came in groats and half-groats; and, by degrees, larger pieces of even an ounce, two thirds of an ounce, &c.

I have a small piece which I take to be a half-penny of David the First's: it weighs fourteen grains; which seems to come very near the standard of that time: for thus, if the authority be good, the matter stands adjusted, (5) *Sterlingus debet ponderare 32 gr. Uncia, 21 d. Libra, 26s. 4d.* It bears a clumsy half-face crown and scepter, and *David Dei Gracia*: and the reverse has *Rex Scotorum* about four hexagonal stars. The *Regiam Majestatem*, if any thing, will acquaint us with the value of such a piece; when (6) twenty-five shillings were the price of six cows, and (7) four pence the worth of a pair of shoes.

(1) Dec. 19. 1597. cap. 249. (2) MS. in Bibl. ICC. Edinb. (3) In Atcheson's MS. Tr. of Metals. (4) RR. DD. Archiep. Ebor. (5) Affis. R. Dav. 1. cap. 1. (6) Reg. Majest. lib. 4. cap. 40. v. 17. (7) LL. Burg. cap. 121.

In William the First's reign, money seems to have been pretty plentiful; since the nobility of Scotland agreed to pay a (1) hundred thousand pound sterling, whereof half was to be in ready cash, to our Henry the Second, for the redemption of that prince. Nor had this so far exhausted the publick treasure, but that he was able, not long after, to lend two (2) thousand marks to Richard the Third, on his return, in poverty and thralldom, from the Holy-Land. Notwithstanding his great glut of money, which he appears to have been master of, there are not many of his pence to be met with at this day. In some of the best (3) collections of our English coins, there is one, which has been supposed to belong to either the Conqueror or his son Rufus, that bears a side face and a scepter; and whereon the king looks finer, and younger, than on any of the rest. This, with humble submission, I should rather place amongst the coins of Scotland: and guess to belong to King William the First of that kingdom. Two more I have (4) seen, which may possibly belong to this King: the one has *Le Rey Willem*, the other *Willelmus Rex*, and both have Walter for the coiner's name on the reverse, after which, on one comes *On Ber.* which whether it be for *Berwick* or *Pertb*, sometimes called *Bertha*, will need an enquiry. That there was money coined in his reign, is pretty plainly asserted by the chronicle of Mailros: (5) *Willielmus Rex Scotorum innovavit monetam suam.*

In Alexander the (6) Third's time, a good horse for the war was valued at twenty shillings; a whole carcase of mutton, the highest rate sixteen pence, and the lowest eight-pence; a flaggon of beer, better and worse, two pence and a penny. A couple of these pennies, of the very same impression, size, and weight, I have in my small collection; bearing the king's head, half faced, with a scepter, and *Alexander Dei gra.* On the reverse, *Rex Scotorum* about four exagonal mullets, or stars. W. 21. gr. half of the same.

King John's is likewise half faced with a crown and scepter, and *Johannes Dei Gra.* R. *Rex Scotorum*, &c. as before: and the weight the same. His half-penny weighs 9 gr. half of the same.

Money of some sort or other, could not be very scarce in the reign of Robert the Bruce; who (7) agreed to pay our Edward the Third, 30,000 marks in ready money: and (8) Lesley assures us the marks were Sterling. His penny, (9) half-penny and farthing, are to be seen; much of the same shape with those of his predecessors. *Robertus Dei Gra.* R. *Rex Scotorum.*

In the year 1366, the latter end of David the Second's reign, it was (10) enacted in parliament that the money should be equal in goodness to that of England; and the next year the coinage was further regulated, a pound of fine silver making 29s. and 4d. *Et fiat*, says the statute, *in ipsa signum notabile, per quod possit ab omni alia prius fabricata evidenter cognosci.* I think he was the first king of Scotland that coined groats. They gave him crowned and side faced, with a scepter erect, and *David Dei Gratia Rex Scotorum.* R. *Dns. Protector MS. & Liberator MS.* on an outer circle; and *Villa Edinburgh*, about four mullets, in an inner. His half-groat has the same inscription. W. 1½ dr. his penny weighs 14 gr. and has only *Villa Edinburgh* on the reverse. There is (11) another which has *Villa Aberdeen* on the reverse: and those of Edinburgh have been minted at several times. There are half and a third of these; and pennies of both kinds.

Robert the Second's groat is much of the same shape, weight, and size, with that of his predecessor. It shews the king half faced, with a crown and scepter erect, and *Robertus Dei Gra. Rex Scotorum.* R. *Dnus. Protector MS. & Liberator MS.* on the outer circle; and *Villa de Perth*, about four small stars, on the inner. Another of them has *Villa Edinburgh*; and a third *Dundee*. And I have seen (12) halves of these.

The first open faced groat is that of Robert the Third. It gives the king's picture, crowned with a scepter, in such a kind of rose as we have on most of our old English groats. The inscription is *Robertus Dei Gra. Rex Scotorum.* On the reverse are three globules in each quarter of the cross: in the inner circle *Villa Edinburgh*, and on the outer, *Dnus Protector MS. & Liberator MS.*

(1) H. Boeth. lib. 13. Fol. 272. b. (2) Ibid. Fol. 277. a. (3) Penes RR. D. D. Archiep. Ebor. & D. R. Thoresby. (4) p. D. Ja. Sutherland. (5) Chron. Melros. ad An. 1195. (6) Stat. Gild. cap. 18, 24, 26. (7) H. Boeth. lib. 14. fol. 308. b. (8) Hist. Scot. lib. 7. p. 237. (9) p. D. J. Sutherland. (10) Vid. Stat. Dav. 2. cap. 38, & 46. (11) p. D. Sutherland. (12) p. Eundem.

PART
II.

W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ dr. 7 gr. Mr. Sutherland has three other varieties, with *Villa de Perth*, *Villa de Aberd...* and *Villa Dunbertan*; and the half of the first of these, and those of *Villa Edinburgh*, as likewise pennies of both kinds, and *Villae de Aberde--*

James I.

In the first year of K. James the First's reign, it was enacted that (13) "Our Lord the King gar mend his money, and gar stryke it in like wecht and fineness to the money of England." A little before this, the states of the kingdom had agreed to (14) pay to our King Henry the Sixth, the sum of 100,000 marks, for this king's ransom; whereof 50,000 were to be paid in ready money. These, though of such a standard as then passed for (15) sterling, might probably be found to carry too great an allay, when they came to be tendered in England; and this might, as probably, give occasion for the fore-mentioned statute. His groat is full-faced, with crown and scepter, and *Jacobus Dei Gracia Rex Scot.* R. In the quarters of the cross are two flower-de-lys's and twice three little balls, or globuli, countercharged within an inner circle, bearing *Villa Edinburgh*, and an outer with *Dnus Protector MS. &c.* There is (16) another, which I take to belong likewise to this king, and to be of somewhat more age than the former, whereon the inscription is *Jacobus Dei Gra. Rex Scotorum*; and its reverse, in all points, agrees with that of Robert the Third. The weight of the former is 1 dr. 9 gr. and of this, $1\text{ dr. }4\frac{1}{2}\text{ gr.}$ There are (17) others coined at Perth, Aberdeen, Linlithgow, and Stirling; with the half of that of Edinburgh.

James II.

The Parliament, in the 14th year of King James the Second, thought it expedient, (1) "For diverse causes, that there be stricken new money, conforme even in weicht to the money of England, with the quilk this realm hes parte of commoning: and that there be stricken of the ounce of burnt silver, or bulzeon of that fines, aucht groates; and of the famin mater and weicht, as effeiris, half-groate, pennie, half-pennie, and farding." In his (2) eighteenth year, this new groat is ordered to go for twelve pennies; and the six-penny groat, which appears to have been of a scandalously base allay, because the mint-masters are forbidden, on pain of death, to coin any more of them, is ordained "till have course as it hes." What value that was, its very name sufficiently shews; and I take this to be the same piece, which in the (3) next reign is called, the six-penny groat of the flower-de-lys. This raising of their new-groat, which was of the very same weight and fineness with the English groat, brought the computation of the sums in Scotland to triple what they bore in England: so that their pound was no more than our Noble; their Shilling than our groat or four-pence, &c. The said groat gives this king full-faced, with an imperial crown, and *Jacobus Dei Gra. Rex Scot. R. Dnus. Protector, &c.* on an outer circle, and *Villa Edinburgh*, about two crowns intercharged with twice three little balls, and a small annulet on the inner. W. 2 dr. half of this. Another of the groats has *Villa (4) Aberdie*, on its reverse.

James III.

The first parliament of K. James the Third ordains, "That, (5) for the ease and sustentation of the kingis lieges and almous deede to be done to puir folk, there be cuinzied (6) copper money, four to the penny, havand on th' ane part the croce of S. Andrew, and the crown on th' other part; with subscription of Edinburgh on the ane part, and ane R. with James on th' other part." [These are the same pieces which were continued by his successors, and in the reign of Jac. VI. got the name of Atchesons, from one Atchinson, a coiner, and author of the book of metals, mentioned in the first chapter of this historical library: some of which were of common currency for four bothels, or eight-pennies Scotch, even in the late reign of King Charles the Second, but are now wholly disused.] In his (7) third parliament, the groat of the crown is ordered to have course for fourteen pennies; and the striking of the black pennies to be ceased. These black pennies were a different sort of money from the Copper Farthings above-mentioned; and were, for some time, forced in payments, till at last the people unanimously refused to take them: upon which, the last Earl of Douglas reflecting, made this answer to the king, when requested (in his extreme old age) to be his Lieutenant-General against

(13) Parl. 1. Jac. 1. cap. 23. Mar. 26. 1424. (14) H. Boeth. lib. 17. Fol. 346. (15) Vid. Lell. Hist. Scot. Lib. 7. cap. 261. (16) p. RR. D. D. Archiep. Ebor. (17) p. M. J. Sutherland. (1) Parl. 8. Ja. 2. cap. 33. Oct. 25. 1451. (2) Parl. 13. Ja. 2. cap. 29. Oct. 19. 1455. (3) Parl. 1. Ja. 3. cap. 23. (4) p. D. J. Sutherland. (5) Oct. 9. 1466. cap. 9. (6) Mr. Sutherland has Samples of these and some of the like kinds in the following reigns. (7) Parl. 3. Ja. 9. Oct. 12. 1467. cap. 18.

the rebels. (8) "Sir, you have kept me and your black coffer in Sterling too long; neither of us PART II.
"can do you any good." We find it also amongst the articles objected to his favourites, by the Earl of Angus and others, that they had persuaded him to (9) "Coin a brass coin of no value, which
"the people called the Black Coin; which fact, of all other, was most odious to the vulgar: for as it follows in the history, a great dearth ensued upon the project, since every body chose to let their corn rather rot, than to give it away so much below the intrinsic value. In the very next parliament of this reign, called within a (10) few months of the former, the groat of the crown is reduced to 12d. and the lesser pieces to proportionable values. In this king's (11) sixth parliament, the new allayed groat is ordered to go for six-pennies, and the half-groat for three. And in his (12) eighth, twelve groats are appointed to be stricken out of an ounce of burnt silver, as also pennies to go at 3d. and half-pennies of the same fineness. In his (13) thirteenth, a new penny of silver, as fine as the old English groat is ordered to be coined; ten whereof are to make an ounce, and to go at 14d. each. At the same time, counterfeit placks, at 2d. a piece, were called in. His groat represents him full faced, and crowned without a scepter with this inscription, *Jacobus Dei Gra. Rex Scotorum. R. Villa Edinburg.* on the inner circle, about the crowns and globuli, as on his fathers, but without the anulets; and *Dnus. Protector, &c.* on the outer. W. 2 dr. 8 gr. The like are (14) coined at Aberdeen, Sterling, and Roxburgh; and a half-groat at Edinburgh. Some of his groats and half-groats on the reverse, have a mullet in each quarter of the cross; and, in the inner circle, *Villa Berwici*. In other points, it agrees with the whole groat. This piece, being stamped at Berwick, must assuredly belong to this king; who was master of that town twenty-one years, and is the only prince of his name and nation, before the union that ever was so.

It appears, that, in King James the Fourth's time, there were groats of somewhat different stamps; as being minted by several coiners: and the (15) act of parliament particularly mentions those (whereof the last mentioned is half) struck by Gilbert Fish, called Barwick-groats; others by Alexander Levingstoun; and a third sort by John Currou. These being all of equal fineness, were made equally current. One groat I have, which I believe to be of this king's own coining. It gives his face open, and a crown on his head, with *Jacobus Dei Gra. Rex Scotorum. R. Villa Edinburg.* about two hexagonal mullets and twice three balls, counterchanged on the inner circle, and *Dns Protector MS. &c.* on the outer. W. 1 half dr. In the above-mentioned ordinance of the king of Spain, I find two more, which are there called Schotsche Sooter; and which one would imagine to be both of this king's coining. The one of these differs very little from that already described; saving that, in the outer circle on the reverse, the legend is *Salvum fac Populum tuum Doe*. The like to which I have seen in Mr. Sutherland's collection, having on the other side four IIII, and a small crown after the word *Scotorum*. Another instead of the four IIII, has Q T. and a third Q R A; all signifying the word *Quatus*. Half of the first of these, is likewise there. The only medal, as far as I yet have learned, which was struck by this king, is that which is fairly described and accounted for by the learned (16) Mr. Evelyn; who observes, that it was coined in the last and fatal year of his reign. The other begins its first inscription with *Jacobus 4.* but the figure is undoubtedly misprinted for that of 5, the piece being the very same which we shall presently present the reader with, as the proper groat of the next reign.

King James the Fifth, as far as appears by the statutes of his time, made no manner of alteration in the standard of the coin: and yet, towards the end of his reign, or the beginning of his daughter's, a mighty change did happen, both in the naming of the Scottish pieces of money, and in the computation of their sums; as we shall see anon. The eldest of his coins, groat and half-groat, give him side-faced, with *Jacobus Dei Gra. Rex Scotorum. R. Cross floree, two thistle-heads, and two spur-rowels, for they are hexagonal and pierced in the center, with Villa Edinburg.* His later groats gives him in bust, side-faced, with short lank hair crowned, *Jacobus 5. Dei Gra.*

(8) D. Hume's Hist. of Engl. p. 206. (9) Ibid. part. 2. 226. Vid. etiam Less. Hist. Scot. lib. 8. p. 309. & J. Ferrer. Append. ad. H. Boeth. Fol. 395. a. & G. Buchan. lib. 12. p. m. 444. (10) Parl. 4. Ja. 3. in Jan. 1467. cap. 23. (11) May 6, 1471, cap. 46. (12) Nov. 20, 1475, cap. 64. (13) Feb. 24. 1483. cap. 93. (14) p. M. J. Sutherland. (15) Parl. 1. Ja. 4. A. D. 1488. cap. 2. (16) Numism. p. 88.

PART II. *Rex Scotorum*. R. The Scotch shield on a cross, circumscribed *Oppidum Edinburgi*. Others, which seem the elder, have *Villa*, &c. W. 1 dr. 18 gr.

Q. Mary

After his death, we hear no more of any groats, half-groats, pennies, or half-pennies, coined in Scotland; nor any of their names so much as once mentioned in any of the subsequent acts of parliament. It is (17) supposed, that, by this time, the price of silver was so risen, or rather the Scots, like the French, had so raised the accounts of their sums, that the old smaller silver coins, which took their denomination from Pennies, grew into disuse; and the pieces, that were from henceforward coined, took theirs from Shillings and Marks. Thus, in France, the Deniers perished and were forgotten; and the Sols and Livres succeeded in their room. We do not indeed meet with the name of testoons in the public statutes of this realm, before the beginning of James the Sixth's reign: but it is more than probable, that the name was common enough in his mother's time; that the pieces so called, were coined in imitation of our English shillings; and that their current value was five shillings Scotch. Many of these, and other coins of this reign, are still to be seen in the cabinets of the curious; and I shall give the reader an account of such of them as have come to my knowledge, in the same order wherein they were minted.

1. The eldest of these bears the (1) queen side-faced, and crowned with *Maria Dei Gra*. R. *Scotorum*. R. The shield of Scotland crowned betwixt two mullets, and *Da pacem Domine*, 1553. The second bears the letter *M*, crowned and supported with two crowned thistles, inscribed *Maria Dei G. Scotorum Regina*, 1555. R. The Scotch shield on a cross, circumscribed *Delicie Domini Cor humile*. W. 5 dr. 3 gr. Half of the same.

2. Another of the same year carries her head with *Maria Dei G. Scotor-Regina*. R. A crowned shield, and *Iustus fide vivit*, 1555. W. 3 dr. 13 gr.

3. The Scotch shield, supported by the letters *M* and *R*, *Maria Dei G. Scotor-Regina*, 1556. R. A large cross, with four lefs in its quarters, *Virtute tua libera me*. W. 4 dr. 4 gr.

4. The half of this, of the same year, &c.

5. Differs nothing from the third, excepting in its weight and date; for it is said to be coined in 1558, and weighs only 3 dr. 20 gr.

6. *F* and *M* in a cypher crowned, supported with double crosslets, *Fecit utraque unum*, 1558. R. The arms of the Dauphine and Scotland, with *Franciscus & Mar. D. G. R. R. Scotor. D. D. Vien*. W. 4 dr. 2 gr. Immediately, upon the death of Queen Mary of England (this year) King Henry the Second of France (2) caused his daughter-in-law to be declared Queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland, in the parliament of Paris; and ordered the arms of England to be put on all her plate, tapestry, &c. It should seem, that this was her common style ever after, till the treaty of Leith cut her short; for thus runs the first (3) article there: *Ut nec Franciæ Rex, nec ipsius Conjux Scotiæ Regina, Angliæ Hiberniæve Titulos sibi deinceps usurparent; Insignia Anglicana ex tota sua supellestile deleant; Diplomata in quibus Titulus Angliæ & Hiberniæ ipsis tribuebatur, supprimi curarent*. It is much, that, in all this time, none of their money bore the arms and title of England; and yet I never saw nor read of any that did. It is true, Mr. Evelyn (4) mentions her assuming the arms of England and Scotland in a medal; but that which he has given us, and which he seems to think, concerns the story of our renowned Queen Elizabeth, has not a stroke in it which looks this way. The queen indeed pleaded for (5) herself afterwards that she was constrained to this usurpation by her husbanded and father-in law; and that, after their death, she never practised any such matter: and so, I suppose, her suffering a medal to be struck (in the year 1560) is to be accounted for. On this we have the arms of France, Scotland, and England, quarterly, circumscribed, *Maria D. G. Francorum, Scotorum, Reg. &c*. On the reverse, two crowns on a level, with a third in the clouds, inscribed *Aliamque Moratur*, 1556.

(17) Iat. RR, D. D. Archiep. Ebor. (1) p. De. Sutherland. (2) Lest. Hist. Scot. lib. 10. p. 503. (3) Lest. Hist. Scot. p. 528. (4) Numism. p. 93. (5) Abp. Spotsfw. Hist. of the Ch. of Scotl. lib. 4. p. 177.

7. Another of the same weight, stamp, &c. with the last; but coined in 1559. One of the articles wherewith the lords of the congregation (this very year) charged the Queen Regent, was, (6) that "She had embassied the coin to maintain her [French] soldiers." The last mentioned is not referred to in this charge, but some (7) baser pieces, and smaller; which carry the cypher crowned, &c. but the reverse has this inscription on a square, *Jam non sunt duo sed uno caro*, 1558 and 1559. PART II.

8. Arms of France and Scotland crowned, on a cross crosslet, *Fra. & Ma. D. G. R. R. Franco. Scotor. q.* R. F and M in a cypher crowned, supported by a flower-de-lys and thistle crowned, *Vicit Leo de Tribu Juda*, 1560. W. 4 dr. 2 gr. and 1561.

9. Half of the same.

10. The Queen dressed in her hair, *Maria Dei Gra. Scotorum Regina*, 1561 and 1562. R. arms of France half effaced by those of Scotland, the shield crowned and supported by two M M crowned, *Salvum fac populum tuum Domine*. Half (8) of both these.

11. After her return out of France, she coined the large pieces of an ounce weight. On the first of these is the shield of Scotland crowned, and supported by two thistles, *Maria & Henric. Dei Gra. R. & R. Scotorum*. R. A palm tree crowned, with this motto (on a schedule hung in it) *Dat Gloria Vires*, and subscribed 1565, and circumscribed *Exurgat Deus Dissipent. inimici ejus*. The same in 1566. Some call the tree on the reverse an yew-tree; and report, that there grew a famous one, of that kind, in the park (or garden) of the Earl of Lenox, which gave occasion to the impress: wherein the tree, being crowned, denotes the advancement of the Lenox family, by Henry Lord Darnley's marriage with the Queen; and the Lemma of *Dat gloria vires* is observed to comport very well with the device. This piece went for thirty shillings. There were at the same time coined pieces of two thirds of an ounce, which went at 20s. with some smaller of 10s. and 5s. All of them had the same impression.

12. After her second husband's death, she coined other new pieces of an ounce weight, &c. which agreed with the other in the impression and every other matter, save that *Henricus* was now left out of the style, and the date 1567, which we shall find to be the same with the first coined pieces of her son. There are several medals in silver, struck in remembrance of some great passages of this queen's life: one carries the arms of France and Scotland crowned, with *Maria D. G. Scotor. Regina Fran. Dot.* R. A hand out of the clouds, pruning off a dried branch, and *Virescit Vulnere Virtus*. Another differs not from this on the reverse; but has the Scotch shield single. A third bears as the first: but the reverse shews a jagg of water poured from the clouds upon half a tree flourishing; the other half being dried and perished, with *Mea sic mihi profunt*, subscribed 1579. A fourth (of the same year) carries a ship in a storm on a rough sea, with sails rent and masts broken; but keeping steady; with *Nunquam nisi Rectam*. In other parts not differing from the former. A (9) fifth, of about two ounces weight, with the queen's picture to the waist; with a breviary in her hand, inscribed, "O God grant patience, in that I suffer vrang." The reverse has this inscription in the field, "Quho can compare with me in greif. I die, and dar nocht seik releif." Circumscribed (after one hand, with a heart in it, ready to join with another) "Hourt not the heart. Quhois joy thou art."

In the very beginning of King James the Sixth's reign, a complaint is made in parliament, (10) James VI. "Of the great scarcity of good money in Scotland, the good silver, as testons and other old silver, being utterly melted and destroyed; so that the ounce of silver is at double the price it wont to be at; whereupon it is declared, that the king, with the advice of his regent, may coin gold and silver of such fineness as other countries do, &c. Accordingly, among his coins, we have,

1. The thirty-shilling piece of an ounce weight, whereon is the shield of Scotland crowned, and supported by the letters J and R crowned, with *Jacobus 6. Dei Gratia Rex Scotorum*. R. A drawn sword with a crown on its point, a hand pointing to three XXX for the number of shil-

(6) B. Burnet's Hist. of Reform. vol. 2. 412. (7) P. D. Sutherland. (8) Ibid. (9) Cum 4 præmissis. p. D. Sutherland. (10) Parl. 1. Ja. 1. cap. 17.

PART
II.

lings, and the date of 1567 set below, and circumscribed with (that generous saying of the brave Trajan, upon the delivery of the prætor's sword) *Pro me. Si mereor, in me*. This is, on all hands, agreed to be the conceit of his tutor, G. Buchanan. The like pieces (with those of 20s. 10s. and 5s. differing only in a proportionable weight and size, and their proper figures of XX, X, and V) were coined in the years 1568, 1569, 1570 and 1571.

2. A Scotch shield crowned, with the figures 3 and 4 on the sides, *Jacobus 6. Dei Gratia Rex Scotorum*. R. Four capital IIII crowned with two crowns and two thistles, countercharged in the quarters, *Salva fac populum tuum Dne*. 1572. W. 2 dr. 2 gr. This is only half of one with the same inscription in Mr. Sutherland's collection; only his has the figures 6 and 8, which shews it to have been coined for a noble; whereas the other is only a ten-groats-piece, or 3s. 4d. continued yearly to 1577.

3. Shield crowned, and *Jacobus 6. D. G. R. Scotorum*, 1591, 1592. R. A naked sword and balance, *His differt Rege Tyrannus*. W. 2 dr. 14 gr. Half of the same.

4. The royal shield of Scotland crowned, with the usual inscription of *Jacobus 6. Dei Gra*. 1478 to 1581. On the reverse the thistle, (11) with *Nemo me impune laceffet*. W. 6 dr. 19 gr. The mark-pieces of this coin (which were coined twenty years after this, and were long current in England at the rate of thirteen-pence-halfpenny) want a third of this weight; which it was necessary they should do, when the ounce of silver went at 60s. Scotch, whereas now it was only valued at 40s. For, this very year, Thomas Achinson, and others, are empowered to coin ten-shilling-pieces, four in the ounce of eleven-penny fine silver. [From this mint-master the copper-pieces of eight-pennies or four Both-wel's value, pretty common in this and the former reign, had the name of Achefons given them. These, in the year 1587, were (12) cried down by proclamation, because counterfeited in England and other foreign parts: but their currency was afterwards revived, and continued (on the English borders, as well as in Scotland) even within my own memory. "The Scots says (13) Fynes Moryson) have of long time had small brass coins, which they say of late [his book was printed in 1617] are taken away: namely babees, esteemed by them of old for sixpence, whereof two make an English-penny; also placks, which they esteemed for four-pence, but three of them made an English penny; also hard-heads, esteemed by them at one penny halfpenny, whereof eight made an English penny.

5. And the same act directs, that these new pieces be such as are (14) "havand on th' ane side the portrature of his Majesty's body, armed, with ane crown upon his head, and ane sword in his hand, with this circumscription, JACOBVS. VI. DEI. GRATIA. REX. SCOTORUM. and on the uther side, his Hieness arms in a scheild, with ane crown above the same scheild, with the dait of the zeir, upon ane of the sides, with this circumscription, HONOR. REGIS. IVDICIUM. DILIGIT. There are 30s. 20s. and 5s. pieces (as well as those here mentioned of 10s.) which were made in pursuance of this act, and answer its directions as to their proportionable weight and circumscription: but furthermore, on their reverse, they have the letters J and R on the sides of the shield, and a little under XLs. XXXs. XXs. according to the respective value of the piece.

6. In the thirty-first year of this reign, there was another (15) act passed about coinage, wherein (after a complaint of the vile practices of all sorts of people, in exorbitantly raising the value of gold and silver) it is ordered, that the ounce of silver coined in ten-shilling-pieces, &c. according to the last recited, shall stand at 50s. and the old 30s. pieces (that is, the ounce-pieces of Queen Mary and James) at the same price; and the new thirty-shilling-pieces (being three quarters of an ounce) at 37s. 6d. This teaches us to discover the true value of a piece of this king's coin, of the exact weight of one of our English shillings, bearing the king's head without a crown, and *Jacobus 6. D. Gra. &c.* R. A thistle crowned, with *Nemo me impune laceffet*, 1594. There is no (16) doubt but this piece was coined to go for ten shillings; the weight of it exactly

(11) Some of these have the letter J and R on the sides of the Thistle; but the most want them. (12) So the MS. Calderwood in the Library at Glasgow, vol. 4. ad an. 87. (13) Itin. Par. 1. p. 283. (14) Parl. 7. Ja. 6. Oct. 24. 1581. cap. 106. (15) Parl. 15. Ja. 6. Dec. 19, 1597. cap. 239. (16) Ita. RR. D. D. Archiep. Ebor.

answering that value at the rate of 50s. in the ounce. Nor is it any objection, that this piece was coined three years before the passing of the said act : for silver was raised to this value before the act, as appears by its preface ; and it was its design to hinder the farther raising of it, by fixing it at the price it then stood at. I have the half, a quarter, and an eighth, of this coin.

7. Notwithstanding the provision of this act, the price of the ounce of silver was (within four years) advanced to sixty shillings : for the mark-pieces, which were coined in 1601 (to 1604) are proportioned to that rate. They have, on one side, the shield of Scotland crowned, with *Jacobus 6. D. Gra. Rex Scotorum* : and, on the reverse, the thistle crowned, with *Regem Jova Protegit*. W. 4 dr. 9 gr. There were also half-marks and quarter-marks, of the same coin ; the former passing at 6s 8d. and the other at 3s. 4d. Nay, there was also the eighth of a mark-piece, which is the least piece of coined silver, which I think was ever minted in the kingdom of Scotland ; it weighs about three-halfpence of our English money, and goes for 20d. Scotch, which is one sixth short of our two-pence. And these marks, with their subdivisions, were the last silver money coined by King James the Sixth, before he left Edinburgh, and removed to London.

T H E
A P P E N D I X.

N U M. I.

A Letter from the University of Oxford to the late Sir Geo. Mackenzie, Lord Advocate of the Kingdom of Scotland, upon his Dedicating his JUS Regiam to that learned Body. It is printed in the End of Sir George's Vindication of the Royal Line against Dr. Stillingfleet.

Honorabili plurimum Domino, Domino *Georgio*
M'Kenzie, Equiti Aurato, Regio Regni *Scotiae* Advocato.

Illustrissime & Clarissime Domine,

CUM regio principum jure & majestate nihil sit sanctius, utpote quod iis inviolatis & regni gloria & subditorum pax unice conservantur, facile possis credere quam acceptissimos academiae, quæ regi semper fida gloriatur perstitisse, honores contuleris, cum vestras regiae causæ vindicias nobis non tantum transmiseris, sed & in publicum simul, iniquo hoc tempore vocaris patrocinium. Si quæ enim (post probatam bellis civilibus fidem, ignibusque traditos impios libellos, de quibus originem & vires sumpserat perduellio) ulterioris officii partes supererant, eas omnes vestro explevimus beneficio, qui causam principis una videmur defendisse, quod doctissimi laboris effeceris participes. Qui ipsa fundamenta penitus convellens quibus, inimica semper regibus, plebis improba innititur causa, de ipsa seditione vel bellica potiore reportasti victoriam; cum enim armis miles rebelles cogat in tempus tantum gladios recondere, tu, invictissimæ rationis viribus, imperas ne iterum stringantur. Languet quidem tantum quæ debellatur, non extinguitur, seditio, divictumque licet humilis & abjecti vulgus imperii patiens videatur, vel minima elucente spe res novas continuo molitur. Adeo ut regias partes verius sustentet qui suadet quam qui cogit parere, rebusque imperii honestius consulat qui inconcussæ fidei divinam statuens originem, reverentiam principum non metum incutit, regibusque ex officio docet, non re, vel tempore turpiter inservire. Hinc fit ut quamvis Scotorum virtuti plurimum debeatur, quod rebelles bis profligaverint, tibi plus sit referendum quod Buchananum & Miltonum: quorum licet de scriptis derivatum plurimas regni partes venenum infecerit, tu tamen, grassante diu malo, tam felici tandem remedio subvenisti, ut conscientiae, rationi, legibusque regni antiquissimis necesse est renuntient, si qui in posterum sint qui, in deum regemque una rebelles, audeant movere arma. Quod itaque nostra ex parte unicum possumus, inter libros æternæ memoriæ sacros, vestros academia reponet, honores auctori expotans quos ipsa nequit conferre, soliusque possit principis munificentia: nimirum ut penitus fractis per te fanaticorum viribus, sentiat rex quantum possit vel unius subditi literata fides, & ipse experiaris quantum mereatur. Hæc eo quo mittimus animo accipias, & inter affectus indicia æstimes quo te prosequitur,

Illustrissime domine nomini tuo addictissima,

N U M. II.

A Vocabulary of the Irish Dialect, spoken by the Highlanders of Scotland; collected by Mr. Kirk, Publisher of their Bible. The Words, &c. included in two () are added by the learned Mr. Ed. Lhwyd.

C H A P. I. Of Heaven.

- F A I R E** (An mendoise scribitur cum F? Brit. *Awy.*) The sky
Reull. A star
Grigchan. (Brit. *Crig & Crigin*, *Acervus.*) A constellation
Ruella annamb. A comet or seldom seen star
Planèid. (Brit. *Planed*) A planet
Satbrúm. (Brit. *Sadwrn*) Saturn
Daon. Jupiter
Mart. (Brit. *Mawrtb.*) Mars
Grian. The Morning Star
- Ceadoine.* Mercury
Nua-Sholas. New-Moon
Leath-Sholas. Half-Moon
Lán Sholas. (Brit. *Lhawn*, *Plenus.*) Full-Moon
Ga. a sun-beam
Virdhiugadh. An eclipse
Aird an ear. The east
Aird an jer. (Brit. *bwyr*, *serus.*) The west
Airde tuaigh. The North
Airde Deas. (Brit. *Deheu.*) The south

C H A P. II. Of the Elements and Meteors.

- T E I N E.** (Brit. *Tán.*) Fire
Lafaire. Flame
Srad, dritble. A spark
Caoire dearg. A firebrand
Caoire baithi. A branch quenched
Eabhal. A live-coal
Gual A dead-coal
Teas. (Brit. *Tés*, *Æstus*) Heat
Blathas. Warmth
Lofgadh. (Brit. *Lbôsq & Lhosgiad*) Burning
Dealradh. Brightness
Deattach. Smoak
Suidh. Soot
Spuingt. Embers
Luathredh. (Brit. *Lhydew.*) Ashes
Conna. (Brit. *Cynnid.*) Fewel
Aidher. (Brit. *Awy.*) Air
Neúl. (Brit. *Nievl*, *Nebula*) A cloud
Ceo. A mist
Fros. A shower
Fearthuinn. Rain
Bogh-frois The rainbow
Braon, Sileadh. A drop
Cloch-Shneach'd. Hail, or snow-stone
Shneach'd. Snow
Drúchd. Dew
Oigbreadh. Frost
Lia-readh. (Brit. *Lhwytrew.*) Hoar-frost
Criod-readh. Nipping-frost
- Cruaidh-readh.* Black, or hard frost
Bith-readh. Permanent-frost, with blue-sky
Aith-readh. A sudden frost, after a thaw
Sgath-readh. Frost that causes icicles
Fliuch-readh. Freezing-showers
Thairnein. (Brit. *Taran & Táranein.*) Thunder
Cloch-Thairnein. A thunder-bolt
Dealnach. Lightning
Leas. A flash
Doinjonn. A storm on land
Annro. A tempest at sea
Gaillion. A storm of snow
Duibhean. A storm of frost
Sion. A change of weather
Fomghaoi. A whirlwind
Deo, Ossag. A gentle wind
Gaoi. (Brit. *Chwth*, *Flatus.*) The wind
Gaoi au áirde toir. The east wind
Gaoi an airde toir. The west-wind
Gaoi a tuagh. The north-wind
Gaoi a Deas. The south-wind
Soinnion. (Brit. *Hinnon.*) Fair weather
Doinionn. Foul weather, or a storm
Feath. Calm weather
Uisge. (Brit. *Wysge.* *Hinc Flaviorum Nomina* apud *Cambros*; & *Anglorum Esk, Ouse, Ax, Ex, Ix, Ox, Ux*; unde *Oppida Axle, Excester, Ixwych, Oxford & Uxbridge*) water
Bulge uisge. A bubble of water

- Fuaran.* A well
Tobar Fiucaidh. A fountain, or spring
Sruth (Brit. *Frwd*) A stream
Abhann. (Rectius *Amban.* Brit. *Avon.*) A river
Ald. A rivulet
Caochan, Tacbran. A brook
Bruach Abboinn. A river bank
Amar, Grinneal. The channel
Lochan. A pool or pond
Loch. (Brit. Antiq. *Lwch.* unde *Lhan-Lwch,* &c.)
 A lake
Feth. A fen or marsh
Fairrgn, Muir, (Brit. *Môr*) *Bóc.* The sea and ocean
Tonn, (Brit. *Ton.*) *bileadh.* A wave
Ata. The tide
Lionadh. Lan-Mara. (Brit. *Lhanw, môr Lhawn.*)
 The flowing of the sea
Traghadh. (Brit. *Trai.*) The ebb
Traighe. (Brit. *Traeth.*) The shore
Ath. A ford, or shallow
Tuil. (Brit. *Diliw.*) A deluge
Cuairteag, Faochag. A whirlpool
Cuan. A bay
- Caladh.* A haven
Dornan mara. What is within an isthmus
Deimbne. (Brit. *Dwun.*) Depth
Talamb. The earth
Silabh. A mountain
Gleann. (Brit. *Glyn.*) A valley
Carraic. (Brit. *Craig.*) A rock
Dail. (Brit. *Dól.*) A plain or champaigne
Cnoc. (Brit. *Cnwc.*) A hill
Beann. (Brit. *Ban.* unde *Barwyck, Denni, Ban-voel,* &c. Montes in *Brechinia.*) A very high mountain
Bealach, Laric. A cliff
Aoileach. Dirt
Lóip. Mud
Cre. (Brit. *Clai.*) Clay
Uir. Dust
Ganemb. Sand
Grinneal. (Brit. *Graean.*) Gravel
Bèo-ganemb, Slugan. Quick-sands
Oilen. An island
Rummach. A trembling-bog

C H A P III.

Of Stones and metals.

- C**LOCH. (Brit. *Clog, Scopulum.*) A great stone
Dornag. A pebble stone
Buag. A white stone
Cloch theine. A flint stone
Cloch-mhin-bbleth. (Brit. *Min, Acies Acumen.*)
 A whet-stone
Cloch-dhearbhaidh. A touch-stone
Magneid. A loadstone
Marmuir. Marble
Finnic. Jet
Neamhnaid. Pearl
Raibh, pronnasc. Brimstone
Cloch-Bluagbach. A stone having properties
Cloch uasal. A precious stone
Ariocht. A jewel
Paidrean. (Brit. *Padiren, Spherula, præcatoria.*)
 A bracelet
- Mein cloiche.* (Brit. *Meinglawdh.*) A quarry
Gloin. (Brit. *Glain. Neider, Vitrum Auginum.*)
 Glass
Miotol. (Brit. *Mettel.* An forte a *Latino* ?)
 Metal.
Mein. (Brit. *Mwn.*) A mine
Or, (Brit. *Oyr & Ayr.*) Gold
Mein óir. (Brit. *Mwen-ayr.*) A gold mine
Airgiod. (Brit. *Ariant.*) Silver
Umba. (Brit. *Eivrydh.*) Brass
Jorann. (Brit. *Harn. & Hayarn.*) Iron
Stalinn. (Brit. *Malen.*) Steel
Luaidh. Lead
Staoin. Tin
Beo-airgiod. (Brit. *Arjant byw.*) Quicksilver.
Airgiod Tátha. Shoulder

C H A P. IV.

Of the Parts and Adjuncts of Plants.

- L**US. (Brit. *Lbys, Herba.*) A plant
Craobh. (Hibern. *Cran.* Brit. *Pren.* p. in c. mutato pro more) A tree
Craobhag. A shrub
Luibhe. An herb
Freimb. (Brit. *Gwraidh.*) A root
Bun. (Brit. *Bón.*) The stock of a tree
- Lurg.* A stalk
Coille. (apud *Cambros Silvæ aliquo.*) *Cottelæ*
audiunt. A wood
Fiogh. Timber
Loadhan. The pith
Sugh. (Brit. *Syg.*) The sap
Cart. The bark

Bileadh,

Bileadb, Meúr. A bough
Slat. (Brit. *Lbáth*; ut *Lbath Moisen*, Virga Moyfis) A rod
Sgathack. A sprig
Gallen. A sucker
Sgeith. A sprout
Bláth. (Brit. *Blodæ*.) A blossom
Duille. (Brit. *Dail*, Folia in sing. numero *Deilen*.) A leaf
Toradh. Fruits of the earth
Meas. (Brit. *Més*, Glandes *Quercus*.) Fruit of trees
Bier. A prickle

Tarpain. A cluster
Cochal. A husk
Plaosc. (Brit. *Plisc*.) A shell
Cuilgen. (Brit. *Colyn*.) An awn
Eitean. A kernel
Cnó. (Brit. *Cnay*, in plurali numero.) A nut
Caora. A grape
Duirce. An acorn
Snaidhm. A knot
Sliseag. (Brit. *Sclod*, D in S, quod vulgare est, mutato. Quod autem ad terminationes nihil est quod circa eas hæreamus.) A chip
Ceanglag. A faggot

C H A P. V. Of Herbs.

DOBHRAN. A primrose
Onoid. A daisy
Eórn. Beer, or barley
Fliogh. (Alii *Alfinem*, me audiente, sit vocabant. Brit. *Gwlydb*.) Groundsel.
Cogal. Darnel
Canaib, Carcach. (Brit. *Cowarch*.) Hemp
Guirimen. Hyacinth
Líá-lus. (i. *Herba Incana* Brit. *Lbwydlys*.) Mugwort
Caora-Meola. Cormylle, or wild licoras-ball
Ballan an Iosgain. Mushroom
Eúntóig. Nettle

Coirc. (Brit. *Kyrch*.) Oats
Cruitbneackd. Wheat
Peasar. (Brit. *Pys*.) Pease
Panair. Beans
Slán-lus. Plantane
Cremb. (Brit. *Crav*.) Ramsons
Luachair. Rush
Seogal. Rye
Cróch. Saffron
Bislair. (Brit. *Beowr*, Water-creffes.) Sorrel
Subbac lar. (i. *Humi nascentia fraga*. *Syvia lharwr*.) A strawberry
Fothanán. A thistle

C H A P. VI. Of Trees and Shrubs.

CRAOBH-Ubbak. (Brit. *Avolben*.) An apple-tree
Ubbal. (Brit. *Aval*.) An apple
Unshion. (Brit. *On*, in plurali numero *Un*.) An ash
Crithich. An aspen-tree
Dris. (Brit. *Drys* in plurali numero, in singulari *Dryssien*.) A bramble
Beataidh. (Brit. *Banadl*.) Broom
Sbirister. (Brit. *Keirws & Sirian*.) A cherry-tree
Casnaicd. A chesnut-tree
Droman. (i. e. *Gravis*. fed Brit. e contrario, *yfgaw*, i. *Levis*.) Elder
Leamban. (Brit. *Lbwyven*.) Elm
Droighean. (Brit. *Drainen*.) An hawthorn
Sgitheach. (Brit. *Yspydbad*.) The same
Caldin. (Brit. *Colb. & Colben*.) The hazle-nut-tree
Eiteal. Juniper
Dean. Ivy
Feth-Sblat. (Brit. *Gwdh-lath*, *Gwydewydb*, &c.) Honey-suckle

Fioghag. (Qu.) The mulberry-tree
Crann-Olaibh. (Brit. *Pren-Oliv*.) The olive-tree
Darroch. (Brit. *Dár*, *Derwen*, *Pren-Derw*.) An oak
Arnagc. (Brit. *Eyrin*, *Pruna*.) The sloe tree
Beatha. (Brit. *Bedw*.) Birch
Caorann. (Qu.) A rann-tree
Craobb-phear. A pear tree
Plumas. A plumb-tree
Rós. (Brit. *Rhofyn*.) A rose
Fine ambain. (Brit. *Gwynwydhen*.) A vine
Soileoch. (Brit. *Helich*.) A willow-tree
Euir. An ewe tree
Fic. A figg
Plaosc. (Brit. *Plisc*.) A nut-shell
Eatain. A kernel
Cno mbuilean. (Brit. *Melin cnay* *Molendinum* *Nuceanum*.) A nut-cracker
Sugbac. A hindberry
Sméar. (Brit. *Mwyar*.) A blackberry. *Morus Rubi*
Groshaid. Gooseberry
Tuis. Incense

C H A P. VII. *Of the proper Parts and Adjuncts of Animals.*

§ 1. Of Fishes.

SLIG. A shell
Lannrag. A scale
Jasg Sligneach. A shell-fish
Geuran. The gills of a fish
Ite. The fins
Mealg. The milt
Euchar. The row or spawn
Lion. A net
Slat-Dumban. An angle-rod
Driamlach. A line
Dumban. A hook
Biath. (Brit. *Bwyd*, Cibus, *Abwyd*, Esca Pif-
 cium.) A bait
Jasgach. Fishing
Jasgair. A fisher
Jasg gort, sailt. Salt-fish

§ 2. Of Birds.

Cob. A beak
Cior. A crest
Sgia. (Brit. *Asgelb.*) A wing
Jongan. (Brit. *Ewin.*) *Sbor.* A claw, or talon
It. A feather, if hard

Cluimb. (Brit. *Plyv.*) Soft Feathers
Peann. A quill
Caileas, Mion-chluimb. (Brit. *Manblyv.*) Down
Nead. (Brit. *Nyth.*) A nest
Umb. (Brit. *Wy.*) An egg
Buidheag. The yolk
Gealag. The white
Plaosc-uimbe. (Brit. *Pliscwy*) An egg-shell

§ 3. Of Beasts.

Buar, Caorigbeachd. Cattle
Tred. An herd or flock
Ainmbidb. (Brit. *Anivel.*) A labouring beast.
Fiagh-bheatach. A wild beast
Sec. A hide
Adharc. A horn
Fong. (Brit. *Ewin.*) A hoof
Feann. A hair
Friogh. (Brit. *Gwrych.*) Bristle
Muinn. (Brit. *Mwng.*) A mane
Olann. (Brit. *Gwlan*) Wool
Lomra, A fleece
Earr, Forbul. A tail
Gnus. A trunk.

C H A P. VIII. *Of Four-footed Beasts.*

AP, (Brit. *Eppu.*) An ape
Affal. (Brit. *Asyn.*) An ass
Ealtag. A bat
Matghamhan. A bear
Torc, Nymbe, (Brit. *Twych*, porcus.) A boar
Cambal. (Brit. *Camel.*) A camel
Cat. (Brit. *Cáth.*) A cat.
Eilid. (Brit. *Eylon.* a Fawn.) A deer
Loadb, A fawn
Damb feigh. A stag
Earb. A roe
Cu. (Brit. *Ki.*) A dog
Culein. (Brit. *Kolwyn.*) A whelp
Cuthe tighe. (Brit. *Ki Ty*, Canis Domesticus.) A
 mastiff
Cuthe-Eunaich. A spaniel
Cu buachaii. (Brit. *Ki-bigail*, A shepherd's dog.)
 Mungril
Tofann. Barking
Sionnach. A fox
Lofgan. A frog
Gabar. (Brit. *Gavar.*) A goat

Boc-Gaibbre. (Brit. *Bwch Gavar*) An he-goat
Meann. (Brit. *Myn.*) A kid
Meathack. A hare
Muc. (Brit. *Mích.*) A hog
Uric. A pig
Cró. (Brit. *Crai*) A sty for small beasts
Buail. (Brit. *Bydbel*, an ox-stall.) A fold for
 great cattle
Each. A horse
Lair. A mare
Gearran. A gelding
Sitreach. Neighing
Capel. (Brit. *Kephyl*, quemvis Equum denotat.)
 A trotter
Muileach. A nagg
León. A lion
Luch. (Brit. *Lbyg*) A mouse
Vir-reath. A mole
Cat-crainn. A mouse-trap
Bóo. (Brit. *Ba, By. Deng mú*, Viginti Vaccæ.)
 A cow for milk
Mart. A fat cow

Damb.

Damb. (Brit. *Dav*, bona quæcunq; *Davad*,
Ovis.) An ox
Caoragb. (Sic Antiquitus *Britanni*.) A sheep
Reath. A ram
Mult. (Brit. *Mólb.*) A wether
Uan. (Brit. *Wên* & *Oen*.) A lamb
Cró. (Brit. *Crai*, a Hog-sty.) A sheep-fold
Aodbaire. A shepherd
Croman. (Brit. *Crymman*, a Sickle.) A shepherd's
crook

Fórag. (rectius, ni fallor, *Feórag*. Brit. *Gwywair*.)
A squirrel
Nefs. A weasel
Madadb Donn. (Brit. *Madyn don*, Vulpeculam
feu Canem in undis versantem designat.) An
otter
Madadb Allaidb. A wolf
Miol-mor. A whale
Nathair. (Brit. *Neidr*.) A serpent
Beitbear. A snake

C H A P IX.

Of Kindred and Affinity.

S Innfear echd. A genealogy
Aithreacha. Ancestors
Sliockd, Siol. (Brit. *Hil*.) *Farmad.* Posterity
Luchd-cinnidb. Kindred
Athair. A father
Mathair. A mother
Seanoir. A grandfather
Clann. (Brit. *Plant*.) Children
Mac. (Brit. *Map*.) A son
Ingbean. (Brit. *Vyngeneth*, Filia mea.) A daughter
Nepoid, Odb. A grandchild
Jar-Odb. (Brit. *Wyr*, a grandchild.) A great-
grandchild
Duodb. A great-great-grandchild
Brathair. (Brit. *Brawd* & *Brawd.*) A brother
Poid. A child
Siur. A sister

Chann Chomblau, no dhen tairbirt. Twins
Brathair Athar. Uncle by the father
Brathair Mather. Uncle by the mother
Siur Athar. Aunt by the father
Siur Mather. Aunt by the mother
Ceil. (Brit. *Kenel* & *Kenedl*, Genus Stemma.)
Affinity
Disleachd. Consanguinity
Posadb. Marriage
Banais A wedding
Fear. (Brit. *Gwr*.) A husband
Bean. (Brit. *Benniw*, Fœmina.) A wife
Coillteannach. An eunuch
Siurdbieach. A wooer
Suid Suirghe. A wooer's gift
Bantrach. A widow
Cliamboen. A son-in-law

C H A P. X.

Of Homogeneous Parts; containing,

CORP. (Brit. *Corph*.) The body
Ball. A member
Alt. A lith
Cnamb. A bone
Maodhan. A gristle
Fith. A sinew
Cuifle. A vein
Feoil. Flesh
Croicean. (Brit. *Croen*.) The skin
Teud. A fibre
Folt. (Brit. *Gwalbt*.) The hair
Folt-cas. A curled lock

Fuil. Blood
Bainne. Milk
Domblas. Gall
Lionn-ruagh. (Brit. *Lyn*, Latex, Liqueur.) Choler
Lion-dubb. Melancholy
Lionn-fionn. Phlegm
Lion na fola ruaigh. Sanguine complexion
Smug. Snot
Muin. Urine
Salchar. Dung
Fallas. Sweat
Sileadgh. Spittle

Parts contained.

Of Heterogeneous Parts.

Eanchan. The brain
Smior. (Brit. *Mér*.) The marrow
Saill. Fat
Idb. Tallow

Ceann. (Brit. *Pen*.) The head
Dadan. (Brit. *Jad*.) The fore-part of the head
Cul a Chinn. The hinder-part of the head
Mollach a Chinn. The crown of the head
Adhaidb.

T H E A P P E N D I X.

Adbaidb. (Sic olim *Britanni*; unde usitatissimum
Lechwedb. q. d. Semifacies, pro dimidia facie.)

The face

Gnuis. The countenance

Claigcdann. (Brit. Reciproce, *Penclog.*) The skull

Balbais. The forehead

Cochal na Sul. The eye-lid

Suil. The eye

Raschaáb na Sul. The sight of the eye

Gealag na Sul. The white of the eye

Cearn na Sul. The corner of the eye

Fambra na Sul. The hairs of the eye-lids

Cluas. (Brit. *Clúst*, *Clýst.*) The ear

Srón. (Brit. *Trwyn*, *Nasus*; *Froen*, *Nares.*)

The nose

Cuingiona ua Sron. The nostrils

Grall. The cheek

Bhileadb. *Bus.* The lip

Beul. (Brit. *Byl*, *Ora poculi.*) The mouth

Coirein. *Braighe a bhevil.* Roof of the mouth
or gums

Fiacal. A tooth

Cnamb a Chidkii. (Brit. *Kildbannedb*, *Dentes*
molares.) The jaw-bone

C H A P. XI. Of God.

DIA (Brit. *Dyw.*) God

Diaghaghd. Godhead

Dombnach. *Tighearn.* (Brit. *Teyrn*, *Princeps*;
unde vulgatissimum *Tyrnas*, *Regnum.*) Lord

Tighearnus. Lordship

Buaigh. an Attribute

Neimb chriochnughadb. Infinite

Siorraidb. Eternal

Beannuighthe. Blessed

Foirfe. Perfect

Neamb-chaochladach. Unchangeable

Doth-chuimfightie. Imcomprehensible

Aondachd. Unity

Trionnoid. (Brit. *Trindod.*) The trinity

Saoirse. Redemption

Slanaigherir. Redeemer

Josa. (Brit. *Jesu.*) Jesus

Criosd. (Brit. *Crist.*) Christ

Eiserghe. Resurrection

C H A P. XII. Of created Spirits.

Ingeal. An angel

Naomb. A saint

Deamban. A devil

Abhairseoir. A fiend

Tabbaifd. A bugbear

Taiseadb. An apparition

Tuaisneach. } A witch

Afairligh. }

Tabbaifdir. A conjurer

Anam. (Brit. *Enaid.*) A soul

Grinn. Clean

Tsalach. Foul.

And thus for a brief essay.

N. B. Where a vowel is accented, it is to be pronounced long; as a Greek *Omega*: And where two vowels or three are together, they are to be pronounced as diphthongs, in one entire sound; like the Greek *eu* in *Βαρεύς* and *ei* in *Μάγιστος*.

There are only seventeen letters used by the *Irish*, who shun all superfluity; and therefore *bb* or *mb* are placed for *v* consonant. There are many quiescent letters in the reading, which yet must be set down in the word (as radicals) for distinction-sake; as *leath-sholas*, an half-moon, pronounced as if only *leaholas*, &c. easily learned by grammar and a little use.

[*Vocabula Hibernica sunt 430. e quibus, re & voce, cum Britannis conveniunt 160.*

Litera P in vocibus Britannicis valet C in Lingua Hibernica. Exempli Gratia,

Brit.	Lat.	Hibern.	Brit.	Lat.	Hibern.
<i>Pren,</i>	<i>Arbor,</i>	<i>Crann.</i>	<i>Pwy,</i>	<i>Quis,</i>	<i>Cia l. Kia.</i>
<i>Plant,</i>	<i>Liberi,</i>	<i>Clann.</i>	<i>Pásc,</i>	<i>Pascha,</i>	<i>Casc.</i>
<i>Phy,</i>	<i>Plumæ,</i>	<i>Cluimb.</i>	<i>Pob,</i>	<i>Omnis,</i>	<i>Gach.</i>
<i>Pèn,</i>	<i>Caput,</i>	<i>Cean.</i>	<i>Pymp,</i>	<i>Quinque,</i>	<i>Cuig.</i>
<i>Pedwar,</i>	<i>Quatuor,</i>	<i>Cathair.</i>	<i>Pesswch,</i>	<i>Tuffis,</i>	<i>Casgi.</i>

Gw Britannorum valet F Hibernicum. E. G.

Brit.	Lat.	Hibern.	Brit.	Lat.	Hibern.
Gwraidb,	Radix,	Freibb.	Gwair,	Fœnum,	Feur.
Gwern,	Alnus Arbor	Fearn.	Gwirion,	Verus,	Firinneach.
Gwyn,	Albus,	Fin.	Gwryg,	Erica,	Freach.
Gwin,	Vinum,	Fion.	Gwymmwyn,	Alga Maris,	Feammwyn.
Gwr,	Vir,	Fear.	Gwalt,	Crines,	Falt, &c.

H. Britannicum valet Hibern. S. Ex. Gr.

Ilén,	Senex,	Sean.	Halen,	Sal,	Salen.
Helig,	Salix,	Silog.	Haid,	Examen,	Seith.
Heboc,	Accipiter,	Seaboc.	Hyn,	Hic, Pronom,	Sin.]
Hil,	Semen,	Siol.			

N U M. III.

Notes of the late learned Dr. John Jameson, D. D. upon the printed Chronicle of Melros.

Notæ in Chronicon *Melrossense* in triplici genere distribui possunt. Aliæ enim sunt quæ ostendunt Codicem in *Anglia* impressum non esse genuinum *Melrossense* Chronicon, sed a quodam *Anglo* interpolatum; & hæ notæ poni debent in Præfatione ad novam Editionem. 2. Aliæ sunt Notæ quæ illustrent Textum ipsum Chronici; & hæ poni debent ad Marginem. 3. Aliæ deniq; sunt Notæ quæ corrigunt ipsum Textum Chronici; poniq; debent sub finem Paginæ.

1. Notæ quæ ponendæ sunt in Præfatione sunt hæc quæ sequuntur Errata, quæ manifestant Interpolatorem Artis Chronologicæ & Rerum

A. D. *Scoticarum* penitus fuisse ignarum.

940 Non fuit Indictio 14. sed 13. & 6. Kal. *Novembris*, fuit Fer. 3.

946 Indictio quarta, non tertia. Nam 960 ponit Ind. 3.

957 C & non D Nam A. D. 968. fuit D Litera Dominicalis ut postea scribit.

1017 *Salamonem* pro *Stephano*.

1042 Fer. 5^a fuit V^{to} non VI^{to} Idus Junii.

1070 & 1056, *o'sala* & sibi contraria sunt.

1097 & 1956, contraria sibi sunt tum in impresso Codice tum in MS.

1170 II. Kal. *Junii*. non fuit Dominica sed Fer. 6.

1187 in Kal. pro III. Kal.

1189 VI. Nonas *Martii* non fuit Fer. V. nec X Kal. Apr. Fer V. nec Idus *April*. Fer. VI. nec III. Nonas *Septem*. Dominica, nec Kal. *Aug*. Fer. VI.

1121 23 *Junii* non fuit Dominica. Nam 9. Kal. *Junii* fuit.

1194 III. Idus *Martii* not fuit Dominica, ibid. 15 Kal. *Ostob*. not fuit dies Sabb. nec 14 Kal. *Ostob*. Fer. 2.

1195 IV. Idus *Septembris* fuit dies Sabb. non Dominica. Nec 4. Kal. *Novembr*. Dominica.

1181 Errat vocans *Henricum* Seniore. A^o. 1183 vocat Juniorem. Duo ultimi Articuli anni 1208, videntur sibi contradicere.

1212 XIX pro XIII. Vide Ann. 1198 & 1214.

Notæ Secundæ.

Præfatio forsan adjecta est a manu *Anglicana*: Vocat enim *Bedam*, *Gentis Nostræ Decus* & *Gloriam*. Hæc eadem Præfatio emendanda est ex *Beda* & Impresso Codice.

740 Debet esse potius 746. Vid. *Angl. Sacr*. Tom. 1. p. 195.

- 804 Longe citius facit *Cokel* seu *Achaium* Historia *Scotorum*.
 844 Serius ponit *Kennethum* quam Historici *Scotici*. Post versus Error corrigendus ex Impresso Codice in fine.
 943 Ponit Obiitum *Constantini*; licet antiquissimi Historici (*Ingulphus*, *Guil. Malmesb.* *H. Huntingd.* &c.) eum occisum asserant longe ante hoc tempus.
 1093 Ante annum hunc forsan XXVI & VIII. legendum est *Sexies Viginti & Octo*. Et pro XXIII & XII. *quater Viginti & duodecim*. Scribe ^{XX}_{VI} & VIII. & ^{XX}_{III} & XII.
 1056 1096 debet esset 1097, ut postea liquet; tum ex hoc eodem Chronico, tum ex gravissimis Historicis antiquis.
 1124 Corrigendus est MS. ex Impresso Codice
 1128 Pro *Dunkeldensis* reponere *Dunelmensis*. Vid. *Angl. Sacr.* Tom. 1. p. 708.
 1142 *Volens* fieri, pro *Nolens*.
 1248 Contra 1149, primus delendus videtur.
 1151 *Joannem Paparonem*. Vid. *Baronium*. Ibid. *Rikemut* est *Richmondia* in Agro *Eboracensi*. Vid. *Monast. Anglic.* Tom. 2. p. 649.
 1152 *Dunkelden*, pro *Dunelmen*. Vid. *Angl. Sacr.* Tom. 1. p. 710. usq; 719.
 1159 *Teuronis* pro *Teutonis*.
 1160 *Colese* pro *Tolosæ*. Ibid. Quia perrexit, dies *S. Bricii*, &c.
 1161 Corrigendus MS. ex Impresso.
 1164 *Naturalem* forsan pro *Natalem*.
 1165 Adde, *Evenit V. Kal. Aprilis*.
 1169 *Weneloc* est Monasterium *Cluniacens.* in Agro *Salop.* Vide *Monast. Angl.* Tom. 1. p. 613.
 1176 Ab' *S. Thomæ* in *Scotia* est Abbas *Arbrothiensis*.
 1181 Corrige MS. ex impresso Codice sic. *W. R. S. & D. Com.* Frater ejus ad *H. R. Angliæ* pro suis negotiis transmar. ubi se contulerunt.
 1182 Dele *ei* ex Cod. Impresso.
 1185 *Willelmus desponsavit Cognatum*, &c. pronuntur anno 1186, in Codice Impresso.
 1187 *Pone*, *apud Oppidum*. ibid. pro *Periclitandum pone prædandum*.
 1190 *Ante Guerram* loco in *Guerra*
 1197 Supplendus est ex Cod. Impresso.
 1203 *Rupford* est *Rufford* Monasterium in Agro *Nottingham.* Vid. *Monast. Angl.* Tom. 1. p. 848.
 1206 *Petrus* vocatur *Patricius* in Codice Impresso.
 1210 In Epistola Abb. de *Glenus*, quod Festum *S. Ambrosii* in *Aprili*?

Notæ Tertiæ.

- 1148 & 1149, in MS. videntur contrarii.
 1212 Manifeste errat XIX pro XIII. Vid. 1198.
 1212 In *Episcopatum* pro in *Episcopum*.

N U M. IV.

Copies of two antient Records, examined and attested by Mr. W. Ryley, relating to the History of R. de Suthwel.

Patent. de 20 R. Ed. 1. Membr. 7. in Dorso. De querel. Hominum Insulæ de Man aud. & term. &c.

REX dilectis & fidelibus suis Nicho. de Segrave Seniori, Osberto de Spaldington, & Joh. de Suthwel, salutem. Sciatis quod assignavimus vos Justic. nros. ad querelas omnium & singulorum de insula de Man se conqueri volentium de quibuscunq; transgress. & injuriis eis per quoscunq; tam ballivos & ministros n^{ros}. quam alios in pred. Insula illatis audiend. & terminand.

minand. & ad plenam & celerem justitiam partibus inde faciend. secundum legem & consuetud. partium illarum. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod ad certos dies & loca quos, &c. in insula predict. venire fac. coram vobis tot & tales &c. In cujus &c. T. R. apud. Berewyk XV, die Julii.

Vascoin. 20 Ed. 2. m. 32. De protestate data tractandi de confederacione inter regem & illos qui de amicitia regis esse voluerint.

Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. De fidelitate & circumspectione dilecti & fidelis nostri Johannes de Suthwell in ducatu Vascon. Existens. plenam fiduciam obtinentes, damus ei tenore presentium protestatem tractandi & ordinandi super confederacione & amicitia inter nos & omnes illos qui de amicitia nra, voluerint deo propicio ineundis, & confederacionem & amicitiam hujusmodi nomine nro. affirmandi, ratum & gratum habentes & habituri quicquid per eundem Johannem factum fuerit in premissis. In cujus, &c. dat. apud Portsmouth IX. die Decembris.

N. B. I searched for the rolls in the tower, whence these transcripts are said to be taken, and found the former in the place referred to; but could not meet with any Gascoin-roll in the 20 of Ed. 2.

N U M B. V.

Bulls, &c. relating to the Subjection of the Church of Scotland to the Archbishop of York; out of the Cottonian Library, Cleop. C. IV.

Bulla Innocentii Papæ Episcopis Scotiæ in genere.

Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum dei, universis per Scotiam episcopis, Eboracensis ecclesiæ suffraganeis, salutem & apostolicam benedictionem. Æquum est ut qui aliis præesse desiderat, suis prælatis subesse nullatenus erubescat. Obedientia namque & humilitas sunt virtutum custodes; arrogans vero & insolens indignationem Dei incurrit, &, odiosus effectus, a se proxime amorem repellit. Cæterum, sicut obedientes & humiles filii sunt in sedis apostolicæ gremio confovendi, ita (e converso) rebelles & elati ex districto rigore justitiæ digni sunt animadversionibus coercendi. Ut ergo debitus honor & justitia cum integritate singulis conservetur, per apostolica scripta vobis præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus venerabili fratri nostro Thurstino Ebor. Archiepiscopo, tanquam proprio metropolitano vestro, absq; refragatione aliqua, obedientiam & reverentiam humiliter deferatis: et quemadmodum a predecessoribus nostris felicitis memoriæ, Calixto & Honorio, romanis pontificibus, vobis mandatum est, ei irrefragabiliter pareatis. Dat. Altisiodori, III Kalend. Decembris.

Bulla directa omnibus episcopis Scotiæ, in specie & nominatim.

Arianus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus H. Glasguensi, Christiano Wittenensi, R. Sancti Andree, M. de Dunblan, G. Duncheldensi, T. Berthunensi, G. Apperdunensi, W. Murreuen. S. Sancti Petri in Ros, & A. Catenesiensi episcopis, salutem & apostolicam benedictionem. Quotiens in aliqua ecclesia, divina clementia disponente, talis pastor statuitur, de cujus discretione atq; prudentia bonam fiduciam optinemus, tanto majori gaudio ex hoc ipso replemur, quanto de omnium ecclesiarum profectu cogimur existere studiosi; et ideo venerabilem fratrem nostrum Rogerum archiepiscopum Ebor. & metropolitanum vestrum debita benignitate suscepimus, & pallium (pontificalis, scilicet, plenitudinem potestatis) ipsi concessimus, atque circa nos aliquandiu commorantem, sicut illum, quem sincero cordis affectu speciali prærogativa diligimus, honeste tractavimus, & eum inter fratres & coepiscopos nostros, sicut decuit, charum habuimus. Ipsum itaque ad ecclesiam suam eum gratia sedis apostolicæ & literarum nostrarum prosecutione, ducente domino, tedeuntem, fraternitati vestræ attentius commendamus: præsentium autoritate præcipiendo mandantes, ut eum tanquam metropolitanum vestrum

vestrum diligere & honorare curetis, & debitam ei observantiam atque reverentiam metropolitico jure, objectione seposita, deferatis. Quod si non feceritis, & ei nolueritis obedire, scire vos volumus quod nos sententiam, quam idem frater noster in aliquem vestrum propter hoc canonice promulgaverit, nos, auctore deo, ratam habebimus. Dat. Romæ apud S. Petrum, III Kal. Martii.

Episcopis Scotiæ, quod obediant metropolitano suo Ebor. archiepiscopo.

Calixtus episcopus servus servorum dei, dilectis in christo fratribus, universis per Scotiam episcopis, Ebor. Ecclesiæ suffraganeis, salutem & apostolicam benedictionem. Nostris jamdudum literis universitatem vestram nos monuisse meminimus, ut venerabili fratri nostro Thurstino Ebor. Archiepiscopo reverentiam & obedientiam deferatis. Cæterum, sicut nobis significatum est, vos usque adhuc id facere neglexistis. Ea propter iterata vobis apostolicæ sedis præceptione mandamus, ut, omni objectione seu dissimulatione seposita, prædictum fratrem nostrum Eboracensis ecclesiæ metropolitanum vestrum impositum cognoscatis, eique reverentiam & obedientiam impendatis. Porro ecclesiarum electi ad eum, pro consecrationis susceptione, tanquam metropolitanum suum, accedant; nec alter eorum, sine ipsius licentia, consecrare præsumat. Hujusmodi enim consecratio irrita erit; & nos dimittere non possumus quin canonicam inde justitiam, præstante Deo, faciamus. Dat. Tarenti, XVIII Kal. Februarii.

Regi Scotiæ, quod ipse & episcopi pareant Ebor. Archiepiscopo, metropolitano suo.

Calixtus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, illustri & glorioso Scotorum regi Alexandro, salutem & apostolicam benedictionem. Pro episcoporum, qui in tuo sunt regno, præsumptione, atque pro venerabilis fratris Thurstini Ebor. Archiepiscopi negotio, alias ad te jam literas misimus, nec exauditi sumus. Quamobrem nobilitatem tuam, literarum præsentium visitatione in domino commonentes, præcipimus, ut regni tui episcopos sese invicem consecrare, absque metropolitani licentia, nullatenus permittas. Cum autem ecclesiarum opportunitas exigit, ad metropolitanum suum, Eboracensem videlicet archiepiscopum, electi reverenter accedant, &, aut per ejus manum, aut, si necessitas ingruit, per ejus licentiam, consecrationem accipiant. Cui nimirum archiepiscopo & illos & teipsum, tanquam patri & magistro, humiliter obedire apostolica auctoritate præcipimus. Dat. Tarenti, XVIII Kal. Februarii.

Recognitio regis Scotiæ super Subjectione Episcoporum Scotiæ Ecclesiæ Ebor.

Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri Rogero Ebor. Archiepiscopo, apostolicæ sedis legato, & dilectis filiis, decano & canonicis Ebor. Salutem & apostolicam benedictionem. Utilitati ecclesiæ vestræ in hac parte provida sollicitudine consulere ac proficere cupientes, tenore literarum charissimi in Christo filii nostri Willielmi illustris regis Scotiæ de verbo ad verbum, nihil addito vel dempto, scribi fecimus, & sub sigillo nostro vobis duximus transmittendum, ut in perpetuam memoriam habeatis. Quarum siquidem literarum tenor talis est. Reverendissimo domino & patri Alexandro Dei gratia summo pontifici, Willielmus eadem gratia rex Scotiæ salutem & devotam reverentiam. Noverit sanctitas vestra quod de subjectione ecclesiæ Scotiæ quam Eboracensis ecclesia antiquo jure sibi vendicat, tam ex scriptis auctenticis, quas inspexi, quam ex relatione & testimonio virorum antiquorum, auctenticorum & veridicorum, diligenter veritatem investigando comperi, quod ab antiquis temporibus ad Ebor. Ecclesiam de jure pertineat, ad quod possessionem ejus hostilitate & potentia regum prædecessorum meorum amiserit. Sed jam per gratiam dei inter dominum meum regem Angliæ & me pace in perpetuum reformata, suppliciter postulo quatenus domino meo regi & regno suo & Ebor. Ecclesiæ prædictam possessionem & subjectionem, vestra auctoritate, omni objectione & appellatione remota, restitui & redintegrari præcipiatis: nec sine maximo dampno meo, & terræ meæ detrimento, prætermitti potest, quin ita fiat, quum in pace reformata inter dominum meum regem & me
convenit,

convenit, & illud idem juramento firmavi. Scio enim quod in maximum periculum animarum nostrarum redundaret, si id quod pro certo scimus competere debere effectui non manciparetur. Valeat semper sanctitas vestra. Dat. Anagn. III Idus Martii.

Another letter from the King of Scots to the Archbishop of Canterbury, relating to the same subject with the former. Bibl. Cott. Claudins, A, 1.

DOMINO & patri carissimo R. venerabili Cantuar. rex Scotorum salutem & devotæ fidelitatis obsequium. Notificamus vobis, benignissime pater, quod episcopus ecclesiæ S. Andreæ apostoli, dominus videlicet Turgotus, 11 Kal. Septembris migravit a seculo. Unde valde contristamur, tanto solatio destituti. Requirimus ergo paternitatis vestræ consilium & auxilium, sicut confidimus in vobis, ut secundum Deum talem substituere valeamus, qui nos & gentem nostram, per Deo placitam conversationem regere & docere utiliter sciat. Petimus etiam ut recordari dignemini, quod vobis jam quadam vice suggestimus de episcopis S. Andreæ, quod in antiquis temporibus non solebant consecrari nisi vel ab ipso Romano pontifice, vel ab Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi. Hocque tenemus, & per successiones temporum ex auctoritate fixum habuimus, quosq; Dominus Lanfrancus Archiepiscopus, nescimus quo pacto, absentibus nobis & nostris, Thomæ Ebor. Archiepiscopo illud ad tempus relaxaverat. Quod omnino, vestra, si placet, auctoritate suffulti, non concedimus. Nec igitur—si ad id nobis nostræq; ecclesiæ reparandum vestrum adjutorium sperare debemus. Quod humillimis votis desideramus & petimus. Secreto nobis certitudinem dignis vestris apicibus remandare curate. Valete.

[There are many expressions in these letters, the two last especially, which are justly liable to exception; and have been thought by men of skill, to favour strong of the English cloyster. Nor shall I pretend to vindicate them.]

N U M B. VI.

Part of a Letter from my worthy Friend Mr. Robert Wudrow, Library-keeper at Glasgow, giving some Account of the Interpolations and Omissions in Knox's Church-History, as published by D. Buchanan.

TH E edition referred to, in the following notes, is that in folio, at London 1644, which I have not observed to differ, in any thing, from that, in quarto, which was published at Edinburgh the same year. In this there is an account of Patrick Hamilton and Walter Mill, which I take to be the publisher's own; for both the old octavo edition, and our manuscript want them; as they likewise do all the marginal notes. In the manuscript there is a preface, written by the author himself, which is unaccountably omitted by the publisher; wherein we have a view of the first draught of this history. "Bruites," says he, "where dispersed of us the professors of Jesus Christ within this realm. In the beginning of our enterprize, orders were taken, that all our proceedings should be committed to register, as they were by such as then traveled painfully both by tongue and penn, and so was collected a just volume, as will after appear, containing things done from the 53d year of God, till the arriveal of the queens majesty furth of France; with the which the collectors and writers of that time were content, and never minded further to have traveled in that kind of writing; but after invocation of the name of God, and consultation with some faithful, it was agreed, that faithful rehearsal should be made of such personages as God had made instruments of his glory, by opposing themselves to the manifest abuses, superstition, and idolatry, &c. Albeit there be no great number, yet are they moe than the collectors would have looked for at the beginning, and therefore the volume is somewhat enlarged above expectation. And yet must we crave, in the beginning of all, the gentle readers not to look of us for such a history as shall express all things that have occurred within this realm, during the time of this terrible conflict, that has been betwixt the saints of God, and these bloody wolves that claim to

" them

“ themselves the title of clergy: for with the policy mind we to meddle no further than it has “ religion mixed with it.”

P. 2. In the articles of the Lollards, only that which is in *Italick* characters is mentioned in the manuscript.

P. 4. The reference to Fox's martyrology is in the manuscript. And in the first volume of Fox's book, which was printed in Latin at Basil in 1558, fourteen years before Knox's death, p. 121. there is a pretty long account of Patricius Hamiltonius Scotus. This edition Knox might see, and, no doubt, refers to.

P. 34. About the middle of the page, all that comes betwixt the words (Mary Daughter to Robert Bruce,) and those of (after that he spake, &c.) are omitted in the manuscript, which likewise wants the passage, in the same page, about the feigned testament.

P. 35. It wants that favourable character of King James the Fifth, from the words (yet to speak the truth) as far as the (question of his government.)

P. 41. line 33. The manuscript gives that passage of the history only thus, “ For by God's word would not the divorcement of his father from Elizabeth Hume his first wife be found lawful, and so would the said marriage be declared null, and he a bastard.” Buchanan's additions are yet larger in what follows, from the 41st line of this page, to the third of the next, where he puts a note on the margin [*fides fit penes authorem*] as if he doubted of the truth of a story which is all of his own telling and inserting.

P. 55. line 21. From the words (had a convention,) to those of (that bloody wolf, &c.) And again, from line 29, to the 44th, are all wanting both in the manuscript and octavo book.

P. 57. line 30. The publisher refers to certain records, whereas the manuscript says only this: “ The manner of his accusation, process and affizes following, as we have received the same from the book of martyrs, which word by word we have inserted, and that because the said book, for the great price thereof, is rare to be had ”

P. 67. line 23. All that comes after the words (considered a pretty while,) as far as (the cardinal, &c.) in the 12th line in the following page is wanting in the manuscript. So is also—

P. 69. line 12. From (the trumpets founding,) to line 42, at (on the other side, &c.) Nor has it the prediction of Mr. Wishart concerning the cardinal's death.

P. 70. The print and manuscript differ so mightily, that they are not to be compared without transcribing the whole: but since the matter itself is of no great consequence, that shall not be farther noted.

P. 88. From the words (then God will surely stop, &c.) at line 42, as far as (this conclusion, p. 89. l. 7.) all is added by Buchanan.

P. 101. The publisher has omitted a severe reflection upon the queen, which is not inconsiderable for the book's being Knox's. The words, in the manuscript, after those of (failed of all he had written, l. 32.) are these: “ And therefore it was expedient that her daughter now mischievously reigning, should look to that which passed before, least that, in following the counsels of the wicked, she end more miserably than her crafty mother did.

P. 136. Several little circumstances, in the story of the taking down of the Friars in St. Johnston, are left out.

P. 233. The print takes no notice of these words, in the manuscript, (the said Duke of Chattellarault being declared by act of parliament in Scotland, to be heir apparent to the crown thereof.)

P. 252. Immediately before the words (upon the sixteenth of June, stands this passionate reflection in the manuscript: “ God for his great mercies sake rid us of the rest of the Guisian blood amen amen. For of the tyranny of the Guisian blood, in her that for our unthankfulness now reigneth above us, we had sufficient experience: but of any vertue that ever was “ espyed in K. James the Fifth, whose daughter she is called, to this hour, we have never ane “ spectacle to appear.”

P. 253. The manuscript wants all those citations out of the scripture; which are very numerous on the margin of the printed book.

P. 279. After the having taken notice that (their commission was to crave assistance, &c.) the manuscript adds, "and to propone the Earl of Arran, who then was in no small estimation with us, to the Queen of England in marriage."

P. 281. The first nine lines of the print, taking notice of the death of Charles the Ninth of France, who out-lived Knox, are not in the manuscript.

P. 283. line ult. After (sing the 23d psalm) the manuscript inserts, "the order of election of elders and deacons in the privy kirk of Edinburgh, in the beginning when there was no face of a kirk, nor oppin assemblies, but privy and secret in houses or in the fields." This is near a sheet of paper; and yet neither Buchanan's book, nor the octavo, take any notice of it.

P. 301. lin. 19. Buchanan's print says, (the books of discipline have been so often published of late, that we shall forbear to print them at this time. These are plainly the publisher's own words; since in the manuscript it runs thus: "and now, because we have diverse times before made mention of the said book, we have thought it expedient to insert the whole, in this part of our history, to the end that posterity to come may judge as weel what the worldlings refused, as what policy the godly ministers required." After which are added (these books of discipline) which end the third book of the history. The octavo edition has them likewise, and concludes with them, as the former volume of the manuscript also doth.

In the fourth book, which makes the second manuscript volume, Buchanan has omitted many severe reflections on the queen's behaviour with Chattelet, &c. but differs not in any occurrences of moment. Nothing of the fifth book, which is perhaps the publisher's own composition, appears in the manuscript.

[I have seen four or five copies of the quarto edition of Knox's history, all of them fragments, beginning at p. 17. and ending, abruptly, with 560. In that of the library at St. Martin's there is the following note, giving a reason for such a defect: "This book, being suppressed, the remaining copies are imperfect, without beginning and end."]

N U M B. VII.

A list of Original Charters, granted by the Kings of Scotland, &c. to the Abbey of Coldingham, now kept in the Dean and Chapter's Treasury at Durham; communicated by the Reverend and Learned Dr. John Smith, Prebendary of that Church.

CHARTÆ Edgari regis: 1. De Coldingham cum pertinentiis ejus. 2. De eodem, & de terris habitis in Lodoneo: 3. De Fiswich. 4. De Swintun. 5. De Paxtun.

Chartæ Alexandri: 1. De omnibus habitis dei quo Edgarus vivus & mortuus fuit, & nominatim de terra quæ jacet inter Horverden & Cnapedene. 2. De Swintuna.

Chartæ Davidis: 1. De Coldingham, &c. cum libertatibus. 2. De Ederham & Nesbit, cum ecclesiis, &c. 3. De ecclesia S. Mariæ de Berwick in escambio pro ecclesiæ de Melros. 4. De libertate ecclesiæ de Coldingham, ob omni consuetudine & servitio Roberti S. Andreæ, salva episcopali obedientia. 5. De tofto & domibus in villa de Denham. 6. Confirmatio donationis com. Gaspatricii de Ederham & Nesbit, excepto quod monachi dabunt filio ejus & hæredi XXXs. pro conredio regis, & excepto exercitu regis. 7. Mandatum vice-comiti de Rokesburg ut operatio quam quæsit de Nesbit ponatur in respectum, donec rex veniret in illam provinciam. 8. De Swintun; concessa Arnolpho militi, faciendo servitium monachis Dunelmensibus. 9. De eadem; eidem, reddendo XLs. per ann. sine servitio. 10. De divisis inter Coldingham & Bonekill. 11. De protectione, priori de Coldingham, pro anno. 12. Breve vice-comiti de Berwick, ad inquirendum quomodo Westerhumfden teneatur.

Chartæ Malcolmi: 1. De quiete a teloneo. 2. De protectione ne placitent vel respondeant, nisi in præsentia sua & supremæ justitiæ suæ & ne ministri ejus de Berwick homines eorum implacitent. 3. De nemoribus & warrenna. 4. De libero teloneo. 5. De fugitivis de Coldingham. 6. Ad herbergandam villam de Coldingham cum hominibus propriis.

Chartæ

Chartæ Wilhelmi: 1. De quieta a teloneo. 2. De nemoribus & gwaftiniis, & custodia eorum monachis concessa. 3. Confirmatio donationis Gospatricii comitis, de Nesbit & Ederham. 4. Testimonium regis pro ecclesia Dunelm. in controversia cum ecclesia de Croiland pro villa & ecclesia de Ederham. 5. De pace inter nos & episcopum S. Andreae, super Cano & Cuniveto, &c. 6. De pace inter nos & Rogerum electum episcopum S. Andreae super eisdem. 7. Confirmatio renunciationis Wilhelmi de Golin de majore Lumesdene, pro una carrucata terræ in Swinton. 8. Confirmatio donationis dimidii carrucatae in Aldecambus hospitali & leprosis ibidem. 9. Confirmatio quietæ clamationis terrarum quas Swenus presbyter habuit in Fiffwich, Pendergest, &c. 10. De divisio inter Coldinghamfire & Bonekillfire. 11. De liberis consuetudinibus in Coldingham & Coldinghamfire. 12. De venditione unius tofti & XX acrarum terræ in Coldingham. 13. Ne quis manu teneat homines prioris & conventus de Coldingham. 14. De fugitivis et nativis de Coldingham & Coldinghamfire, ut eos juste habeat prior et servientes ejus. 15. Queta clamatio de duobus solidis quos regis servientes de Berwick exigere solebant. 16. De fugitivis. 17. De libera remotione hominum de Coldinghamfire, ad villam de Coldingham hospit andam. 18. Concessio Roberto de Aubeny de XX marcis de Wattinga debitis regi a priore de Coldingham. 19. De fosto in Hadington.

Chartæ Alexandri: 1. De teloneo quieto. 2. De nemoribus & gwaftiniis. 3. De libera warrenna & foresta in Coldinghamfire. [Istæ sunt Alex. 2. sequuntur Alex. 3.] 4. De divisio inter Coldingham & Bonekill. 5. Protectio, priori & monachis de Coldingham. 6. Queta clamatio de duodecima villa de Coldinghamfire. 7. Confirmatio quietæ clamationis filii comitis Patricii de Villa de Swynewude. 8. Confirmatio donationis Davidis de Quickswde terrarum in aldecambus, &c. 9. De viginti marcis solvendis a priori de Coldingham Roberto de Aubeny, donec rex alias providerit. 10. Remissio XX marcarum de Coldinghamfire, nomine Wattingæ. 11. Remissio XX marcarum, nomine Wattingæ, in perpetuam eleemosynam. 12. Ne major, &c. de Berwick impediunt mercaturas lanæ prioris apud Coldingham. 13. De octo solidis a molendino de Berwick ad monachum in Farn-Island. 14. Confirmatio donationis Davidis de Quickswde terrarum in Aldecambus, &c. 15. Breve priori A. & conventui S. Cuthberti ne intrent placitum, &c. de Swintune, antequam veniat ad me. 16. Breve priori Dunelm. ad liberand. Nuntio cardinalis XL libras, quas miserat per monachos de Coldingham anno præterito. 17. Priori, quod nullus capiat namos suos, vel hominum suorum, in baronia de Coldingham, pro debito vel forisfactura.

Chartæ Roberti: 1. Concessio quinq; cervorum annuatim monachis Dunelm. ad festum translationis S. Cuthberti. 2. Warrantia Roberti secundi pro quinq; cervis. 3. Confirmatio Roberti regis, in qua recitantur quinq; chartæ; tres Edgari, una Davidis, & una comitis Dunbar.

Chartæ regum Angliæ: 1. Wilhelmi regis Angliæ confirmatio donationis Edgari. 2. Edwardi R. Angliæ confirmatio chartæ Alexandri de libera warrenna, &c. 3. Henrici regis Angliæ breve contra inquietantes regna & spoliantes.

Chartæ comitam Scotiæ: 1. Quatuor chartæ Davidis comitis, fratris Edgari. (quarum, 1. de ecclesiæ de Ederham. 2. de Horeverdane. 3. de Swinton. 4. item de Swinton.) 2. Septem chartæ Henrici filii regis Scotiæ nepotis Edgari. (quarum 1. de Swinton. 2. de piscaria de Bradeyere. 3. de protectione. 4. de Ederham & Nesbit. 5. de Fiffwich & Pendergest. 6. de pace & protectione, monachis Dunelm. 7. de confirmatione donationis Gospatricii comitis, fratris Dolfini de Ederham & Nesbit.) 3. Chartæ quatuor Gospatricii comitis, fratris Dolfini, & filiorum, de Ederham & Nesbit. 4. Charta Duncani filii regis Malcolm. de Tinningham, &c. 5. Chartæ plures comitum de Dunbar.

Chartæ Procerum Scotiæ: 1. Wilhelmi de Veteri Ponte restitutio terrarum quas injuste occupaverat. 2. Abbatum, Johannis Kolcoensis & Laurentii Melrossensis, testificatio compositionis factæ inter nos & Gauterum Olefart de ecclesia de Smalhom. 3. Gauteri Olefart, de ecclesia de Smalhom. 4. Thorlongi, de ecclesia de Ederham. 5. Edwardi de Aldecambus queta clamatio de Aldecambus pro majore Lumesden. 6. Gerardi de Penthatleth queta clamatio de terra inter Ederham & Blenerne. 7. Wilhelmi de Lindseie de ecclesia de Ercheldun. 8. Walteri de Bois de terra apud Tavennaus. 9. Ejusdem de terra in campo de Caruderes.

N U M B.

N U M B. VIII.

An Act of Parliament, of a singular Nature, passed by James the First of Scotland; the Original whereof, under Seal, is now in the Treasury of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, indorsed, per Schenes.

Actum parliamenti serenissimi principis domini Jacobi Dei gratia regis Scotorum illustris, tent. apud villam de Perth vicesimo sexto die mensis Maii, cum continuatione dierum, anno domini millesimo, quadringentesimo, vicesimo quarto, & regni sui decimo nono, comparentibus coram rege & tribus statibus regni sui dompno Willmo Broun manacho de Dunfermelyne gerent. se pro priore de Coldingham, ex parte una, & dompno Willmo Drake monacho Dunelm. Anglico, pro priore de Coldingham etian se gerent. parte ex altera, perlectisq; cartis & evidentiis utriusq; partis, & suis allegantiis & rationibus hinc inde auditis per presides parliamenti declaratum fuit & directum. Quod dictus dompnus Willmus Drake fuit & est in possessione legitima dicti prioratus de Coldingham cum juribus & pertinentiis suis. Sed quia dictus prioratus adustus erat aliquoties per Anglicos & destructus, preceptum fuit & injunctum per dominum regem & suum consilium eidem dompno Drake quod dictum prioratum reparari faciat & divinum servitium juxta facultates ejusdem & redditus debite supportari. Dat. sub testimonio magni sigilli dicti domini regis ad instantiam dicti dompni Willmi Drake apud Perth, secundo die mensis Junii annis domini & regni dicti regis supra dictis.

N U M B. IX.

Part of a Speech made by the late learned Lord Advocate of Scotland, Sir George Mackenzie, giving his Opinion of some modern Lawyers of that Kingdom.

ORnando tandem est hæc nostra de oratore investigatio nonnullis advocatorum characteribus quibus eloquentiam suam debet Scotia, & quibus non ingenium sed Roma defuit, ut non Scotiæ sed orbi exemplaria essent. Qui ante Cragium florere, nobis vix aliter cogniti sunt quam montes illi qui distantia non humilitate minuuntur. Ipse etiam Cragius tam recondita doctrina auctus erat, ut eloquentiam sperare vix possit; ejus tanta in foro auctoritas ut eloquentia non indigeret, & trunco (non frondibus) effecit umbram. Sharpius eloquentia non ambitu dignitatem advocati regii meruit; tantaq; ejus facundia, ut ea sæpe Cragii doctrinam vinceret. Successerunt his Hopius, Nicholsonus, & Stewartus; quem triumviratum ipse non aliter vidi quam solem occidentem auratis suis radiis hemispherium purpurantem solemus intueri. Hopius mira inventione pollebat, totq; ille fundebat argumenta ut amplificationi tempus deesset. Non orabat, sed arguebat; modo uniformi, sed sibi proprio. Nam cum vel argumentum vel exceptionem protulisset, rationem addebat; & ubi dubia videbatur, rationis rationem: ita rhetorica non illi defuit, sed inutilis apparuit. Divisisse dixisses Hopium & Nicholsonum provincias; hic enim eloquentiam nostram, ille jurisprudentiam, limavit. Nicholsonus, Hopio fere contrarius, faceto præludio, facunda causæ narratione, argumentisq; paucis, at summo cum judicio selectis, strenue et eleganter causam tuebatur. Hic primus nos a syllogismorum servitute manumisit, & Aristotelem Demostheni potius quam Ciceroni forum concedere coegit. Suo seculo fulmen fori dicebatur; omni vero paradigma fuit. In omnes lusus et jocos se sæpe resolvebat; sed, accipitris more, è conspectu aliquando astantium sublimi se protrahens volatu, in prædaam miro impetu descendebat. Stewartus argumenta penetrante doctrina acuebat, & callida suavitate condiebat. Illi peculiare erat postulata quædam ab adversario petere, suisque concessionibus incautum obruere.

Ego Gilmoriis, Nisbeto, Nicholsono juniore, Wedderburno, Kerro, Locartio et Cuninghamio contemporeneus, non æqualis, eram. Gilmoriorum senior sine ullo juris civilis auxilio doctissimus, raro miraculo, dici proterat; ingenioque suo praxin fori Scotici juri etiam Romano æquabat. Illum jura potius ponere quam de jure respondere dixisses; eique appropinquabant clientes

tanquam

tanquam judici potius quam advocato. Quasi alter etiam Hercules, nodosa et nulla arte perpolita clava adversarios prostravit; sine rhetorica eloquens, sine literis doctus.

Opposuit ei providentia Nisbetum; qui summa doctrina consummataque eloquentia causas agebat, ut justitiæ scalæ in æquilibrio essent; nimia tamen arte semper utens, artem suam suspectam reddebat. Quoties ergo conflixerunt, penes Gilmorium gloria, penes Nisbetum palma fuit: quoniam in hoc plus artis & cultus, in illo plus naturæ et virium.

Nicholsonus junior eloquio usus est fanatico non Romano; & hinc concionabatur potius quam orabat: documentum posteris futurum illud ad persuadendum aptius quod seculo, licet sordido, et judicibus, licet hebetioribus, placet. Si autem doctus hic orationes posteris transmississet, Augusti seculum (illi notissimum) imitatus fuisset.

Gilmoriorum junior vigore potius quam studio orabat. Ille dicendi modum genio suo adeo consonum educavit, ut quid natura, quid ars, dictasset, vix distingui poterat: quæ natura enim produxit adeo polita erant, ut arte limata viderentur. Ingenii hujus arbiter non tyrannus, nunc senatoria gravitate dictabat, nunc comica facetia ludebat, nunc amplissimam materiam paucis exhauriebat; nunc sterilem insperata fecunditate dictabat. Quasi omnia iis licerent, qui omnia possunt! Nemo plus ingenio suo imperavit, nemo plus indulgit; junioribus advocatis innata generositate semper favens, eorum laudibus supra omnes est evectus, pecuniæ, contemptor, famæ avarus.

Wedderburnus morum probitate judices clienti conciliabat; dicendique suavitate eos corrumpere potuisset, si voluisset: nihil autem ille in facto, nisi quod verum, nec in jure, nisi quod justum, pathetice urgebat. Ciceronis lectioni semper incumberebat; unde illi dicendi genus uniforme & flexanimum: ex junioribus tamen nullus illum imitari poterat, sicut ille Ciceronem. Eloquium materiam, actio eloquium decorabat; fama que fugientem prosequabatur.

Locartius corpus alterum juris civilis, alterque Cicero, dici poterat. Illi etiam peculiare erat argumenta sua eo ordine disponere, ut tanquam lapides in fornice alter alterum sustineret; quæ ex improvviso, dum oraret, ei suggererentur, prompta solertia indicabat, aptisque locis disponebat. Nihil ab eo abscondidit jurisprudentia, & quamprimum casua illi a cliente aperiretur, sua omnia, omniaque adversarii, argumenta retexebat, & in ipsam sententiam qua definienda erat causa penetrabat. Iracundia, quæ alios oratores turbabat, eum tantum excitare solebat; vocem tamen catratu, vultumque rugis, deformabat.

Andreas Kerrus, Bituricis (Athenis illis jurisconsultorum, quibus ego etiam qualem qualem jurisprudentiam meam debeo) dum studeret, existimationem sibi peperit, in praxi nostra crudus, viam in foro doctrinæ suæ fiduciam violenter aperuit, unde seniores contemptui est expositus, in eumque; suos servos immisere, qui vocabula foro notissima ignorantem deriderent; combinationem tamen hanc, auditoribus potius consentientibus quam volentibus, superavit. Fastidii autem excessum nunquam superare poterat. Pœnas inde quot idie luebat. In foro autem versans injuriam nec ferre nec inferre debet. Argumenta illi sæpissime plurima & docta, sed nimia subtilitate adeo attenuata, ut, cum solide disputaret, sophistice tantum cavillare crederetur.

Cuninghamus, natura disertus & lucubrationibus doctus, dotes suas continuata per multos annos cum his disputatione mire auxerat. Ab initio chartulas etiam neglectissimas omniaque facti ramenta perscrutando, clientibus potius quam famæ se accommodaverat; nec in arguendo ea quæ juris erant sibi in suis orationibus indulgit, donec hos per plures annos disputantes audiverat, invidiamque ita prudenter vitavit donec eam superaverat: tandem tamen vere maturus, suaviter docteque oravit, & existimationem quam alii audacia rapiunt, ille modestia sua sibi conciliavit.

Viventes prætereo, ne aut adulatione aut emulatione corruptus videar; nec mortuis invidere debent qui famæ loco vita fruuntur. Ita ego nos oraturos spero, ut habeamus post mortem Cicerones qui Hortensios collaudent. illos autem militiæ togatæ heroas.

Tu longe sepulture, & limina semper adora.

F I N I S.

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T H E P R E F A C E.

THE general acceptance which my English and Scottish libraries met with in the neighbouring kingdom, easily drew me into a resolution of endeavouring to do the like agreeable service to Ireland; especially since God's providence and my sovereign's goodness, had given me my last lot in this island. In the gathering of collections for the two foregoing books, I had frequent opportunities of observing what Irish historians were contemporaries, and wrote of the same times, with those of the then separate kingdoms of England and Scotland; and it was a matter of no great labour to throw these into some short distinct Adversaria: but I am now under a more pressing obligation, than I then expected ever to have been, of paying my dying respects to a country which gives me and my family the present comfortable supports of life. To this end, I have lately made more discoveries (abundantly more) than I brought hither at the first; and I doubt not but this poor attempt will invite others to make much greater, and more valuable improvements. My grateful acknowledgments are due for the helps given me in this imperfect essay, out of the public and private libraries of both kingdoms: in several of which there are undoubtedly many rich pieces of latent treasure which have escaped my notice.

In my former notes I began, as I had reason, with the Cotton Library; and the high character which Archbishop Usher gives of its contents, in relation to the histories of every branch of the British dominions, encourages me to give it the like precedence here; (1) "Scriptorum (says he) nondum luci editorum, præ aliis, maximam mihi suppeditavit copiam bibliotheca illa Cottoniana nobilis, quæ una ad Britannicæ gentis historiam perficiendam plura confert adminicula, quàm omnes omnium aliæ junctæ simul." Out of this also (2) Sir James Ware acknowledges that he enriched his collections. In return to the primate's grateful recognition, the reader ought here to be acquainted, that the public is no less indebted to him for the many useful notes which he has left (under his own hand) in several (3) volumes of that incomparable repository of the British and Irish history.

In the Harleian there are a vast collection of original charters and grants of lands, given to several monasteries and religious houses in Ireland; which Sir Symonds Dewes had from (4) T. leian and Stafford, the publisher of Carew's *Pacata Hibernia*. In that of Trinity College, near Dublin, we have the greatest part of Archbishop Usher's collection of manuscripts relating to the history of this kingdom; though (to our sorrow) several of these, and particularly the famed *Liber Lecanus*, are lately lost and embezzled. Whatever of this kind was picked up by the late ingenious Dr. Madden, is happily fallen into the hand of the present Bishop of Clogher; whose collection will be frequently referred to in the following papers.

Above all, his Grace the Duke of Chandos's library is the most richly stored with our Irish manuscripts of all sorts; as will most evidently appear to the reader throughout most of the chapters of this treatise. There free recourse may be had (through the generous indulgence of the most noble proprietor) to great plenty of old annals, chronicles, laws, synodical constitutions, register-books, lives of saints, &c. and, in a word, the best stock of materials (any where extant) for the composition of a complete history, either ecclesiastical or civil, of the kingdom of Ireland. These were happily collected by Sir James Ware; who has given sufficient proof, as we shall have frequent occasion to shew, of his own abilities in making a proper use of them.

All our late (5) Irish historians protest against the censures of critics unacquainted with the language of their native country: which, we are told, has (6) suffered so little change, that what was written in it many ages ago, is as intelligible to the moderns as if penned yesterday. That their letters were not borrowed from other nations, seems probable from the name of their alphabet; which (being thus named by the Greeks, from their alpha and beta) is from a, b, c, the initials in the Latin, called *abcedarium*: but, in the ancient Irish, it is (7) *bethluishnion*; b, l, and n, being the three first letters in their eldest primers. Give me leave here to observe, that it appears highly probable to me, that the ancient Danes (as well as the (8) Saxons) had the use of letters from Ireland: for, as the modern Germans call a letter by the name of *buchstab*, which the Swedes render (as an Englishman would) by *bookstaf*, all the old northern nations, for the same reason, called it (9) *bogstaf*. Now, all the names of letters throughout the whole Irish alphabet are cut out of the woods; as (10) *beith*, *betula*; *Luis*, *ornus*; *Nion*, *fraxinus*, &c.

(1) Pref. 2d Antiq. Brit. p. 2. (2) Pref. to his Treatise de Script. Hib. (3) Claudius, B. 8. Nero, E. 1. Vespasianus, D. 15. Domitianus, A. 18. (4) Vid. Ath. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 452. (5) Keating, Walsh, O'Flaherty, &c. (6) Ogygia, p. 228. (7) Ib. 235. (8) Vid. A. Miræi Fast. Belg. Dec. 3. (9) O'Worm. Lit. Run. cap. 1. (10) Ogygia, p. 235.

The Runick Biarkan answers exactly to our beith: and (11) Wormius acknowledges, that his countrymen have one ancient alphabet, which they call *Ira Letur*, or *Irelandorum Literæ*. He shews us that this differed little from those which were communicated by his friends in other parts of the northern world; whence one would be tempted to hope that more Runick monuments and inscriptions might be found in Ireland, than in any other neighbouring country. And yet, supposing that these letters were indeed originally of our own growth, the (12) learned Varelus has given us good reasons why we are not to expect any such matter: for, as he observes, these characters were made use of in diabolical exorcisms, and other magical conjurations, in the times of paganism; and therefore, upon the first dawning of Christianity, the zealous monkish missionaries erased as many of these hand-writings of the devil (for so they conceived them to be) as fell in their way. If the gospel-favour prevailed thus in the old Scandinavian corners of the earth, well may we conclude that the heat was yet more intense in Ireland; and that our flames, when regulars and anchorites seem to have been as numerous as men of all other denominations, must effectually have burned up all the remains of heathenish idolatry. True it is, that on the borders of the two late kingdoms of England and Scotland, and in the Isle of man, several fair Runick inscriptions have (13) lately been discovered; but all these appear to be Christian, and for that reason must probably have escaped those fiery darts which destroyed their pagan fellows. I know not why others of the like sort may not be found in this kingdom; since we have such strong proof of the same alphabet's being known both to our natives and invaders, before either of them became Christian: but, whether the Norwegians brought those letters hither, or carried them originally from hence, we are sure that (before their acquaintance with the country) Ireland was the fountain of learning, to which all the western Christians had recourse; not only for gaining a right instruction in the principles of religion, but “(legendi et scholasticæ eruditionis gratiâ)” for being (14) instituted in all manner of academical learning. This was so notorious, that the monks of Glasterbury (who had forged evidence to prove St. Patrick's being a member of their house, as sure as Joseph of Arimathea was its founder) were for some time applied to as the chief doctors in divinity and philosophy; because they were supposed to be most perfectly versed in the (15) Irish systems and discipline. (16) Cambrensis, indeed, says, that Turgecius and his crew were so far from applying themselves to the Study of saving knowledge, and polite literature, that they barbarously destroyed and burned all the churches and libraries that came in their way.

Gram-
mar.

We have not wanted grammars for our instruction in the Irish tongue. Richard Creagh (titular Archbishop of Ardmagh, of whom more hereafter) wrote a treatise, *De Origine Linguae Hibernicæ*; which is quoted by the (17) *Analectes*, and said by Sir James (18) Ware to be still extant in manuscript. Some collections out of it, which may serve as a proof of the author's abilities this way, are in the hands of the present Lord Bishop (19) of Clogher: and perhaps the anonymous *Rudimenta Grammaticæ Hibernicæ*, in the late Primate (20) Marsh's library at Dublin, may supply the want of Creagh's book, if it be really lost. Besides these, E. Lhuyd (21) has obliged us with an abstract of a Latin-Irish grammar, published at Rome by father (22) O'Molloy, in the year 1677, as also with his own translation of an Armorick one, written in French by Julian Manoir, a Jesuit; and a Cornish one, penned by himself. Dr. Davies had superseded his like respects to Wales, his own native country, by the sending abroad his (23) *Antiquæ Linguae Britannicæ Institutiones et Rudimenta*, &c. But he has furnished the learned world with much greater helps than any writer that had gone before him, for the speedy obtaining of an useful acquaintance with all these four sister-languages. In his *Comparative Etymology*, there are infinite parallel observations relating to the origin of dialects, wherein (by the way) he takes notice, that the Irish have kept their letters and orthography beyond all their neighbouring nations, which makes their written language appear very different from what they speak; and his *Comparative Vocabulary* is a sort of a Latin-Celtick Dictionary, fetching in all the fore-mentioned several dialects. The same worthy person addressed himself to the gentlemen of Ireland and Wales, in two several epistles, in their own respective languages; wherein

(11) *Lit. Run.* cap. 5. ex *Epist. Arngr. Jonæ*. (12) *Runograph. Scand.* cap. (13) *Camd. Brit. Edit. Noviss. A. D. 1721.* et D. Hickes, *Differt. Epistol.* (14) *Vid. Bed. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 3. cap. 7. et 27. et Alcinii, Vit. Willibrordi apud Usser. in Præfat. ad Epist. Hib. Syllog.* (15) *Angl. Sacr. Par. 2. p. 91, 92.* (16) *Topogr. Hib. Distinct. 3.* (17) *Vid. Analæct. de Rebus Cathol. in Hib. Par. 3. p. 47.* (18) *De Script. lib. 1. cap. 12.* (19) *MS. 8° J. Madden.* (20) *Inter. MSS. D. Dudl. Loftus, n. 30.* (21) In his *Archæologia Britannica*, fol. Lond. 1707. (22) *12° Romæ, 1677.* under the title of *Grammatica Latino-Hibernica, nunc compendiata.* (23) *8vo. Lond. 1621.*

he makes several learned and judicious remarks on the antiquities of both nations. The latter of these was, at my request, translated into English by the author himself; and the former is lately put into the same dress, by a neighbouring clergyman, perfectly well skilled in the Irish tongue. I have thrown both these into the Appendix; for which every discerning reader will give me thanks.

Of the genealogical sonnets of our ancient bards, (the chief pillars whereon our old history is founded) Mr. Flaherty had (25) three. 1. The first written by G. Colman; of whom he gives this high character, that he was "Antiquariorum utriusque Scotiæ præstantissimus auctor." His canto's begin at the first peopling of the island; and eternize the names, inauguration, and obits of their first kings, down to the mission of St. Patrick. 2. Another was penned by G. Module, a religious of Ardbrecain, who lived in 1143. and continues the former from 428. to 1022. 3. The third, by Conan O'Malconar, begins also at 428. and ends at 1014. The two former of these were lately, if they are not still, in the Earl of (26) Clanrickard's possession. The like to these was that which (27) Colman O'Sefnan composed in honour of the ancient Kings of Ulster; A Conquovaro Nessaro ad everfam Emaniam: As also another by Flannus, who died, A. D. 1056. Another he frequently cites under the anonymous title of Poema Chronologicum (or, Annal a nall r, le) and supposes it to have been abused by transcribers; and therefore he bestows a whole (28) chapter in rectifying their mistakes. No man that has read of the Grecian deities of Zeus, Cronos, &c. in Hesiod's *Θεογονία* (transplanted into Italy by the names of Jupiter, Saturnus, &c.) and compares these with Odin, Thor, Freyr, &c. in the Edda Islandorum, published by (29) Resenius, will think the Irish any way singular in their historical poems: And it is manifest, that Saxo-Grammaticus (30) relies as much on the authority of his Eastern ballads (which he translates into elegant Latin metre) as Dr. Keating on the Western. The (31) English-Saxons also sang up the pedigrees of their Kings as high as Woden or Odin; (for they are the same.)

Poets.

If what (32) Keating and others report of the care taken by the government of the public records be true, it is hardly possible to imagine that any kingdom of the world should out-do Ireland, either in the antiquity or certainty of her histories. They tell us, that Ollamh Fodhla, the twenty-first monarch of the Melesian race (who is said to have reigned about nine hundred years before the birth of Christ) ordained a triennial parliament to be held at the King's pleasure, throughout all succeeding generations, at Temoria or Taragh: In which, amongst other state matters of the highest concern, a special committee was always appointed for the inspecting of all their monuments of antiquity, genealogies, chronicles, &c. Whatever was approved by them, as genuine and authentic, was presently inserted in the book of royal records, called thence the Psalter of Taragh. After the kingdom became Christian, such another parliament was held at the said palace of Taragh; wherein a like committee of three kings and three bishops (whereof St. Patrick himself was one) was appointed to review all the ancient chronicles: The keeping whereof was, afterwards, by the states of the realm, committed to the care and custody of the bishops. These prelates, for its more safe preservation, caused several authentic copies to be fairly engrossed; some whereof are extant to this day, under the titles of the book of Ardmach, the Psalter of Cashel, the book of Glean da Loch, &c. We are farther yet assured, that the Irish had ever so fond an esteem for their own genealogies and histories, that (in the most early ages of their civil state) they had above two hundred annalists and historians, whose families were seized in fee of considerable hereditaments for the carrying on of this national concern; every great lord being obliged to have a set of them, to transmit to posterity all the memorable occurrences in the several descents of his family: Yet so, as that all these inferior reports were subject to the fore-mentioned triennial scrutiny in parliament.

Historians.

That, after the planting of Christianity, history (as well as all other branches of good literature) should fairly "flourish, and bear fruit to perfection," we are not to wonder; since we assuredly know that, within a century after the (33) death of St. Patrick, the Irish seminaries of learning increased to such a degree, that most parts of Europe sent hither their children to be educated, and had from hence both their bishops and doctors. Afterwards, in the beginning of the ninth century, (under the government of King Conchabhar the Second, son of Donchadh) there were no fewer than seven thousand students in the single university of Ardmagh: Notwithstanding that there were three more (Cashel, Dundaleathglass, and Lismore) which vied with

Universities.

(25) Ogygia, Epist. Nuncup. p. 1, 2. (26) Ibid. p. 18. (27) Ibid. p. 13. (28) Ogygia, Epist. Nuncup. Par. 3. cap. 19. (29) 4to. Havn. 1665. (30) Hist. Dan. Fol. Soræ. 1644. (31) Vid. Chron. Af. ad. Ann. 449, 495, 547, 560. (32) Keating, Par. i. (Edit. Angl.) p. 134. (33) Vid. Bed, Eccles. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 4 & 27.

this; besides a great many private and independent colleges, in other parts of the kingdom. When I first read the forementioned account of the solemn reception of our poetical histories in the open parliaments, or public comitia of the kingdom, I could not but remember what Thucydides (34) says of the *Ἀγωνίσματα* of his own time; which his scholiast tells us were, *Ποιητικὰ Ἀγωνίσματα καμωδοποιῶν ἢ τραγωδοποιῶν*. These will not, by any means, allow to be compared with his own *Κτήματα ἐς αἰὲν*. That true, durable and lasting report, which he is now about to make of the beginning, progress, and conclusion of the Peloponnesian war. The said scholiast is of opinion, that his renowned historian had an eye to the trifling performances of Herodotus, if any should be so injurious as to compare his history with this: Whereas it does not appear (by any thing that follows in any of his eight books) that Thucydides had ever heard of Herodotus, or of the honour done to his Nine Muses in the Olympick games; which (by the way) are pretty exact mirrors of the triennial festivals at our Taragh.

That these Irish Filadha, and the northern (35) Skialdi (or Bards, &c.) were of the same class, and that the histories composed upon the credit of their poems or ballads, were of the like matter and manner in their texture, will easily appear to any that shall take the trouble of comparing the late edition of our Keating with the *Heims Kringla* of Snorro Sturloson; who wrote it above five hundred years ago in the Islandick tongue. The original (with a double translation, Latin and Swedish) was published by the learned (36) J. Peringskiöld: And the author himself was chief legislator (*lagman*, *legiferus*) in Island; and also an eminent skald or poet. The work bears title (as the *Regiam Majestatem* of Scotland) from the first words of it. It is a history of the northern monarchs from the first beginnings of government in these parts, down to the year of Christ, 1177, divided into sixteen parts; whereof the seven first are only in this former tome of the work now in my hands. Snorro was born in (37) 1179, and was barbarously murdered in 1241, in the sixty second year of his age. The history of the northern nations is divided into æras or periods; the former whereof is called *Bruna-aulld* (or *Ætas Cremationum*) being the time wherein the ancient Danes burned their dead. The other is named *Haugs-aulld* (or the *Ætas Tumulorum*) which commenced on King Freyr's being buried at Upsal in Sweden, and the funeral of King Dan (the Proud) in Denmark. The old Scaldian sonnets are of good authority: For being composed and publicly sung in the times of those princes, whose exploits they rehearse, it is not to be imagined, that any notorious falsehood would have been allowed (38). Aras Frod, the oldest Islandick historian, has beautified his work with the story of the kings of Norway, Denmark, and England. *Ynglinga Saga* is the first part of the history, and contains fifty-five chapters. It begins with the conquest of the Vans (whence Vandale) by Othin, Prince of Asgard; and proceeds to his magical colloquies with Mimer's Head; his various peregrinations, till he came to seat himself at Odinscy; his enchantments of the *Berferks-gangur*; his transforming himself into a bird, fish, beast or serpent; his two ravens, which fetched intelligence from foreign parts; his laws about burning the dead, with so much money as would bear their charges to his Walhall; and lastly, his death or retirement to Godheim, with his being thereupon deified. Shorter accounts are given us of his successors, Niorthur, Freyr or Yngui (whence his progeny, *Yynlingar*, and his story, *Ynglinga Saga*) and Freya. His lady was the last of the canonized Asiatick Princesses. After her reigned Fiolner (surnamed Yngui) the son of Freyr, drowned in a debauch at the court of his neighbour Frodo in Seland; who was succeeded by his son Sveghthir, who (in quest of Odin's Gotheim) was decoyed by a pigmy (*Dvergur*) into a fairy-hole, and there perished. To him succeeded his son Wanland, killed by an Incubus at Mara; whose son, Wisbur, was slain by his sons: One of which, Domalde, was his successor in the throne of Upsal; and (on a lasting dearth) was sacrificed by his own subjects: His son, Domar, died in peace at Upsal, and was buried at Fyreswall; where his *Bauta-Steinar* (*Cippi Sepulchrales*) are still to be seen: His son Dyggui, was the first of his line, that (in imitation of his great grandfather, on the mother's-side, Ringo of Denmark) took on him the title of kong or king; his ancestors having been only stiled *Drottmar*, or lords, and their wives *Darottsingar*: his son, Dagg, the Wise, was slain in revenging the death of his beloved (and familiar) Sparrow; after he had first sacrificed his own son, for a discovery of the person that killed her. In his time a general of an army was called Gram; and the soldiers, *Gramer*. His son and successor, Agni, was hanged in his own golden collar: His two sons, Alrick and Eirick, reigned after him; and are supposed to have mutually

(34) Edit. Hu'son, l. 1. § 21. (35) For Norwegian sonnets first carried into Island, see O. Worm. Appendix ad Lit. Run. Tho. Bartholin. Antiq. Dan. lib. 1. cap. 10. & 11. Et (præsertim) Thorm. Torfæi. Præfat. in Hist. Orcad. Et ejusd. Ser. Regum Dan. p. 53, 54, 55. (36) Fol. Holmizæ, 1697. (37) Præf. Peringsk. (38) Præf. Snorronis.

T H E P R E F A C E.

v

slain each other: As did their successors, the two sons of Alrick, Yngui and Alfur: To these succeed Huggleick, son of Alfur, slain by king Haka, a famous pirate, who hereupon seized on the kingdom of Sweden, and kept it three years. Haka, growing infirm, burned himself solemnly on ship board; and was succeeded by (Yngui's son) Jorunder, who was hanged by king Gylaug, another pirate: To him succeeded his son Aun, surnamed Gamel, or the Old; who sacrificed nine of his sons to Othin, for each of which he had a lease of ten years added to his own life: His tenth son, Egil, saved from the fire by his subjects succeeded him; and paid a tribute to Frodo, King of Denmark, in acknowledgment of the good services done him by that Prince against Tunno (his rebel-subject) who had usurped the crown of Sweden: To Egil (slain by a wild bull) succeeded his son Ottar, surnamed Wendel-Krake, from a wooden-crow sent him (in derision) from the Danish king; to whom he refused tribute, and by whom he was at last overcome and slain: His son Adil succeeded; and was killed by a fall from his horse: Eyften succeeded his father, and was (for his eminent piracies) called, Rex Maritimus, or Sækongar: He was slain in battle by Solva, another northern pirate, who reigned in his stead; till the Swedes revolted and cut him off. Hereupon Yngvar, the son of Eyften was seated in his father's throne: Which, being slain by the Eastlanders, he left to his son Anund; who for his great care in mending the high-ways (let briota *vegu um alla* Svithioth) was called Braut-Anund: His son and successor, Ingiald, enlarged his kingdom, by murdering twelve of the petty monarchs (Heraths Kongar) in his neighbourhood; a succession whereof had continued ever since the days of Othin: He was slain by Ivar, king of Schonen (a Scani) who became afterwards sole Monarch of all Swedeland, Denmark and Austria, a good part of Saxony, and a fifth of England: And put a period to the reign of the Ynglingi, in the kingdom of Upsal. Some few descendants were, Reguli, awhile in petty provinces (for four or five generations) down to Rangwald: With whom ends Thiodolf's song, out of which Snorro compiled this first part of his history: He that compares this, with what Keating and O'Flaherty have written of the affairs of Ireland, must acknowledge that all the three historians were guided by the same spirit.

The late (1) Mr. Toland valued himself much on the historical discoveries which he met within Mr. Toland's an old Latin manuscript of the Four Gospels in Irish characters; and fell foul on father Simon land. for affirming, that the book was written in Saxon letters, that the writer was an English benedictine monk, and his name Dom. Aelbrigte: Whereas, says (2) Nazarenus, the truth of the matter is, Do is an Irish prepositive particle; and Maelbrigte, the transcriber's name, signifies the servant of BRIGIT, or (as the aboriginal Irish were wont to Latinize their own names) BRIGIDIANUS. In like manner he assures us that Maolmuire is MARIANUS; Maolcolium, COLUMBANUS, &c. Before I venture to consider this criticism, it may be convenient to observe thus much to the reader, That there are many ancient copies of the Four Gospels which have the like historical notes in their margins as this has; which will now be easily made appear, since Mr. Toland's book is (since he first perused it) fallen into other good company in the Harleian library. The Oxford (3) catalogue of manuscripts takes notice of one such copy, whereof this account is there given: "Codex hic vetustissimo Hibernorum Characterē exaratus, continet tantum principia Evangeliorum secundum Matthæum, Marcum, et Lucam, integrum vero Evangelium Joannis. Habentur in margine quædam genealogiæ Hibernicæ." There's also a venerable vellum manuscript, in the college (4) library at Dublin, of the four Latin Gospels; whereto are prefixed the contents of the chapters, interwoven with old grants to monasteries (and other matters) in the Irish tongue. This is called the book of St. Columbkille, The following inscription is on a silver-cross upon the cover of this book, said to be Columba's own writing, and given to the library of Trinity-College in Dublin by Dr. Jones, bishop of Meath. "Oroid acus bendacht Coluimb chille do pland macc Mailsechnail do righ Erenn la sandernad a Cumddach so. Oratio et benedictio Columbæ Killæ, fit Flanno filio Malachicæ, regi Hiberniæ, qui hoc operimentum fieri fecit." This Flan was king of Ireland, from the year 879, to the year 916. There are three or four more very ancient Latin copies in the same (5) library. In a word, it was common (of old) to register publick transactions in these sacred books; inasmuch as that we are told that even (6) "Acta Curie Comitatus in Libros Sacros, tanquam in Tabulas, publicas solebant referri." And severe curses are sometimes annexed on the corrupters of such records. I shall not dispute Mr. Toland's skill in the Irish

(1) Nazarenus, Let. 2. p. 1. (2) Ibid. p. 10. (3) 8vo. Membr. p. D. Joh. Episc. Norvic. n. 1664. (4) Fol. D. 23. (5) 4to. C. 43. G. 14. et 37. A. 23. (6) Dr. Hickes, Dissert. Epist. p. 9.

tongue,

tongue, lest I should *give myself an air of knowing what I do not*: especially since I find that (7) Mr. Flaherty long ago made the same remark: But that the termination, Anus, in Roman names, is always of the same import with Maol in the forementioned instances, I do very much question. The famous (8) Gospels of St. Cuthbert have this note in the end of that according to St. Luke: "Explicit Evangelium secundum Lucanum." Will Nazarenus hence conclude that this gospel was penned by one of St. Luke's servants? A very (9) learned person thinks this reading to be genuine; and that Lucas, in other places, is only a contraction of Lucanus: As Demas, he thinks, is of Demanus; Silas of Silanus, &c. Whatever regard may be given to this the opinion of Mr. Wangle (whose judgment (10) equals his industry) will not be despised. He (11) observes that this termination is only to be met with in the writings of the later Romans; who (*Magniloquii causa*, in a bombast manner) have thus prolonged the primitive proper names of their ancestors: Making out of Justus (for example) Justinus and Justinianus; out of Magnus, Major, Majoranus; Maximus, Maximinus, Maximianus, and Maximinianus, &c. Thus Offa and Offanus (Beda and Bedanus, Columba and Columbanus, &c.) are different spellings of the name of one and the same person in several of the old English historians; and so also are Colcus and Colcanus, in those that treat of the Irish (12) affairs,

Culdees.

There is another critical remark made by Mr. Toland, wherewith I am not altogether satisfied; notwithstanding that he has assured me, that the Irish notes on his gospels were as easy to him as a Pater-Noster could be to father Simon. He says (13) that the old Culdees were a sort of lay-religious, who had the power of electing their own bishops or superintendants; and that they were so named from the original Irish, or ancient Scottish word, Ceilede, signifying separated or espoused to God. He acknowledges (14) that George Buchanan had the advantage over other historians of his country, in understanding the ancient Irish language; and yet this great master of the Irish tongue explains the word (15) Culdees by *Dei Cultores*, just as his informer (Hector Boetius had done before him: Whereas (16) Nazarenus himself assures us, That his forefaid etymology "cannot be denied by any man who is tolerably versed in the language of the Irish, or in their books; one of which, a chronicle mostly in verse, entitled "Psalter Na'rran, was written by a Keldee, Aonghus Ceilde; Latinized, *Æneas Colideus*, about "the year 800." To give a full history of the Culdees, would take up more room than this preface can afford. I will only say, that Mr. Toland's justification of these primitive lay-elders from the practice of the Alexandrian church in the choice of their prior or president, may be as pertinently alledged for the countenancing of English deans and chapters in the execution of their Conge d'Eslires; and all that Sir James Dalrymple had made evident, from incontestible authorities, is, that the Scottish Culdees had lands and churches appropriated to them. And who ever denied this? The short story of these monks is, That they were of the Irish rule; carried into Scotland by St. Columb, and thence dispersed into the northern parts of England. They were so named from the black habit which they wore: For Culdee signifies as plainly a black monk (from the colour of his hood or coul) as Culwen, signifies a white one. John (17) Leland mentions two rivers, Clarduy or black Clar, and Clarwen or white Clar; which unite into one stream, in either Cardiganshire or Carmarthenshire: And there is a famous lake on the confines of my diocese, whereinto fall two rivers of the name of black-water; and out of which a larger than both those descends, by that of the Bann or white. In Mr. Edw. Lhudy's catalogue of Welsh manuscripts, which he left behind him, collected and transcribed in his travels, the first book is a large collection of poems; whereof the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth bear the title *cywydh i erchi milchi du*, and *cywydh i erchi milaft wen*. i. e. Sepulchral elegies on a black greyhound dog, and a white greyhound bitch. To bring all this home to our present purpose, I am farther to acquaint the reader, that in a cartulary of St. Begh's in the Earl of Oxford's library, Thomas, son of Gaspatrick, gives (amongst other benefactions) Salinum in Culwen. This Culwen is on the sea coast in Galloway; and had its name from a neighbouring rock, which was thought to resemble a white monk. It was given by the said Thomas to Patrick, his second son, who (upon the death of his elder brother Thomas) succeeded to his father's estate in England, and seated himself at Workington in Cumberland; but retained the surname of Culwen: Which his posterity (Lords of Workington to this day) have changed into (18) Cur-

(7) Vid. Ogyg. p. 210. (8) Bibl. Cotton. Nero, D. 4. (9) D. Tho. Smith, Bibl. Cotton. Hist. p. 34.
 (10) Nazar. p. 8. (11) MSS. Septentr. Catal. Historico Crit. p. 251. (12) Recens. Epist. Hibern. p. 133.
 (13) Nazar. I. 2. p. 49, &c. (14) Ibid. p. 48. (15) Hist. Scot. Lib. 6. R. LXXXV. (16) Pag. 52. (17) Itin.
 Vol. 5. p. 69. (18) John Denton's MS. Hist. of Cumberland.

wen. It was at first changed by Sir Christop. de Culwen, who was twice sheriff of the county by the name of Culwen; and a third time (in the same reign) by that of Curwen. Of this family was Hugh Curwen, (19) Archbishop of Dublin; who having sat twelve years, and (in the mean time being constituted one of the lords justices of Ireland) old age growing heavy on him, he took care to be translated to Oxford; and lingering one year in that see, he died at Suinbroch, near Burford, and was there buried in the parish church, the first of November 1668. In the (20) manuscript copies of the Latin Bede, St. Columb is named Columba. But in most of the prints Columbanus: Only in the last by (21) Dr. Smith) Columba is restored, as the better reading. Both these names (as Ninias and Ninianus, Offa and Offanus) are indeed the (22) same. Camden, speaking of the foundation of the monastery of Ardmagh, calls him Columbanus: Of which name, Archbishop Usher says, there were about twenty. The same (23) great prelate mentions a good many contemporaries of the name of Colman: Whereof one, for distinction's sake, was called Colman Dubculinn, or Duib-chuilind; another Colman Elo, or Eala, &c. The word Eala signifies a swan; and being put in opposition to Dubculin or black coat, must here be of the same import as the adjective bann or white. To conclude this nice point, I would desire my Irish reader to consider well, whether Cwl-Unben (or Princeps Monachorum) have not a great share of Columban in it; and whether Cwl-Mann, Cwl-Ban, or Cwl-Fan, (which I take to be an abbat or prior, monachorum præcipuus carries not as fair a resemblance of the name of Colman. This I am sure of, that the surname of Colman is as frequently to be met with in Scotland and Ireland, as those of prior and abbat, monk and canon, are in England.

It will probably be reckoned by some an unpardonable omission, that (in the following sheets) I take no notice of that part of our Irish history, which relate to the Oostmen, Oostmen, who sometimes made a considerable figure in this island; and I had indeed once resolved to give them a particular chapter: But, upon the summing up of my evidence, I found there was too little said by our own historians on that subject, to deserve such a regard; and therefore I reserved for this place the few notes that I had made upon it. It is a very blind account which our writers give of the Tuatha de Dannan, whom they represent as a barbarous and bloody generation of strangers, who for some time domineer'd in this country. It calls to my mind what the English say of their later masters, (most probably of the same country) their Lord-Danes or Lur-Danes; who nevertheless were unacquainted with the Saxons in Great-Britain, till about the latter end of the eighth century or the beginning of the ninth: Whereas the forementioned tribe (or Tuatha) are described as scourges of Ireland long before the incarnation. Let the Irish historian compare what Keating says of these, with what Saxo Grammaticus (24) reports of the triumphs of his Frothro the Third (about the coming of our Saviour) over Britain and Ireland; the carrying off the Irish general Kervil; and (three hundred years after that) the grand defeat of (25) Huglet, king of Ireland, by Haco and Starchater, &c. That our Oostmen were the same nation with the Ostiæi (Ostiones or Estones) of Livonia, as Archbishop Usher (26) supposes. I cannot be persuaded, being for many reasons pretty sure that (in this particular) G. Cambrensis's (27) assertion is the more supportable, when he affirms that they all came from Norway, and the neighbouring isles; which as he rightly observes, lay to the east of Ireland; and therefore their inhabitants, when they were seated here, properly enough called themselves Oostmen. In France, the same people (and on the like just considerations) were distinguished by the name of Normans. They had the cities of Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick, with other maritime towns; and had their (28) bishops (whose jurisdiction was confined within the walls of the said cities) consecrated by their countrymen, the Norman Archbishops of Canterbury. When Henry the Second peopled those cities with colonies of Englishmen, he assigned to the Oostmen of each a proportion of land in the suburbs; which, in the old records of this kingdom, is usually distinguished by the name of (29) Cantreda Ostmannorum. The first news that we have of them in England, is that they came in three Norwegian ships (30) of Heretha Land, as the Saxon chronicle expresses it; which the learned publisher rightly renders de Piratarum Terra. In the Irish tongue, lochlonnach signifies (31) originally a mariner, or seafaring-man; but was afterwards appropriated to those northern pirates: So as that, for distinction's sake Dubhlochlannach was a Dane; and Finchlannach a Norwegian. See here the true lineage of our Fingalians: For we are (32) assured, that not only the isles of Orkney, but also the isles

(19) Ware, de præsul. Dubl. p. 15. (20) Vid. Usher. Antiq. Brit. p. 359. (21) Fol. Cantabrigiæ, 1722. (22) Antiq. Brit. p. 360. (23) Ibid. 497. (24) Hist. Dan. lib. 4. p. 94, 95. (25) Hist. Dan. 6. p. 104, 105. (26) Epist. Hibern. Recens. p. 162. (27) Typogr. Hibern. lib. 3. cap. 43. (28) Usher's Reliq. of antient. Irish, p. 82. 83. (29) See Davies's Reports, Fol. 23. b. (30) Chron. AS. ad an. 787. (31) See Lhudy's Irish Dictionary. (32) Ware, Antiq. cap. 26.

of Scotland, and the Isle of Man, were called antiently (by the Irish) Inch Galla; as being the common harbours of those northern strangers. Likewise, in the (33) Welsh, Llychlyn is Norway; and Llhychlynnid (34) a Norwegian: And we know that, among all the old northern clans, (35) Piratica in honore fuit; non minus quam olim apud Lacedæmones, furtum. In their own language, (36) Vikingar signifies a pirate; and, of all the confederated companies of these, the (37) Jomsvikingar were the most famous and most dreaded abroad. Their history is particularly related in the Jomsvikinga-Saga; whereof the younger (38) Bartholin has given the curious reader a taste. Sir James (39) Ware sets the history of their conduct in Ireland in a better light than any other writer that I have seen.

I will only add, That wherever the reader meets with a character of any writer, for which a better authority is not quoted, I alone am answerable for it; as having no assistant in the composition of any part of this book. I have, indeed taken the same liberties in censuring some of the Irish historians, as I formerly took in condemning several of the English and Scottish writers: Nor shall I be offended (as I certainly ought not to be) at any due correction given me by others. Great room there is for amendments, as well as additions; and either of these, in what dress soever they come, rough or smooth, will be very heartily welcome to me.

Since most of the following sheets were printed off, I have had the perusal of some few books; whereof an account would have been given in their proper places, if they had come sooner to hand. 1. Several old parchment MSS. in the Irish tongue and character; whereof some appeared to be genealogies or pedigrees of particular families; one book of astronomy (according to the ancient system) and another of medicinal receipts. There are others of this last sort in the Bodleyan and some other English libraries: Which ought to be consulted by those, that are for making enquiries into the natural history of this kingdom; since the natives of every country have the best opportunities of being acquainted with the physical powers of the vegetables, minerals, &c. of their own growth. 2. A supposed English copy of the history of Tigernach, beginning at Adam, and ending at the year 1408. This differs much from the Irish one in the Duke of Chandos's library; which I take to be far more valuable, and whereof I have made mention. p. 30. 3. A long letter from Archdeacon Lynch to Monsieur Boleus; proving that the Scoti, who first taught in the Universities of Paris and Oxford, were Irish (and not Albanian) Scots. It is only an enlargement of the seventeenth chapter of his Cambrensis Eversus. 4. The (40) Hibernia resurgens (which Archbishop Usher, as is elsewhere remarked, seems to ascribe to the said Mr. Lynch) is said, in its title page, to have been written by Donat Rourcke; whose sole business it is to lash Thomas Dempster, and to rescue some scores of Irish Saints, who had been kidnapped by that northern rover. J. Lynch (who, before his death, was titular bishop of Killala, is perhaps more probably guessed by others to be the author of the *Analecta*; (41) the style whereof seems to be of the same thread with his *Cambrensis*, &c. 5. A thin pamphlet, by way of journal, giving a relation of the bloody doings in this kingdom, from the 23d of October, 1641, to the 15th of June, 1642. This was (42) penned by Henry Jones, D. D. who at that time was a favourer of the parliament forces; but after the restoration of King Charles the Second, was promoted to the bishoprick of Meath, for his being some way instrumental in bringing back the King. 6. Mr. John Richardson of Belturbet's (43) history of attempts to convert the popish natives of Ireland to the established religion; to which a very great supplement might be added, by recounting the excellent services done, in that way, by the worthy author himself: Who, about the same time that he sent abroad this little treatise, published also (in the Irish language and character) sermons on the principal points of religion, by Archbishop Tillotson, Bishop Beveridge, &c. the Church Catechism, with Mr. Lewis's Scripture-proofs; and his own correct Translation of our Liturgy. This pious design was much encouraged (not only by the late Duke of Ormond, and other great men of this kingdom) but also by the generality of the English bishops; who agreed in the good undertaker's sentiments, That the likeliest method of converting our Popish natives was (44) "by proposing to them the saving truths of religion in their own language, that being the only tongue understood by *some*, and most acceptable to *all*." The number of these is so small, and their contents so inconsiderable, that I begin to hope that the reader will not meet with so many omissions as I once apprehended he would.

(33) Davies's Dict. Cambr. (34) Lhuyd's Archæol. Brit. p. 19. (35) Crantzius, Hist. Vandal, lib. 1. cap. 7. (36) Vid. G. Andr. Lexic. Island. (37) Steph. Not. in Sax. Gram. p. 152. et Ol. Worm. Mon. Dan. p. 268. 269. 270. (38) Antiq. Dan. p. 3. &c. (39) Antiq. cap. 25. (40) 8vo. Rothom, 1621. (41) 8vo. Colon. 1617. (42) 4to London 1642. (43) 8vo. Lond. 1712. (44) See the Epistle Ded. to his Catechism.

T H E
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P A R T III.

C H A P. I.

Of the Writers on the General and Special Geography, Natural History, and State-Government of Ireland.

FOR the ancient geography of this kingdom, I presume, none of my readers will desire to look farther back than Ptolemy's Tables, with (1) Maginus's Commentaries: And I dare before-hand venture to assure them, that all that is said on this subject by Strabo, Solinus, and Mela, shews only that they knew not what to say. They had some imperfect scraps of tales, of the barbarous customs and manners of the old Irish, brought to them from afar; and they drew up the representation, at full length, in a more ugly and frightful dress than they had received it.

Amongst the works of St. Patrick (2), Mr. Stanihurst reckons *Odorporicon* (I suppose *Hodæporicon*) *Hiberniæ*; which seems to mean a journal of his own travels through this kingdom. I wish he had given certain directions where to find it. Perhaps the next treatise of this kind, in age, may be the old MS descriptions of Ireland, and its division into provinces, with the particular books of Connought, Munster, Leinster, Ulster, Fiachrach, and Uriel, in the famous *Liber Lecanus*; of which we shall have occasion to speak more at large hereafter.

Giraldus Cambrensis, or G. Barry, of whom frequent mention has been made in the English Historical Library, was sent into Ireland by King Henry II. in attendance on his son John, first English lord of that isle. Here he collected the materials of his (3) *Topography* and *Itinerary of Ireland*, which he sometimes quoted under the title, (4) *De Mirabilibus Hiberniæ*. Wonderful indeed are many of the tales that he picked up, of the natural, moral, and political state of this nation: For which a slight apology is made, in what he called his *Retractions*, after this manner: (5) *In Topographiâ Hibernicâ, labore nostro primævo nec ignobili, multa nova alijsque regionibus prorsus incognita, ideoque magis admiranda, scibuntur. Hoc pro certo sciendum, quod quorundam (quinimo et quamplurium) per diligentem et certam indagationem à magnis terræ illius et authenticis viris notitiam Elicuimus. De cæteris autem potius publicam terræ famam secuti fuimus.*

(1) 4to. Col. Agrip. 1608. (2) Descrip. Hib. cap. 7. (3) Inter Anglica, &c. Cambdeni Franc. Fol. 1603. Et Angl. apud R. Hollinshed, &c. MS. Bibl. Cotton. Faustina, C. 4. (4) And we have it under that Title, Bibl. Cotton. Cleopatra, D. 5. et Bibl. Chandois. 4to. Membr. Hist. Num. 7. (5) Vid. Angl. Sacr. Vol. 2. p. 455.

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De quibus cum Augustino sentimus, nec ea affirmanda plurimum, nec prorsus abneganda. Others have been justly offended at his groundless and incredible fables: and "I cannot but admire," says one (10) of them "that some men of this age, otherwise grave and learned, should obtrude those fictions of Giraldus upon the world for truths." Yet he himself had the confidence to obtrude them on a body of grave and learned men: for in the catalogue of his own works, this is what he says of this portion of the fruit of his labour; (11) *Item de Typographia Hibernica; liber sc. de situ terræ illius et mirabilibus ejusdem multis exaratus, apud Oxoniam per tres dies continuos in publicâ cleri audientiâ recitatus.* In his (12) letter to W. Vere, Bishop of Hereford, he particularly values himself upon that part, of his third distinction, wherein he treats of the Irish harp and other musical instruments; which he thinks to be handled in an elegance of stile suitable to the dignity of the subject. This book was translated into English by James (13) Walsh an Irishman; who studied in Hart-Hall at Oxford in the year 1572. which was near the same time that another, and the more common, translation was made of it by R. Hooker or Vowel. A very learned person, Mr. John Lynch, titular Arch-Deacon of Tuam, to whom Mr. Flaherty prefaces his *Ogygia*, wrote a particular detection of this man's mistakes and slanders; which he called *Cambrensis Everfus*, and published under the name of (14) Gratianus Lucinus. This writer accuses *Cambrensis* of maliciously destroying a great many of the old Irish annals, whereof he had the perusal; and it is thence justly observed by Bishop (15) Stillingfleet, that, if so, he had better advantages, and more authorities than Keating.

Edmund Spencer, the poet, wrote a (16) *View and perfect discovery of Ireland*, in a dialogue between Irenæus and Eudoxius, from its being first inhabited to the year 1600, dedicated to King James the First. The author of the *Ogygia* bestows (17) a whole chapter in refuting the errors of this witty discoverer; which after some angry reflections on his attempting to fetch the original of several truly Irish families from England and Wales, concludes with this scornful epiphonema: *En poeta in domesticis peritiam! En politici in historijs peritiam! ut cum Cicerone ad pueros relegem anteaſtis gentis suæ temporibus adeo peregrinum.* "Where he pursues," says father (18) Walsh, "the political main design of this dialogue, which was to prescribe ways and means to reduce Ireland (a design well becoming him as secretary to Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton, and deputy of Ireland under Queen Elizabeth) none could surpass him: none could except against him, save only those that would not be reduced."

R. Stan-
hurst.

Richard Stanihurst's English description is published in (1) Holinhead's second volume, having been put into the form wherein it there appears by the author for Mr. Wolfe the printer's service. His digression, in a dispute with Alan Cope, or (2) Nicholas Harpsfield, about St. Paul's expelling of serpents out of Malta, and St. Patrick's like service done to Ireland, is far too tedious and unedifying. Bede (3) has not so much as once mentioned St. Hilda's turning of those about Whitby in Yorkshire into stone; though tradition, in the neighbourhood, is as full of that miracle, as the shore is of Cornua Hamonis. The like solid controversy he has with G. *Cambrensis* about the nature of the barnacle, whether it be fish or flesh; and gravely concludes that it is neither, but of the same tribe of animals with butterflies and caterpillars. Waving these and some other little excursions, on the hospitality of the lord mayors of Dublin, and the like, it must be confessed, that what he writes concerning the manners and language of the inhabitants, the strength and traffick of their chief cities, the antiquity and achievements of their prime nobility, &c. is highly commendable. To this description he subjoins a large discourse of the inhabitants, planting the christian faith, and several invasions of the island. This author, of whom we shall have occasion to make more mention hereafter, was son to James Stanihurst, esq; recorder of the city of Dublin, and several times speaker of the house of commons; and his sister was mother to the learned A. B. Usher, who frequently cites him with all the respect due from a nephew to an uncle. He was educated in Oxford, and in the inns of

(10) Ware Antiq. cap. 23. (11) Angl. Sacr. Vol. 2. p. 445. (12) Epist. Hibern. Syll. p. 115. (13) Vid. Ath. Oxon. Tom. 1. Col. 157. (14) Fol.—1662. (15) Orig. Brit. p. 268. (16) MS. Bibl. D. Com. Carl. et Impress. apud R. Holinhead. (17) Ogyg. Par. 3. cap. 77. (18) P. Walsh's Pref. to Prospect, &c. p. 41. (1) Fol. Lond. 1586. (2) Ath. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 171. (3) Hist. Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 23.

court at London: (4) but afterwards turning papist and priest, he became chaplain to the Arch-duke of Austria, and died at Bruffels in 1618. The appendix to his four books of history, which only relates to this chapter, is nothing more than G. Cambrensis's topography reprinted with sharp notes. It is indeed Cambrensis Vapulans; as properly as Mr. Lynch's book is Cambrensis Everfus. PART III.

We must allow that which Cambden has given in his Britannia to be the very best topographical description that we have of Ireland; especially as it now stands improved in the last (5) English editions by the additional notes of Sir Richard Cox and others. We have there all the ancient names of places and people, which occur in Ptolemy and other old Geographers, explained to us with a masterly judgment; the modern state of the five provinces, Meath being reckoned one, drawn in lively colours, though in miniature; the most ancient customs of the country, as represented by Strabo and Solinus; those of the middle age, as reported by Girald. Cambrensis; and of our author's own time, as brought in to him by his contemporaries. In this last particular he professes himself chiefly indebted to one John Good, a Romish priest, sometime educated at Oxford, and schoolmaster at Limerick in the year 1566, whose very words, as not capable of being changed for better, he thought fit to transcribe into the latter Latin editions of his book. It is strange, that a writer, so much honoured by this great British antiquary, who gives a high character of the gentleman's learning and modesty, should be overlooked by Sir James Ware, and the Oxford antiquary: unless Mr. Cambden's John Good, be the same person with Mr. Wood's (6) William Good; as is somewhat probable. In 1606, Mr. Cambden (7) being then preparing a new edition of his Britannia, desired Mr. James Usher, afterwards lord primate, to furnish him with a Latin description of the city of Dublin, of his own drawing; which was done accordingly, and inserted, *verbatim*, by the author, with a just acknowledgment of the benefaction. This Mr. Holland translates like the rest. V. G. Templum Christi communiter dicitur: commonly called Christ's Temple. It should be, according to truth, and as Usher meant it, Christ-Church. The whole of his performance, in what he writes of this kingdom, is thus severely reflected on by a late writer: (8)

*Perlustras Anglos oculis, Cambdene, duobus;
Uno oculo Scotos; Cecus Hibernigenas.*

After Cambden's Britannia the curious reader will consult Mr. W. Baxter's Glossarium antiquitatum Britannicarum, five, syllabus etymologicus antiquitatum veteris Britanniae atque Iberniae temporibus Romanorum. The author was a Shropshire man; but master of all the old Welsh dialects. What relates to Ireland, may be chiefly found under the titles of—Aussobâ, Auteiri, Birgus, Buvinda, Coriondi, Dalreudini, Dareris, Deblana, Delgovicia, Erdini, Ibernica, Ibernus, Ibernus, Iberran, Iris, Laberus, Logia, Luceni, Macolicum, Manapia, Medionemetum, Modonus, Naguatæ, Notium, Raiba, Ravius, Reglina, Regia, Sacrum Promontorium, Scotia, Senus, Sonismam, Terdee, Vallis Scythica, Vennicnii Vennicnium, Vergivium Mare, Vidua, Vinderius, Vodæ and Voluntij. His conjectures will sometimes appear to be too bold, and too much out of the common road; but more often surprisingly instructive, and always pleasant and diverting, to either a British or an Irish antiquary. Baxter,

Con O Malony an Irish jesuit at Lisbon was author of the (10) Disputatio Apologetica de jure regni Hiberniae pro catholicis Hibernis adversus hæreticos Anglos. The business of that zealous father, in this treatise, is, to excite his countrymen to persevere in their endeavours wholly to extirpate the name, manners and religion of Englishmen from amongst them; and, for this purpose, to continue the massacre of those heretics: whereof they have already cut off, as he acknowledges, no fewer than 150,000 in four years time. He prefaces the state of his question with a short genealogical story of the 211 monarchs of Ireland, from the first plant- Malony;

(4) Ath. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 375, 376. (5) Fol. Lond. 1695, and 1721, (6) Vid. Ath. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 281. (7) See Cambden's Epist. p. 80, &c. (8) Ogyg. p. 347. (9) 8vo. Lond. 1619. (10) 4to. Francof. 1645.

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ing of the island, just 300 years after the flood, down to his own time: but of these, he says, the last twenty and one, being kings or queens of England, are to be looked upon as tyrants and usurpers, as he undertakes to demonstrate in his following discourse. Herein he endeavours to prove 1. That King Henry II. had no just call to invade Ireland: nor, 2. Does the bull of Pope Adrian the fourth strengthened his title. He shews that the foresaid king was never submitted to by the whole nation; nor, particularly, by any one clan in the province of Ulster. And that therefore, the succeeding English kings can have no title by prescription; which supposes the first acquisition to be truly just, and *bonæ fidei*. In the course of his demonstrations on the second head, he produces a bull of Gregory the thirteenth, granted to Owen O Neil in the year 1642, whereby all the actors in the bloody massacre of the foregoing year are blessed, and large indulgences given to those who shall assist in the future advancement of the catholick cause against the hereticks of England. He concludes with an exhortation to all his popish countrymen, to persist in strenuously carrying on the cause wherein they are now engaged, in this heroic strain: *Hiberni mei agite, peragite, et perficite, inceptum opus defensionis et libertatis vestræ, et occidite hæreticos adversarios vestros, et eorum fautores, et adjutores, è medio tollite.*

Analestes

Of the same spirit, with the last mention'd writer, was the author of the *Analesta* in three small volumes; in the two former whereof, he makes several rude and false reflections upon Mr. Camden, insinuating that he dissembled his religion (1) *delusus spe hujus seculi, et mundani honoris lenocinio illectus*. His third book was printed the year following in Germany, and bears this title: (2) *De processu martyriali quorundam fidei pugium in Hibernia, pro complemento sacrorum Analestorum, collectore et relatore T. N. Philadelpho*. He tells us, in his preface, that he design'd a full and large church history of Ireland, from the first planting of christianity down to his own time; to which he desires that his three books of collections, now and formerly publish'd, may be reckoned as a sort of *Prodromus*. The main body of this last part is a short catalogue of popish bishops and priests, with some few laymen, of the kingdom of Ireland, who suffer'd for the profession of their Romish faith, either by death, exile, or imprisonment, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and others executed as traytors by Sir Arthur Chichester, without the consent or privity, as is supposed, of King James the First. To this catalogue he subjoyns larger accounts of the lives and death of some of his most eminent martyrs and confessors, viz. 1. Richard Creagh or Crewe, titular A. B. of Ardmagh, who dy'd A. D. 1585. 2. Dermot Hurlay, titular A. B. of Cashel, executed at Dublin in 1583. 3. Thomas Hierlace, bishop of Ross, who dy'd in peace, A. D. 1579. 4. T. Lear, bishop of Kildare, who made the like peaceful exit, at eighty years of age, at Naas in his own diocese, about the Year 1577. 5. Cornelius Downes, bishop of Down and Connor, who with Patrick Logher, a Northern priest, was executed for high-treason in 1611. 6. Maurice Kenrechtine, a priest, executed, for the same crime, in 1585. 7. John Burk, baron of Bretare, condemned and executed in like manner in 1607, for his warm acting in the rebellion at Limerick upon Queen Elizabeth's death, *quando nondum constaret satis*, says the author, *de mente legitimi successoris Jacobi regis, cuinam professioni se ille adjungeret*. After these, and some other tales of less moment, he concludes with a codicil of lamentations; which he entitles *Diasphendon Hiberniæ*; wherein he represents the miseries of all private men and communities of the Roman persuasion throughout the whole kingdom of Ireland, in a most incredibly deplorable condition, under the pressures of two of Queen Elizabeth's acts of parliament concerning supremacy and liturgical conformity.

Sir Tho.
Ryves.

A reply was made to this last by Sir Thomas Ryves, doctor of laws and judge of the prerogative court, under the title of (3) *Regiminis Anglicani in Hibernia defensio, adversus Analesten*. This discourse was penned in the year 1671, when the author attended the king's affairs in Ireland. He divides his work into three books: In the first whereof, he frees his royal master from the imputation of cruelty and oppression, in his execution of the laws against popish priests, burning of their images, suppressing of their schools, and erecting others for the use of protestants, and encouraging the conviction of several great persons, both clergy and laity, upon the evidence of perjured

(1) See Camden's Epistles, p. 209, 211, 230, 236, 245, &c. (2) 8vo. Colon. 1619; (3) 4 to. Lond. 1624, and 1634.

witnesses:

witnesses. In his second book, which is a reply to his adversaries second section, he blunts the edge of his like complaints against the sudden dissolution of their parliament, debasing the coin about the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, heavy taxes, restraints on the freedom of debates in both houses, the protestant members coming armed, &c. In the third the claim of supremacy is argued betwixt King James and the Pope, and, in the course of that dispute, many historical remarks on the old contests, betwixt the archbishops of Ardmagh and Dublin, papal usurpations on the regal dignity of the crown of Ireland, Pope Adrian the fourth's bull, &c. concluding with an eloquent defence of the great Sir Arthur Chichester, baron of Belfast.

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Ireland's (1) Natural History was written by Dr. Gerard Boate, and published after his death, by S. Hartlip. The author came into this kingdom, in quality of physician to the new erected state or commonwealth, in the latter end of the year 1649, and died within a very few months after his arrival: so that it could not be said, that what he reported, was upon the evidence of his own certain knowledge. No; the composure was his, but the materials were mostly handed in by his (2) learned brother, Dr. Arnold Boate, who had lived, in the same profession, eight years together at Dublin; and, in his passage from thence to Paris, had spent six months with his brother Gerard at London in 1544. Most of their conversation turned upon the affairs of Ireland; in reasoning about all manner of particulars concerning its moral and civil, and chiefly its Natural History. Gerard having purchased some forfeited lands in the kingdom, was very inquisitive after their improvable state: and Arnold, attending frequent calls in most part of Leinster and Ulster, in the way of his practice, was very able to instruct him in such matters, (3) unto which he had very studiously and with singular delight applied himself during the whole time of his abode in this island. With this assistance, and some others of less note, we have here a (4) work excellent in its kind; as not only full of truth and certainty, but written with much judgment, order, and exactness. It contains twenty-four chapters: whereof the first gives a short account of the division of the kingdom into provinces and counties, the English Pale, &c. The eight following treat of the sea, rivers, and loughs, with the advantages and inconveniences of each; wherein, particularly, the vulgar error, of Lough-Neagh's turning wood into stone, is refuted. The tenth, eleventh, and twelfth, consider the nature of the soil; and the mighty improvements in tillage by manuring the ground with lime, sheeps-dung, sea-sand, pickle, &c. The immense profit, arising from the shelling of heath-ground, was not discovered in our author's time; nor had Mr. Mortimer then publish'd his Art of Husbandry. The thirteenth and fourteenth describe the several sorts of Irish bogs, with the methods of draining them; which may now be much enlarg'd out of Sir W. Dugdale's history of imbanking and draining of fens and marshes. The fifteenth, of the woods, is a dry narrative of the failure of timber in many parts: And, since the doctor's days, that commodity grows still more scarce. What is said, in the five following chapters, of the methods of working in the mines, quarries, coal-pits, and brick-kilns, is short of what may now be learn'd from later practice: But I cannot omit the credible assurance that was given him of the gathering of a dram of pure gold out of the brook Miola, which rises in the hills of Slew-galen, and fall into the north-west corner of Lough-Neagh: whence he reasonably concludes, that in the aforesaid mountains rich gold mines do lye hidden. The four last are just representations of the good temperature of the air, and the healthy constitutions of the inhabitants; several women, above threescore years of age, having born children and nurs'd them with their own milk. The author intended to have obliged the world with three books more; one on the plants of Ireland, another on the animals, and a third on the ancient manners, laws and customs, of the natives.

G. Boate.

A supplement to this we may have from the Transactions of the Royal Society at London, viz. Royal Society.
1. (5) Dr. Thomas Molyneux's letter concerning Lough-Neagh, and its petrifying quality.
2. His retraction concerning Lough-Neagh-stone, and its non-application to the magnet on calcination. 3. Mr. William Molineux's account of the Connought-worm. 4. (6) Mr. King's, now A. B. of D. of the bogs and loughs of Ireland. 5. (7) Mr. Edward Smyth's, late

(1) 80 Lond. 1652. (2) See A. B. *Usher's* letters, Num. 198, 203, 234, 258, 264, 271, 275, 288, 299, 301, and 302. (3) See his Prefat. letter to Mr. Hartlip. (4) Id. *ibid.* (5) Num. 158, 166, 161. (6) Num. 170. (7) Num. 174.

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Bishop of Down, answers to queries about Lough-Neagh. 6. (1) Mr. William Molyneux's observation on the *Lacerta Aquatica*. 7. (2) His discourse on the tides in the port of Dublin. 8. (3) Sir Robert Redding's letter about the pearl fishing at Omagh. [Here by the way, give me leave to observe, that a present of Irish pearls was made to Anselm (4) A. B. of Canterbury, by his suffragan, Gilbert, Bishop of Limerick, about the year 1094, and graciously received.] 9. (5) Sir Richard Bulkley's account of the Giants Causeway, 1693. 10. (6) His letter about improvements to be made in Ireland, by sowing of maize. 11. (7) Dr. Samuel Foley's, afterwards Bishop of Down, account of the Giants Causeway; with Dr. Thomas Molyneux's answer to Sir Richard Bulkley's queries thereon. 12. (8) Bishop Ash's and Mr. Vans's accounts of Butter-Dew, &c. 1695, 1696. 13. (9) Dr. Thomas Molyneux's large discourse on the Mouse-horns found in Irish bogs. 14. (10) M. Honohane's account of the moving bog near Charleville in the county of Limerick, 1697. 15. (11) Dr. Thomas Molyneux's letter to Bishop Ash, concerning extraordinary swarms of insects in Connought. 16. (12) Mr. William Molyneux's correct draught of the Giants Causeway; with an explication. 17. (13) Dr. Thomas Molyneux's long letter to Dr. Lister, of additional observations on the Giants Causeway. 18. (14) Bishop Ash's short note on the Irish herb, Mackenboy, or *Tithymalus Hibernicus*. 19. (15) Dr. T. Moll's large description of his *Scolopendriæ Marinæ species nova, è Mari Hibernico*, found in the belly of the cod-fish. This was afterwards observed by Mr. Dale, to be the same which the fishermen of Essex call Sea-Mice; and is figured, by Johnson and others, under the title of *Phyfalus*. This was shewn by the doctor to be a mistake: but he acknowledged, that his supposed *Non-Descript*. had been taken notice of by Tho. Bartholine, in the *Acta Hafn*. 20. J. Fazer's letter concerning the Lake Nefs, &c. 21. (16) Captain South's computation of the number of hearths in Dublin, of the seamen, fishermen, people, and popish clergy, in 1698, in Ireland. 22. (17) Antient inscriptions found in Ireland, by E. Lhwyd. 23. (18) Mr. Pryme's letter about subterraneous trees in Hatfield-Chase. 24. (19) Dr. Thomas Molyneux's letter, to Bishop Ash, on the old Greek and Roman lyre. 25. (20) Mr. Lhwyd's letter to Mr. Dale about chrystalline shells in Ireland. 26. (21) Lord A. B. of Dublin's account of the manuring of lands in the counties of Londonderry and Donegal, by sea-shells. 27. (22) Mr. Edward Lhwyd's remarks on the natural history and antiquities of Ireland. 28. (23) Mr. Francis Nevil's notes on Lough-Neagh, &c.

Sir William Petty: Sir William Petty, who well understood the structure of human bodies, obliged the learned part of mankind, with the (24) *Political Anatomy of Ireland*: and, having actually survey'd every corner of the kingdom, publish'd a set of accurate maps in 1685, which were then sold at fifty shillings, and are not now to be purchas'd for twice that sum. He wrote also choice (25) observations on the Dublin bills of mortality, baptisms, and burials, houses, hearths, &c. which will be of lasting use to all that shall have the curiosity hereafter to consider the gradual improvement of that great city. But—

Sir John Davies: The very best View of the Political State of this kingdom, from the reign of Henry the Second, to that of James the First, is given by Sir John Davies, attorney-general; who was sent hither, with that character, soon after his royal master's accession to the throne of Great-Britain. His book bears the title of (26) *Historical Collections*: or, a discovery of the true causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued, nor brought under obedience to the crown of England, until the beginning of the reign of King James. These causes are assign'd under two general heads 1. The faint prosecution of the war. Both Henry the Second, and his son, King John, contented themselves with gaining a superficial homage from the kings of three provinces; and Sir John Courcy, Earl of Ulster, made little more impression on the fourth. No force, sufficient to support the English interest appear'd before the thirty-sixth of Edward the Third, and this was reckon'd an intolerable burthen upon the treasury of England. So was Richard the Second's expedition, in the latter end

(1) Num. 177. (2) Num. 184. (3) Num. 198. (4) *Epist. Hibern. Syll.* p. 88. 89. (5) Num. 199. (6) Num. 205. (7) Num. 212. (8) Num. 220. (9) Num. 227. (10) N. 233. (11) Num. 234. (12) Num. 235. (13) Num. 241. (14) Num. 243. (15) Num. 245. (16) Num. 261. (17) Num. 269. (18) Num. 275. (19) Num. 282. (20) Num. 291. (21) Num. 314. (22) Num. 158. (23) Num. 337. (24) 8° Lond. 1691. (25) 8° Lond. 1681. (26) 4° Lond. 1612, et Fol. Dublin, 1705.

of his reign: from which time, to the 39th of Queen Elizabeth, there never was a competent strength sent. The author, in this part of his discourse, shews at large what hinderances every preceeding reign was clog'd with; running through the most material occurrences in each. 2. The other chief cause of this slow progress he attributes to the defects and looseness in the civil administration. There was from the beginning, he observes, a shew of giving English laws and franchises to the natives in general: but, in fact, these privileges were only allowed by the courts of judicature, to five Irish septs; the rest being always treated as aliens and enemies. In proof of this, he entertains his reader with several curious cases and pleadings in the said courts. A like fault in policy was, the passing exorbitant grants, whole counties and provinces, to the first adventurers: who, instead of winning over the natives to the obedience of their sovereign, fell into endless quarrels among themselves. These struggles put them under a necessity of living after the old Irish fashion: for, to increase the numbers and powers of their respective families and clans; they observ'd the laws of Tanistry and Gavelkind; and, as their forces grew numerous, they were subsisted by the wicked extortion of (Buanachd) Coigna, and Livery. The statutes of Kilkenny made some provision for the cure of this epidemick distemper: and those enacted by Sir Edward Poynings, under King Henry the Seventh, seem'd to secure an universal observance of the English laws. Yet, in the very next reign, there was room enough for a farther reformation both in church and state: when the Lord Grey, having, among other wholesome acts of parliament, procur'd an establishment of the king's supremacy, first discover'd, that the Irish made no scruple in renouncing the Pope when they had once resolv'd to obey the King. However, the advances that were afterwards made by the earl of Suffex, under Queen Mary, seconded by those of Sir H. Sidney and Sir Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, under Queen Elizabeth, finish'd the martial part of a plenary reduction of the whole kingdom; leaving only the peaceful distribution of justice, and the settlement of trade and commerce, to the ministry of King James. This is the sum and substance of that excellent treatise, which abounds with such a masterly knowledge in the history and state of Ireland, as is truly incomparable.

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After this great man's performance, we may take notice of two or three treatises on the same subject in the Harleian library; as, 1. A Discourse of the realm of Ireland, containing the antient civil wars thereof, the incursions of the Scots, and a platform how to reduce the Irish to civil government. Begins—The realm of Ireland, next England, the greatest island of Europe. Ends, with an encomium on Queen Elizabeth, in English verse. 2. A Letter from the Chancellor of Ireland to the Duke of Northumberland, relating to the present state of Ireland, Anno 6. Ed. VI. 1552. It describes the whole kingdom; the powers of the several clans, &c.—Transactions in Ireland, and instructions, letters, &c. in Morrison and Hib. Pac. 3. The council-book of the province of Munster, containing all the acts, records, and entries of their provincial state from August 20, 1601, to the latter end of 1620.

The historical part of Mr. O Flaherty's (1) Ogygia, will be considered elsewhere: but the typographical, in which he's pretty large, belongs to this chapter. The learned author modestly (2) assures us, that he follows Cambden in giving his native country Plutarch's name of Ogygia; and that he's not much concerned if some of his readers think, that it rather belongs to Egypt or some other nation. The (3) Swedish antiquary promised lately, that he'd shortly demonstrate, that Sweden is the true Ogygia; which the elder Rudbekius has, after (4) his fashion, already proved. This only by the way. Mr. O Flaherty pretends to ascertain the age of all the chief lakes and rivers, as well as the succession of our kings; and to point out the several remains of the Dannami, Belgæ, Picts, &c. the idolatry of the Gentile natives, in the worship of Kermend Keltach of Clegher, Cromdinbh, Sidhe or faries, &c. their Corrachs, or leathren-boats, ancient arms, and way of fighting.

M.O Fla-
herty.

The interest of Ireland, in its trade (5) and wealth, is stated in two parts by Colonel Richard Lawrence; who was many years a member of the council and trade, as well as an officer of great rank in the army. In the former of these he enquires into the reasons, why the improvements of this kingdom are so inconsiderable since it came under the government of England:

Col. R.
Lawrence

(1) 4^o. Lond. 1685. (2) Par. i. p. 22. (3) J. Peringskold, Anno. in Vit. Theod. R. p. 311, 312.
(4) Atlan. cap. 8. (5) 8^o Dublin, 1682.

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And the chief of these he thinks to be, 1. Natural aversion of the natives to labour and trade. 2. Their excess in rich attire. 3. Lewdness. 4. Drunkenness. 5. Maintaining foreign officers at home, and giving their children foreign education abroad. In the second part he proposes the means and methods of its recovery into a wealthy state, by, 1. Banks and companies. 2. Increase of the English interest. 3. Union of protestants. 4. Governors peculiarly interested in its prosperity. 5. Enhancing the value, or debasing the alloy, of money current in Ireland. He concludes with a supplement; wherein answers are given to objections raised against some of his foresaid proposals, and a large caveat against rebellious principles maintained in the court of Rome.

Sir James
Ware

To Sir James Ware (the Cambden of Ireland) this kingdom is everlastingly obliged for the great pains he took in collecting and preserving our scattered monuments of antiquities. Amongst his many good services of this kind, his (1) *Disquisitiones de Hibernia et Antiquitatibus ejus*, will be a lasting proof of his indefatigable industry, and consummate judgment; both in his enquiries and discoveries. The treatise under our present consideration was his master-piece, and consisted of twenty-eight chapters; wherein he learnedly displays the original of the Irish nation and people, their language, antient form of government, their religious worship, both before and after their conversion to christianity, their Brehon-law, and other peculiar rites, their habits, military exercise, taxes, shipping, schools, houses, hospitality, musick, money, monasteries, &c. Of the frequent incursions of the Danes, Normans, and other Easterlings, under the common name of Oostmans; and of their exploits here, for almost four hundred years, from their first descent in 795, till the coming in of the English under Henry the Second. The 28th chapter, which treats of the lesser Islands dispersed in the Irish seas, concluded the book in its original state, and first Latin edition: But, in its later dress, there are four new chapters added. In these, the excellent author has well consider'd the cathedral churches of this kingdom, in their prime foundation, and other antiquities; Of the antient tenures of lands; Of judicial proofs and purgations, since the prevailing of the Gospel; and, lastly, of the funerals, sepulchres, and subterraneous vaults, of the native Irish and Danes in Ireland. There are sundry gross mistakes in the English version; which wofully abuse the author, and mislead the reader. I shall mention one, of a thousand, which I take to be somewhat unpardonable. 'Tis in the 25th chapter; where, treating of the antient coin of this kingdom, he brings an old story out of Saxo Grammaticus, concerning great sums of money found in the coffers of Haco the Dane in the city of Dublin: And, suspecting the veracity of the reporter, he concludes with this sharp reflection,—*Sed Saxonis notissima sunt fabulae*. This the translators have render'd in this vile, and nationally slanderous, manner: but the Saxons we know are notorious for fictions.

A bp.
Usher

There's a very learned treatise written by the great James Usher, concerning the Herenach, Termon, and Corbon lands, which were the ancient demesns, or mensals, as the Irish call them, of the Chorepiscopi of both kingdoms. This is epitomized in the glossary of Sir H. Spelman; who gratefully concludes his discourse on that subject in the following words: *Hæc fusiús, ut obscuritati lumen adferam; quod accendit mihi literarum insignis Pharus D. Jacobus Midenfis episcopus*. The book was written ten years before its author was made bishop of Meath, and sent to Arch-bishop Bancroft; who presented it to King James the First. There are several MSS. which bear the like title; and some of them are perhaps the very same in substance and words, particularly that in the library of Trinity-college near Dublin, is mark'd with the capitals J. U. and 1609, in A. B. Usher's own hand-writing. And I verily believe that, from the same hand, Sir John Davies had all that he says on the same subject in his letter to the earl of Salisbury.

Surveys.

The many revolutions that have happen'd in this kingdom have occasion'd several surveys, whereof these are the chief that I am able to point at for the reader's instruction. 1. (2) Inquisition of the survey of most of the counties in Ireland; and an account of the king's land. 2. (3) A book of leases and free farms of lands in Ireland, granted by Queen Elizabeth. 3. (4) A survey of Ireland, containing the number of English and Irish, and the Irish-English, in each parish of

(1) 8° Lond. 1654. & 1568. (2) Fol. Col. Trin. Dublin. E. 10. (3) Ibid. J. 120. (4) Inter MSS Madden, P. D. Ep. Clogher, Fol. n. 4.

the kingdom.—Survey of the plantation in Longford, &c. 1622.—Commissions and articles for the plantation of Munster, and Ulster. 4. (1) The Survey of Ulster, and the several Plantations therein, by Captain Pinner. PART III.

Next to these, we ought to mention the descriptions of particular provinces, counties, and cities; a few whereof have only fallen in my way. As, 1. (2) In a large miscellaneous volume in the Cotton library; A Description of Munster, with some other things relating to Ireland. 2. (3) *Poema de purgatorio S. Patricii in Hibernia; alijsque fabulosis narrationibus, à quodam monacho Salterienfi compositum, veteri linguâ Gallicanâ.* As also *Visio Tyndali Hiberni de purgatorio, et inferis; cum prefixâ descriptione Hiberniæ.* 3. (4) A Letter of Sir John Davies, Attorney General of Ireland, to Robert Earl of Salisbury, touching the State of Monaghan, Fermanagh and Cavan. 4. (5) Instructions for the Plantation of O'Carroll's County, and the County of Longford. 5. (6) The journal of Ulster. 6. (7) Rentals of the Manors of Colerain, Killreagh, Killowen, Macosguin, Aghive, Linsey-court, and Maherafelt in the County of Londonderry. But the most glorious remembrance of transactions in this county will ever be, of those that happened in the famous siege of the city of Londonderry its self, in the year 1689, whereof ample accounts have been given by Mr. Walker, Mr. Cunningham, and others. This, says a worthy gentleman in his (8) letter to Sir R. Cox, *will in after ages be more renown'd than those of Ostend or Candy; because all the necessities for defence were infinitely less, and yet the success was very much greater.* 7. *Nomina majorum civitatis Dublin, cum historicis quibusdam passim intersertis.* 8. *Descriptio itineris capitanei Josiæ Bodley in Lecaeiam apud Ultonienses, A. D. 1602.* 9. The Charter of Waterford, its By-laws, Customs, and Fairs. Topography.

Several writers on the general and special descriptions of Ireland, both anonymous, and whose MS. &c. authors have been named to us, are here omitted; as being either wholly unknown to me, or such as seem to deserve little more than being named. Of the former sort are these. 1. A short general Description of Ireland in the (9) Cotton Library. 2. (10) Several Sea-charts of the Coastings and Ports of Ireland. 3. *De situ Britanniae et Hiberniae, et priscis earum incolis, secundum Bedam et Brutum.* 4. (11) An abbreviate of the getting of Ireland, and of the Decay of the same. 5. (12) A general Rental of Ireland. 6. (13) A brief Relation of Ireland, and the Diversity of Irish in the same, presented to the Council of Spain, A. D. 1618, by Florence, the pretended Archbishop of Tuam; thought to be penned by O'Sullivan O'Bear. 7. (14) A Discourse on the Government of Ireland, and the nature of the people; which begins, *At what time as the antient Irish, &c.* 8. A View of the State of Ireland, A. D. 1596, as to their laws, customs, and religion: How all to be reformed; the rebels to be vanquished; and a new form of government introduced. 9. Observations on the Government, State, and Condition of the People of Ireland, with their affections to the present differences between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, collected April 15, 1640. Of the latter sort are, 1. (16) St. Ruaden, cotemporary with St. Brendan, educated under St. Finan, Bishop of Cleonard; who is said to have written a book of the strange springs in Ireland; and another of a wonderful tree. 2. (17) Tho. Carve's *Lyra, Sive Anacephaleosis Hibernica, in qua de exordio sive origine, nomine, moribus, ritibusque gentis Hiberniae succincte tractatur, &c.* He first published it in 1660, Ætat. 70, living at Vienna, a vicar-choral of St. Stephen's, where he dy'd A. D. 1664. He was a priest and apostolick notary, born at Mobernan in the county of Tipperary. 3. (18) Peter Lombardus, *Hiberniæ, Archiep. Armach. comment. de regno Hiberniæ.* 4. (19) *Joh. Hermanus: Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ geographica Descriptio.* 5. D. Rothæus, of whom A. B. Usher gives this high character; (20) *Recentiorum calculos [majoris Scotiæ appellatione Hiberniam ab Albania clarissime distinguendum] diligenter à D. Rothæo collectos habemus, cujus tum libris publicè (sed celato nomine) editis, tum scriptis privatim transmissis,*

(1) Inter MSS. Madden, p. D. Ep. Clogher Fol. n. 11. (2) Bibl. Cotton. Julius, F. 6. (3) Ibid. Domitianus, A. 4. (4) Bibl. Chandois, Fol. Hist. n. 46. (5) Ibid. n. 58. (6) Ibid. n. 46. (7) Vid. Append. an catal. MSS. D. Joh. More, nuper episc. Norwic. n. 723. (8) In the add. to Cox's history; p. 20. (9) Julius, F. 6. et Domitianus, A. 18. (10) Ibid. Augustus, A. 1. (11) Ibid. Domitianus, A. 18. (12) Bibl. Chandois Fol. Hist. n. 87. (13) MS. Col. Trin. Dublin. Fol. J. 113. (14) MSS. D. Guil. Glynne, Fol. n. 77. (15) Ware de script. Edit. Angl. p. 5. (16) 4^o Sultzb. 1666 (17) 4^o Lovan. 1632. et MS. Bibl. Harleyan. Dd. p. 151. (18) 12^o Amstel. 1661. (19) Antiq. Brit. p. 385.

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non parum hic adjutum me fuisse libens agnosco. J. Usher, *Antiq. Brit.* p. 385, where the margin points to his (1) *Hibernia Resurgens*, and his treatise, *De nominibus Hiberniæ*, prefixed to Tho. Messingham's *Florilegium*. (2) *Hos. S. Livini Elegos—communicavit mihi D. Rothæus, patriarum antiquitatum indagator diligentissimus.* This D. Rothe was titular bishop of Ofsory in primate Usher's time, and was generally reputed a person of great learning, and good address. 6. Cornelius à Beugham, a modern Dutch calcographer, published Itinerary descriptions of the roads in Ireland, in a small pocket-book, written in his own language under the title of *Polimetria Britannica*, (3) *dat is, Stedemeting van groot Britanië, zijnde een korte aenwijzing hoe wiid, voornaemste stede in drie Koninkrijken van Engleand, Schotland, Yreland, van Valkanderen leggen. In koope, gesneden.* 7. An useful abstract of Mr. Cambden's and Sir J. Ware's antiquities, with the addition of modern lists of those that are concerned in the administration of publick affairs, ecclesiastical, civil, and military, has lately been published by G. Miede; who, it is to be hoped, will yearly continue and improve this as well as the other parts of his (4) *Present State of Great-Britain and Ireland*; a work every way very instructive and commendable. To these we may add some manuscript treatises on the same subject: As, 1. Jasper Fowler's (5) declaration of the natural goodness of Ireland; and the reasons why it is now so poor, with the remedy, addressed to King Charles the First. 2. Principal matters concerning the state of Ireland by (6) Sir John Doderidge. It is much that (7) A. Wood, should not take notice of this treatise, amongst the other works of that great judge. 3. An account of the siege of Droghedah, in 1641, was written by Dr. Bernard, dean of Ardagh, who suffered in it; and his MS. is now in the hand of the Lord Ferrard, whose grandfather (Sir Henry Tichburn) commanded the garrison, and bravely defended the place against the united forces of O'Neal, and the other northern rebels.

(1) 8° 1621. (2) *Recens. Epist. Hib.* p. 125. (3) 12° Amstel. 1692. (4) 8° Lond. 1617, &c. (5) Col. Caio-Gonvil. Cantab. inter MSS. D. More, Class. E. 11. (6) MSS. D. Guil Glynne, 4° n. 101. (7) Ath. Oxon. Tom. 1. col. 442, &c.

C H A P. II.

Of the General Historians of IRELAND.

Ruanus.

WE are (1) told that the great preserver of the most antient history of Ireland, was Ruanus, one of Partholanus's colony, who landed here about three hundred years after the flood, and were swept away by the plague about three hundred years after their arrival. This man only survived to tell tidings of the rest; which he faithfully reported to St. Patrick, who baptised him. If you ask, how could that be; you are to know, that (2) *In varias Brutorum formas per multa secula transmutatus, tandem circa A. D. 527. è Salmone filius Carelli regis Ultoniæ evasit.* Let this pass, with the history and chronicle of Carbre Lifachair; who, being first avowed to be an (3) historian as old as any of the evangelists, was discovered (4) to be no writer at all, but a king of a later time, and thereupon all arguments drawn from his mistaken authority (5) acknowledged to be of no moment. The late learned Mr. Edward (6) Lhwyd reports the same story of Tuanus, out of a MSS. in the Bodleian library, a little more at large; *Tuan fuit in formâ viri centum annis, viginti annis in formâ cervi, centum annis in formâ aquilæ, tribus annis in formâ piscis, iterum in formâ hominis.* This last transformation might continue, for ought I see to the contrary, down to the days of St. Patrick: But I could have wished, that the two worthy antiquaries

(1) G. Cambrenf. typogr. Hib. distinct. 3. num. 2. (2) Vid. Ogyg. p. 4. (3) In Sir G. Mackenzie's former Defence of the Royal Line. 8° Lond. 1685. (4) By Dr. Stillingfleet, orig. Brit. p. 41. (5) Sir G. M.'s second defence, p. 154. (6) Archæol. Brit. p. 436.

when

when they met, as they did, in Ireland, would have agreed to call this their primitive historian by the name of Thuanus; which would have gained him much greater respect amongst our modern historiographers. In the mean time, we have an assurance given us, by (1) another historian of this kingdom, that amongst the genuine works of St. Patrick, there is one book that bears the title of *Historia Hiberniæ ex Ruano*. PART III.

Multitudes of the historical ballads of the antient and hereditary clans of poets are cited by Keating and O'Flaherty; amongst whom Coemannus and Modudius, are celebrated as the chief. All the compositions of these famous Bards were in verse; and were therefore called *Psalters* or Sonnets. Three of these are of special note; being frequently quoted and referred to, by our modern writers, with great respect and veneration: 1. *Psalter-Tarach*, or *Psalterium Temoriense*; of which take the following account, as it is given us by Mr. O'Flaherty: (2) *Ex hac schola, ad R. Cormaci regiam de Teambair, prodijt liber quod Psalterium Temoriense dicimus; in quo, congestis in unum patriæ archivis, supremorum et provincialium regum series, ac tempora cum exteris synchronis principibus collata, tributa quoque et vestigalia provinciarum monarchis debita, nec non metæ et limites cujusque regionis à provinciâ ad territoria, à territorio ad pagos, à pago ad pagi particulas, continebantur.* Others (3) tell us, that this was a collection of old chronicles allowed in a solemn convention of the estates of Ireland, in the reign of King Loagerius, and life of St. Patrick; who was one of the committee appointed to supervise it. What's now become of this royal monument is hard to tell; for some of our moderns affirm, that they have lately seen it, whilst others as confidently maintain, that it has not appeared for some centuries last past. 2. *Psalter-Cashel* is another of these most authentick histories, and was written by Cormac, son of Culinan, (4) king and bishop of Cashel or Munster, about the year 900. He was a man learned and very knowing in the Irish antiquities: and his book, written in his own language, is still extant and in (5) great esteem. 3. *Psalter-Narran* is an (6) old parchment-book of miscellany collections relating to Irish affairs in prose and metre, Latin and Irish; written, about three hundred years ago, by one Oengus O'Coledor, or, as others call him, *Ængusius*, one of the old Culdees. Herein are the genealogies of the faints of this kingdom; and a catalogue of its kings from Herimon, the first of the Scottish line, A. M. 2935, to Brian, slain in the battle of Clantarf, April 23, A. D. 1014. So that I cannot but wonder how the late learned bishop (7) Stillingfleet fell into the mistake of asserting, that all the works contained in it, related only to piety and devotion.

Many, very many, are the histories of Ireland, which go under the name of *Annals*; some of which are purely anonymous, both as to persons and places. The most considerable of these that have fallen under my observation are: 1. (8) *Annals* reaching no lower than the year 436. 2. (9) From 1162 to 1370. 3. (10) From 1308 to 1361. 4. (11) From 1264 to 1332. 5. (12) *Annals* translated out of Irish into Latin, from the year 1200 to 1300; and in the same volume a miscellany of others in the Irish language from the year 457 to 1573. 6. (13) From 86 to 1180. 7. (14) From 1579, to 1590, in the Irish character. 8. (15) A book in Irish, containing several antient historical matters; particularly the coming of Milesius out of Spain.

Other *Annals* are handed about under the proper names of their real or pretended authors. *Tigernach, &c.* Of this kind are, 1. Those of Dubdalehe, Archbishop of Armagh, who died, A. D. 1065, which are quoted in (16) those of Ulster. 2. Irish (17) *Annals* by Tigernach, an Erenach of Clonmacnoise, ending in the year 1088, in which the author died. He is commended for his (18) joint chronology of the old Mundane account with the vulgar Dionysian; and for his note of descent of *Feargus mor mac Earca*, or Fergus the great, son of Eric, into Scotland, and his dying there. Primate Usher appeals to this historian, as a better, as well as elder witness, than Joceline of Fourness. This annalist allow that *Omnia monumenta Scotorum usque Kimbaoth*, who is said to have reigned A. M. 3596, about four hundred and forty years before our Saviour's incarnation, *incerta*

(1) *Descrip. Hib. cap. 7.* (2) *Ogygia, p. 337.* (3) *P. Walsh's Prospect, p. 350, 351.* (4) *Vid. Stillingf. Orig. Brit. p. 270.* (5) *Ware, antiq. p. 50.* (6) *Vid. Usher, Antiq. Brit. p. 454.* (7) *MS. Chandois, hist. n. 5.* (8) *Orig. Brit. p. 271. 272.* (9) *Col. Trin. Dublin. J. 28.* (10) *Bibl. Bodl. Cod. Laud. F. 41.* (11) *MSS. Ashmol. n. 804.* (12) *Bibl. Cotton. Vespasianus, B. 11.* (13) *Bibl. Chandois, Fol. hist. n. 20.* (14) *Ibid. n. 42.* (15) *Ibid. n. 45.* (16) *Col. Trin. Dublin, B. 35.* (17) *Ware, de scrip. p. 29.* (18) *Bibl. Chandois, member. hist. n. 3.*

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erant. But thenceforward Mr. Flaherty affirms, that our chronological calculations are as sure as can be. Till the coming of St. Patrick, our author gives us only a general history; but, thenceforward down to his own time, he treats solely on the affairs of Ireland. His work is thence continued by other hands. After the year 1178, there is a defect to 1235; and another after 1314, to 1393. 3. Those of Cornelius Historicus, who (1) flourished, if ever, about the year 1230. His life is briefly written by Bailie and Stanihurst; and Hector Boethius pretends to have had great assistance from his writings. I know no other man that quotes them. 4. *Pembrigij Annales Hibernici apud Camdenum*, are expressly quoted by Archbishop (2) Usher. The copy published by that great antiquary, was communicated to him by the lord William Howard of Naworth in Cumberland, with allowance to dispose of it as he did. These annals begin at the year 1161, and end 1370; but are continued, out of H. Marleburgh's, to the latter end of 1421. In his grace the duke of Chandos's (3) library there are some short notes of errors and defects in this copy. 5. The annals of Tho. Case were sent to Mr. Selden, by archbishop (4) Usher, who often (5) quotes them himself. We shall hear more of these anon, when we come to mention those of St. Mary's Abbey near Dublin. 6. John Clynn, a minorite of Kilkenny, wrote very short Annals from the Incarnation to the year 1313; whence he continued them very largely to 1349, when probably he died; the plague raging much that year in Ireland. His works are extant, and a transcript of his annals was deposited by Sir James Lee, lord chief-justice of the king's-bench in Ireland, afterwards earl of Marlborough, in the hand of Henry earl of Bath, on condition they should be printed. The duke of Chandos's (6) copy is continued after the author's death, down to the year 1405. 7. Short Annals of Ireland, in the English Tongue, from the coming in of the English, to the end of Henry the Second's reign, by (7) Sir Tho. Ware, knight. 8. Macgrath Macgawan, a canon if I mistake not, (8) says Sir J. Ware, of St. Ruadan of Lurcho's Abbey, in the county of Tipperary, wrote in Irish, of the genealogies of the Irish saints, and of the succession of the king's and lords of Ireland. He died about 1390, the close of the fourteenth century. I have, says Sir James, his works in MS. But they are not now to be found amongst those in his Grace the D. of Chandos's library. 9. Col. Dearing, (9) a Leinster man, wrote Irish annals extant in MS. He died in 1408. 10. Charles Maguire, (10) canon of Ardmach, wrote the annals of Ireland to his own time. He died A. D. 1495. 11. Donald O'Fihely, born in the county of Cork, was cotemporary with Maguire, and his annals keep pace with the other's. Sir J. Ware says, he (11) saw them in MS. with Florence Carty, at London, in 1626. The Oxford (12) antiquary makes this writer a member of that university; and supposes him to have been alive in 1505. Conel-Groghagen's annals, to the year 1466, are in the hand of the right reverend the present lord bishop of (13) Clogher; and so is the old (14) book of Hoath. 13. Henry of Marlborough, vicar of Balliscaddan, in the diocese of Dublin, wrote annals, which he brought down to the year 1421. These are published, tho' not entirely, says Ware, at the end of Dr. Hanmer's chronicle. They are frequently quoted by archbishop (15) Usher, who met with the best MS. copy of them in the (16) Cotton library; where they bear the title of *Chronica excerpta de Medullis diversorum Chronicorum; præcipue Ranulfi Monachi, scripta per Henricum de Marleburgh, vicarium de Baliscadan, unâ cum quibusdam capitulis de chronica Hiberniæ*. 14. Philip Flattisbury, a worthy gentleman, and a diligent antiquary, wrote in the Latin tongue, at the request of the right honourable Gerald Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, *Diversas* (17) *Chronicas*. He flourished in the year 1517, (18) and deceased at his own town, named John's Town, near the Naas. These short chronicles or annals are almost wholly the same with those published by Camden; and were first assigned to Flattisbury, by Edmond Campian. 15. Thady Dowling, treasurer, and afterwards chancellor of Lighlin, wrote short (19) annals; wherein he was greatly assisted by a chronicle penned by Nicholas Maguire, bishop of the same place. Maguire died in the year 1512, and Dowling in 1628. 16. The most compleat annals are those

(1) Ware's annals, p. 48. (2) Antiq. Brit. p. 425. (3) Fol. hist. n. 15. (4) See his letters, Num. XCIII. (5) Epist. Hib. Syll. p. 149, 151 &c. (6) Fol. hist. n. 42. His Grace has another copy of these annals less complete, Ibid. n. 19. (7) Bibl. Chandos, Fol. hist. n. 15. (8) De Scrip. Edit. Angl. p. 22. (9) Id. ibid. p. 23. (10) Id. ibid. (11) Id. ibid. p. 23. (12) Ath. Oxon. Tom. 1. col. 5. (13) Inter MS. Madden, Fol. n. 18. (14) Ibid. n. 19. (15) Antiq. Brit. p. 438, et alibi. (16) Vitellius. E. 5. et Faustina, c. 9. (17) MSS. Fol. Col. Trin. Dublin, B. 55. (18) Stanihurst Descrip. Hib. cap. 7. (19) Col. Trin. Dublin, Fol. 9. 124.

that

that we have in the late (1) edition of Sir James Ware's works. These begin at the year 1169, when the English first came into Ireland; and, as far as 1202, were collected and composed by that learned knight. This part fell happily into the hand of Dr. Stearn, the present worthy bishop of Clogher; to whom the publick is indebted for it. Henceforward, as far as the death of Richard the Third, they are continued out of the printed chronicles of Hanmer and Marlborough. The four following reigns of Henry the Seventh, Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, and Queen Mary, are Sir James's; and were formerly published by him in Latin; that of Henry the Seventh, in the end of his *Disquisitiones de Hiberniâ*, already mentioned under the title of his *Antiquities* Cap. 1. and the rest with his (2) *Commentarius de præsulibus Hiberniæ*. Queen Elizabeth's were drawn up by Robert Ware, Esq. mostly out of his father's papers; and were continued by the same kind hand to the year 1704, when he committed the whole to the press.

Other annals there are of this kingdom which have their respective denominations from the several monasteries or other places, wherein they were penned; or to the affairs whereof they chiefly relate. These were here, as in England, almost as numerous as the religious houses in each country; such of them as seem to be of the greatest note, I shall give the reader in an alphabetical order; which he may afterwards enlarge, as he may find occasion. 1. Conatienfes, or of Connought (3); these were penned in the abbey of Boyle, and are very short, reaching only from 1232 to 1235. 2. Donegal. These are much depended on by, a proper judge, the (4) author of *Cambrensis Everfusi*; and are frequently cited by Colganus and others, under the title of, *Annales quatuor Magistrorum*. Of the performance of these four masters, this severe censure is passed by another proper judge (5) *Quatuor magistris annalium Hiberniæ Dungallensium. A. D. 1636, absolutorum (Clunanenses, Infalenses, ac Senatenfes, Annales, cum aliis variis ac diversis Chronicis) secutis, deficiente fuit plurimos archonismos committerent, kalendarii rationes non perpendentibus*. 3. Dublin. The annals of the antient abbey of St. Mary near this city, transcribed by Thomas Case forementioned, are still extant in the (6) library of Trinity-college; and some (7) fragments of them elsewhere. These are frequently quoted, with great respect, by Sir James Ware. 4. Hoath. In the old book of Hoath, of which we have (8) several copies, there's a short chronicle, by way of annals, from the year 432 to 1370. These, as we have already hinted, seem to be the very same, in some parts of them, with those of Flattisbury forementioned. 5. Innisfallensis. The author of the first part of the annals of Inisfall on the borders of the county of Kerry, lived in 1215. He gives a short account of universal history to 430; and thenceforward treats very exactly of the affairs of Ireland, down to his own time. The duke of Chandos's MS. copy of these (9) annals is continued by another hand to 1320. 6. Kilkenny. The last mentioned noble duke (10) has a fair copy of the annals of St. John's hospital in this city: and a Cistercian monk of Duiske, in the county of Kilkenny wrote the annals of Ireland, by command of Charles Cavenagh his abbot, in the year 1512, which he afterwards continued to the suppression of monasteries, and inserted in the (11) registry of charters belonging to that abbey. 7. Leinster. This province had its peculiar annals as well as those of Ulster and Connought; as appears by some collections, of good value, which we still have under the title of, *Excerpta (12) ex annalibus Lageniensibus, ab. An. 761 ad. An. 1178*. 8. Lough-kee. The annals of this monastery are frequently quoted by Sir James Ware; but all that he ever saw, was a fragment of them, part in Latin and part in Irish, beginning at 1249, and ending at 1408. He supposes the author to have been a canon-regular of the said abbey, and to have lived about the middle of the fifteenth century. His copy, perhaps, has had some farther loss since it fell into other hands; seeing all that can be now justly said of it, is (13) *Pars annalium cænobij S. Trin. de Loghkeæ, incipiens ab An. 1249, et desinens An. 1381, ex Hibernico idiomate in Anglicum versa*. 9. Mellifont. The annals of Ireland, from the foundation of this abbey, A. D. 1142 to the year 1500, are or were lately, in the hands of some of the learned (15) men of this kingdom.

(1) Fol. Lond. et Dublin, 1705. (2) Fol. Dublin, 1665. (3) Bibl. Chandos, Fol. hist. n. 44. (4) J. Lynch. Vid. Epist. Nuncup. D. Flaherty, p. 3. (5) Dict. Epist. Nunc. p. 43. (6) Fol. D. 34. (7) Bibl. Chandos, Fol. hist. n. 36. (8) Ibid. Fol. hist. n. 42. (9) Bibl. Chandos, member. hist. n. 26. (10) Ibid. 4^o hist. n. 76. (11) Ware, de script. p. 24. (12) Chandos, Fol. hist. n. 47. (13) Ibid. 4^o hist. n. 35. (14) Fol. inter MSS. D. Dudley Loftus, n. 31.

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10. Multifernan, or Montfernand. This monastery lies in the county of West-Meath; and was formerly inhabited by grey-fryars. We have (1) two copies of the annals that go under its name; which begin at the year 45 and end at 1274. In one of these there is this remark: *In ijs nulla deprehenduntur vestigia sive auctoris sive loci ad quam olim pertinebant. Sed, quia ibi crebra fit mentio de rebus Conatiensibus, et speciatim de antiquâ familiâ Dexeterorum (sive de Exonia) Athlethanæ dominorum et canobij Stradensis fundatrum; inde orta est suspicio, ad canobium fratrum prædicatorum Strada prope Athelthan, in comitatu Mayo, pertinuisse, et ejus loci dominicanum aliquem horum annalium fuisse auctorem; fortasse (inquit Waræus) fratrem, Stephanum de Exonia, quem natum perhibent, A. D. 1246, et inductum 1263.* 11. Nenagh. Geofry Hoghain, a minorite fryar of Nenagh in the county of Tipperary, wrote the annals of his own time, from 1336 to 1370. And some MS. collections, which we (2) still have out of these, seem to hint, that he had the assistance of several others of his brethren in the same house. 12. Ulster annals, so called by archbishop Usher, and Sir J. Ware, (3) because they chiefly treat of the affairs of that province, are written (4) partly in Latin, partly in Irish. They begin at the year 444, and end not at 1041, as the printed catalogues of our MSS. but at 1541. This year died Roderick Cassidy, archdeacon of Clogher, who wrote the latter part of these annals entirely, and made great additions to the former. Colganus (5) calls these *Annales Senatenfes*; supposing them to have been written by Cathaldus Maguire of Senat-Lac-Magnus in the county of Farmanach; who died canon of Ardmagh in the year 1498. To these may be added the compiler of the (6) annals of Ross, of whom I know no more than that he concludes his work thus, Anno 1346, O'Karowill is slain by the Ossorians in Ely.

Liber Lecanus.

The book of Lecane (7) or Sligo, archbishop Usher's and Mr. Flaherty's great oracle, is a large collection of old Irish treatises, mostly historical. Those pieces which touch on the subject of this chapter, are the following; 1. The story of the Irish kings and sovereigns, answerable to the general history; but nine leaves are wanting. 2. How the sept of Milesius came into Ireland, and of their passages, since Moses's passage through the Red-Sea. 3. A catalogue of the kings of Ireland in verse. 4. St. Cormac's life. 5. Several transactions of the Kings of Ireland, and the provincial kings of the same. 6. Several battles of the sept of Cinet Ogen or tribe of Owen, from Owen Mac Neale Mac Donogh. 7. Manne the son of king Neale, of the nine hostages, and his family. 8. Fiacha the son Mac Neil, and his sept. 9. Leogarius, son of Nelus Magnus, and his tribe. 10. Of the several invasions of Clan Partholan, Clannanvies, Firbolg, Tuatha de Danaan and the Milesians into this land of Ireland. 11. The reigns of the kings of Ireland, from the time of Leogarius to the son of Nelus Magnus, alias Neal, of the nine hostages, to the time of Roderick O'Connor, monarch of Ireland. Of all these, and others, the late Mr. Lhwyd gives as distinct an account as if he had seen and carefully perused the book; whereas the learned Doctor Raymond assures me, that it was lodged at Paris by Sir John Fitzgerald in king James the Second's reign.

Ballymore.

Mr. Lhwyd sends to the (8) same place to look after the book of Ballymore in Irish, containing, 1. The genealogies of all the antient families in Ireland. 2. The Uracept, or a book for the education of youth, written by king Comfoilus Sapiens. 3. The Ogma, or art of writing in characters. 4. The history of the wars of Troy, with other historical matters contained in the book of Lecane.

G. Cambrensis.

We come now to the historians of this kingdom, properly so called. The chronicles of Ireland published in R. (9) Holinshed's second volume begin with Giraldus Cambrensis's two books of the Vaticinal History, as he calls it, of the conquest of that kingdom; which are translated and improved with some occasional notes by Mr. John Hooker alias Vowel. The former of these books tells of the flight of Dermot, king or prince of Leinster, and his application to king Henry the Second of England; the first succours given him thereupon; the siege of Dublin; the landing of King Henry; his calling a synod at Cashel; and ends with his character. The other reports the rebellion of Donald O'Brian; the death of Strongbow, the earl of Pembroke: the exploits

(1) Bibl. Chandois, Fol. hist. n. 19. et Ibid. n. 42. (2) Ib. n. 47. (3) Epist. Nunc. ad. Ogygiam p. 19. (4) Bibl. Chandois, Fol. member. n. 2. (5) Acta SS. Hib. Passim. (6) Ware, de Script. p. 20. (7) Bibl. Col. Trin. Dublin. D. 19. (8) Bibl. Col. Trin. Dublin. D. 18. E. Lhwyd, Archæol. Brit. p. 435. (9) Fol. Lond. 1586.

of Courcie in Ustler; Lacy in Leinster and Meath, &c. the landing of Earl, afterwards King John, and with him, amongst others, our author; who had formerly, for two years together, sojourned in Ireland. He concludes with just reflections on the unavoidable miscarriage of a child, of twelve years old, attended with beardless youngsters, despised by the natives; and proposes other means for the effectual reduction of the country, with necessary methods of government for the preservation of it afterwards. He designed a third volume; wherein he was to present his readers with an accurate translation of the prophecies of the Caledonian Merlyn, for the perusal whereof, in an intelligible language, Henry the Second had expressed a longing desire: but it does not appear that he lived to finish this, or what he promised in the same breath, his (1) topography of Great Britain. Gratianus Lucius or Mr. John Lynch, of whom and his Cambrensis Everfius, we have already given some account, has abundantly laid open the falsities and failures of Cambrensis in this history, as well as in his topography. It is observed of him, that for want of knowledge in the Irish language, wherein all the antient records of the kingdom are written, he omits even the story of Thuatha de Danian, a mighty people who were in possession of this Island, for 197 years under seven, or nine, kings of their own; till they were subdued by the Milesians, about 1300 years before our Saviour. Nay, even of these very Clanna Mileadh, whose princes continued to his own time, he gives a lean and barren account; and afterwards an unfaithful one of the kings of Ulster invading Scotland, and some descents of the Danes upon this island. This author, J. Lynch, was born in the kingdom of Ireland and province of Connought, but originally of English extraction, a secular priest, and sometime schoolmaster at Galway; whence he fled into France, when that town was surrendered to the parliament-forces, having always behaved himself as a loyal subject to king Charles the First, and his son king Charles the Second. His work is not properly, of itself, a history of Ireland; but rather a bundle of occasional strictures and remarks on the mistakes, blunders, and falsehoods of an insolent pretender to skill in the antiquities of this kingdom. In his eighth chapter indeed he gives a short catalogue of the Irish monarchs; but this is better furnished, and more full grown, in Keating. From the year 1186, Cambrensis's story is continued, out of Ph. Flattisbury, Henry of Marlborough, and chiefly E. Campian, to the end of Henry the Seventh's reign, by Raphael Holinshed himself, who honestly confesses, that he never intended to attempt a particular history of this kingdom, being wholly destitute of materials; till the queen's printer, Reginald Wolfe, who employed him and others in this great work, brought him Campian's two books; which he commends for the cleanness of their style, but complains of their brevity. The reign of Henry the Eighth is more copiously written by Richard Stanihurst; who fairly represents the deadly feuds betwixt Kildare and Ormond, the revolt of the Moors, &c. From this king's death to the year 1586, the twenty-eighth of queen Elizabeth, when this volume was printed, the continuer is the aforesaid John Hooker; of whom some account has been given in the English Historical Library. He has nothing here, worth his reader's perusal, before Sir Henry Sidney's entrance on the government, and the rebellion of Shane O'Neal, in 1565. A good deal of the remainder of his sheets is filled up with some specimens of his own eloquence in the Irish house of commons, where he sat burgess for Athenrie in Connought, and his book of the order and usage of parliaments; which, he affirms, was then promised to the speaker of that house, and was afterwards bestowed amongst the members by its author. Having carried us hence through the detail of the earl of Desmond's rebellion, he concludes with the miserable fate of that restless nobleman, and his two confessors, Allen and Sanders.

Edmund Campian, fellow of St. John's college in Oxford, wrote two books of the history of Ireland in 1570, whereof several (2) MS. copies were to be had in the libraries of England, and the best of them in that of Sir Robert Cotton; (3) whence they were published by Sir James (4) Ware. This history was committed by (5) archbishop Usher to the care of Dr. Hanmer, bishop of St. Asaph: who professed himself to be sensible enough, that his grace's recommendation would further the sale of the book; but after all, dropt both this, and his own uncle's chronicle. Campian himself took (6) orders in the church of England; but afterwards apostatized

Edmund
Campian.

(1) Vid. Epist. Hib. Syll. p. 116, 117. (2) Bibl. Yelverton, Fol. 47. Norfolk, 116. Trin. Col. Cantab. Cl. 26. Ser. 2. n. 27. Bibl. publ. Cantab. n. 247. (3) Vitellius, F. 6. (4) Fol. Dublin, 1633. (5) See his Letters, Num. CXXI. (6) Ath. Oxon. tom. 1. p. 164, &c.

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tified, turned a traiterous jesuit, and was executed, with other Romish priests, at Tyburn, in the year 1581. The history of this man's martyrdom, as the author calls it, was written by (1) Henry Walpoole, another apostate; who himself, soon after, received the like martyrdom, for the same cause, at York, in the year 1595. His life was written at large by his scholar Robert Turner, (2) D. D. rector of the university at Ingolstadt. R. Stanihurst, in his epistle dedicatory to his forementioned description of Ireland, gives this character of his intimate friend Campian; that he was a rare clerk, upright in conscience, deep in judgment, and ripe in eloquence.

M. Han-
mer.

Dr. Meredith Hanmer's chronicle of Ireland, completed by Mr. Dan. Molyneux, was sent, as has been said by (3) archbishop Usher, with Campian's, to the author's nephew, J. Hanmer, bishop of St. Asaph, in 1627, fairly transcribed for the press; and he promised forthwith to treat with some stationers at London for its speedy publication. The bishop's project, for his aunt's benefit, seems not to have succeeded; but the second part of the work was afterwards published by (4) Sir James Ware, in the same volume with Campian's. This historian, well known by his translation of Eusebius, &c. born at Porkington in Shropshire, was D. D. in the university of Oxford, and died treasurer of Christ's church in Dublin, A. D. 1604. His work is stigmatized by a (5) writer of another communion, as large and little; and having nothing of the times preceding the conquest, but a few scraps out of Cambrensis, and some tales, whence ever he had them, of his own.

R. Stani-
hurst.

Richard Stanihurst of Dublin, uncle to archbishop Usher, published four books in Latin (6) *De rebus gestis in Hibernia*. The first of these contains only a prefatory view of the antient and present state of the kingdom; the manners, rites, and customs of the old Irish inhabitants, as well as of those within the English pale. This done, he addresses himself, in a second epistle dedicatory to his brother Plunket, baron of Dunsany; wherein he declares the reasons that induced him to pitch upon the beginning, progress, and conclusion, of the English settlement here in the reign of Henry the Second, for the subject of his story. He confesses, that *Giraldus Cambrensis* is his chief guide; but assures us withal, that he has made up some gaps in that hasty commentator, out of the other less prejudiced writers, and has bettered the method of the whole narrative. He concludes with a chequered tale of the glories and misfortunes of the famous John Courcy, first earl of Ulster. He was (7) chaplain to Albert, arch-duke of Austria, and died very old at Brussels, in the year 1618.

Ph. O'Sul-
levan.

Of the same kind with the last mentioned is the (8) *Historiæ Catholicæ Hiberniæ compendium*, published by Philip O'Sullivan, who was a sea captain under Philip the Fourth, king of Spain; his work is likewise divided into four little tomes, which are again subdivided into several books and chapters. The first of these tomes treats of the name, nature, and commodities, of the country; the manners and religion of its inhabitants; their vast armies of saints and martyrs, &c. In this part one whole book is a translation of a report made by Ramon de Perillos a Spanish viscount, concerning a great many frightful prospects that he had in St. Patrick's purgatory; some apartments whereof he represents in as terrible figures as any other person can well conceive of the most dismal hell itself: And out of these, forsooth, he cross'd a huge gulph, by a firm bridge, into Paradise, or the *Limbus Patrum*; where he conversed with popes, cardinals, archbishops, &c. in great plenty, and returned by the same way that he came. After this romantic tale, and a few more grave discourses on the language, learning, and sanctity of 277 saints of the native Irish and Fingallians, he proceeds, in his second tome, to give an account of the first descent of the English under Henry the Second, and the various revolutions that happened in this kingdom afterwards, as low as the middle of Q. Elizabeth's reign. The third treats of the rebellion, which he calls *Bellum quindecim annorum*, begun in 1588 and ended on the final overthrow of the great O'Neal, and his accomplices, in 1603. The fourth falls foul on the attempts made by king James the First, whom all the popish princes in Europe, he says, took to be a true catholic in his heart, for the establishment of Knox's new schemes of doctrine and discipline in the church of Ireland; and ends in December 1618.

(1) Ath. Oxon. Col. 241. (2) Ibid. Col. 258. (3) See his Letters, page 183. (4) Fol. Dublin, 1633. (5) P. Walsh, Pref. to Prospect. (6) 4° Antwerp, 1584. (7) Ware de Scrip. p. 26. (8) 4° Uliffp. 1621.

Geoffry Keating was a secular priest, D. D. of a family originally English; but settled in Ireland, for many succeeding generations. After he had long applied himself to the study of the language and antiquities of his native country, and became a master of both, he began his (1) Most compleat and methodical history; which he finished soon after the accession of Charles the First to the throne. In his preface he declares the motives that induced him to engage in so laborious an undertaking, which were two; the ignorance of the oldest historians in the state of Ireland before the conquest, and the partiality and injustice of later writers on the same subject. On these considerations he bravely undertook the task of compiling this his large history of Ireland; which he brings down from the first planting of the island, after the deluge, to the seventeenth year of Henry the Second. He wrote the book in Irish, and we have several good copies of it, in the publick and private (2) libraries of Great-Britain and Ireland, in that language. One copy there was in the hand of Arthur, Earl of Anglesea, Lord Privy-Seal to King Charles the Second, of an English translation; which perhaps is now in the possession of his noble grandson: but Father Walsh, who had the perusal of it, speaks so coldly of the performance, that it seems to have wanted a review before it appeared abroad. This it has (3) now done in a comely dress; and Mr. O'Connor the translator and publisher, an Irish antiquary by descent, appears to be a person well able to do right to his author and himself: notwithstanding the many hard censures that have passed, and are yet daily passing upon both. This general history is said, in its title page, to contain, 1. A full and impartial account of the first inhabitants of that kingdom; with the lives and reign of an hundred and seventy-four succeeding monarchs of the Milesian race. 2. The original of the Gadelians, their travels into Spain, and from thence into Ireland. 3. A succinct account of the reigns of the kings of Ireland, with the several attempts and invasions upon that island. 4. Of the frequent assistance the Irish afforded the Scotch against their enemies the Romans and Britons, particularly their obliging the Britons to make a ditch from sea to sea between England and Scotland, to guard themselves from the surprizes and frequent incursions of the Scots and Irish. 5. A genuine description of the courage and liberality of the antient Irish, their severe laws to preserve their records and antiquities, and the punishments inflicted on those antiquaries who presumed to vary from the truth; with an account of the laws and customs of the Irish, and the royal assemblies at Tara. 6. A relation of the long and bloody wars of the Irish against the Danes whose yoke they at last threw off, and restored liberty to their country; which they preserved till the arrival of Henry the Second, King of England. To all which there are added above 160 coats of arms of the antient Irish, with particular genealogies of many noble families, curiously engraved upon forty-two copper-plates, by the best masters. The book, as we now have it, consists of two parts; the former whereof extends, from the first peopling the island, to the planting of christianity by St. Patrick; and the latter brings down the history to the arrival of the English, in the reign of Henry the Second. We are told by this historian, that the posterity of Gathelus and Scota settled in Ireland, A. M. 2736. Whereas Mr. O'Flaherty, (4) on a more strict calculation, finds that he was a whole year mistaken; and therefore places this his fourth colony of foreign adventures in the year 2737. The late learned (5) bishop Stillingfleet hereupon puts a question; by what cycles, or other certain way, could the Irish adjust the time so well to the age of the world? He furnishes us with a (6) sufficient answer, when he acknowledges, that all the accounts we have of the French and Spanish antiquities, before the Roman wars, are as doubtful as these. But it has been better pleaded, in (7) Keating's defence, that he professes to relate these fables, with a full purpose of exploding them as incredible, and meer poetical fictions: adding withal, that such was the repute they had in the very days of yore, amongst the best Irish antiquaries.

After Keating and Lynch, his two chief supporters, we are to take notice of Peter Walsh's (8) Prospect of the State of Ireland, from the year of the World 1756, to the year of Christ 1652. The

(1) P. Walsh, Pref. to his Prospect, &c. (2) Bibl. Chandois. Fol. hist. n. 92. Bodleyan. Inter MSS. Dom. Baronis Fairfax, n. 29. Et. inter Cod. MSS. D. Dudl. Loftus, n. 31. (3) Fol. Lond. 1723. (4) Ogygia, Par. 2. p. 81. (5) Pref. to Orig. Brit. p. 35. (6) Pref. to Orig. Brit. p. 35. (7) Pet. Walsh, Pref. to his Prospect. (8) 8° Lond. 1682.

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first lines of this work were drawn at the request of the earl of Castlehaven, whilst his lordship's Memoirs were in the press; and intended for an appendix to them; shewing the original cause of the rebellion in 1641, from the fatal feuds betwixt the two nations of this kingdom since Henry the Second's time. New matter crowding in upon him, and the earl having released him from the method whereto he had first confined him, he resolved to divide his work into two parts: In the former whereof all, I think, that was ever printed, he represents the state of the whole island and its inhabitants, from the first plantation of it after the flood, till the English conquest. The man writes somewhat confusedly, intermixing long occasional stories with the main thread of his narrative; but seems not to have omitted any thing of consequence that's advanced by either of his foresaid vouchers. This honest Father Walsh is that same modern historian upon whom Mr. O'Flaherty has let fly a whole (1) chapter of remarks; for his pretending to criticism in the Irish language, when he speaks of king Ængus's surname of Olmucadh, those of Malcolm, O'Brien, O'Neil, Kairnes, &c. This severe treatment probably discouraged the author from publishing his second part.

Flaherty.

Of the topographical part of the Ogygia mention has been already made. The historical and chronological, what was chiefly in the author's view, comes now under consideration. His patron, the then Duke of York, afterwards King James the Second, is encouraged (2) to expect a complete chain of his royal ancestors in a right line of an hundred and twenty-four generations from Adam; whereof eleven were before the flood, twenty-six between that epocha and their settlement here, fifty-one in Ireland, and thirty-six in Scotland; but afterwards he seems not to be sure of making out the regal stem, without interruption, for above 2700 years. He (3) promised to give a second book of the lives of those Irish kings that were christians; and for this ends with the acts of Dathias, the last of the pagan monarchs: but he did not live to make good that engagement. Sir George Mackenzie (4) in his second defence expostulates warmly on the injuries done in this history to the modern Scotland: but the author (5) had beforehand protested against the censures of men unacquainted with the Irish language, as incompetent judges.

II. Mac
Curtin.

There is lately a (6) Brief discourse, in vindication of the antiquity of Ireland, published by H. Mac Curtin, in two parts; the former whereof gives a short abstract of Keating's larger history of the several adventures of the Gadelians and Milesians, down to the days of St. Patrick. In the second, keeping still close to the matter and method of his master Jeffry; the author collects the flowers of our following story as low as the year 1171, and some choice ones there are in this basket; as particularly a long (7) account of the wondrous staff of Jesus, whereof we shall have occasion to take special notice hereafter. Some genealogies of the great families of this kingdom we are to expect in our historian's third part; unless, what I am somewhat jealous of, the publishing of many such pedigrees, by the late editor of Keating, have already furnish'd us with all that our antiquary had in store upon that head. His authors, besides Keating, O'Flaherty, and Walsh, are,

The old Book of Reigns, or Reim Riogruighe; J. Lynch's great Guide.

The Royal book of Records, of Tarah, &c. (*i. e.*) Psalter of Tarah foolishly (8) said to be composed by K. Cormuc, A. D. 213.

The Book of Conquests, or Leabhar Gabhala, by Mic. O'Cleri and others.

Giollo Caoimhgin, the famous chronologist's, Annals; on whom Keating relies much, especially in the story of the Easterlings.

Cormuc's Psalter of Cashel.

Uidhir Chiarain.

Cionfaola's History and Chronology.

Annals of Inis-fail.

Leabhar Leathcavin, of Banners and Coats of Arms of the Northern Nobility.

Several Books of Genealogies.

The Annals, Cluainidhneach in Leix.

(1) Ogygia, par. 3. cap. 27. (2) Epist. Ded. p. 2. (3) P. 421. (4) 8° Lond. 1686. cap. 5. (5) Ogygia, p. 464. (6) 4° Dublin, 1717. (7) 4° Dublin, 1717. p. 132, 133, 134. (8) P. 112.

Leabhar Irfe, or Book of Records, different from that of Tarah.

Coga-Gall le Goeoidheal. This is the same book which (1) Colganus tells us was in his possession. He writes the title thus, *Cogaab Gaoidhel re Galaibh, i. e. Bella Hibernicorum cum Alienigenis*. The Alienigenæ here mentioned are the Normans or Oostmans, who reigned, or at least domineered, in Ireland for some ages: since it is plain, notwithstanding all the pains taken by Gratianus Lucius, and others, to prove the contrary, that not only Turgesius the arch-tyrant, but others of his countrymen, usurped the titles of kings of Ireland.

Munster Book of Rights was written by St. Benignus; from whom it is sometimes called Leabhar Bheining. Our historian quotes abundance of poems out of this book. It is also (2) called Leabhar na Geart; and begins with *Dligh gach Riogh O Riogh Cassil*.

History of the kings of Munster was written by Teigh Brodin, quoted p. 260.

O'Dubhagain's book is cited together with Sir James Ware, for synodical matters, p. 180, &c. The same is frequently referred to, with great deference, by Mr. Flaherty; who cites it by the title of Codex O'Dugevanus.

Mac-Liag's life of the great Brian Borovey is quoted by Mac Curtin, p. 214, who tells us, p. 217, that he was chief antiquary of Ireland in that reign; and p. 218. that animadversions were written on this life by Macbruaidiogba. The same Mac-Liag he says, p. 252. wrote the Munster Book of Battles; which gives the most authentick account of the rencounters with the Danes, down to the fatal action at Clauntarf.

The former volume of Sir Richard Cox's history, dedicated to King William and Queen Mary, bears the title of Hibernia Anglicana; or, the History of Ireland, from the conquest thereof by the English, to this present time. This begins with the reign of Henry the Second, and ends with that of queen Elizabeth. It was published (3) at a time when Ireland was the seat of war and desolation, under the guidance of the late unfortunate king James the Second; which raised an extraordinary curiosity in enquiring after the affairs of this kingdom. This obliged the author to hasten the continuation of his history; the second part whereof was, early in the next year, recommended to the (4) press by two secretaries of state. Such encouragements as these pushed the work a little too fast forward; so that it came into the world in somewhat of a looser dress than was, most certainly, at first intended by the compiler: Who nevertheless found his own account in it; being soon after advanced to the highest posts of honour in the law.

Sir George Carew, president of Munster, under Queen Elizabeth, created Baron of Clopton by King James the First, and Earl of Devonshire by King Charles the First, wrote the History of Ireland in his own time, under the title of Pacata (5) Hibernia. It contains the transactions of three years of much action in Munster, from the latter end of 1599, to the death of Queen Elizabeth, in the conclusion of 1602. The whole is divided into three books; whereof the first treats of the desperate condition of that province, above other parts of the kingdom, when the lord president entered upon his government; and the hopeful prospect whereinto publick affairs were brought by his wise management, within the compass to twelve months. 2. The next gives an account of the landing of the Spaniards, and the entire conquest of them, with the suppression of Tyrone, O'Donel, and other rebels, at Kinfale; and the transporting of the invaders back to Spain. This is of the second year's work. 3. In the third, a recruit of money and ammunition puts new spirits into the rebels; which occasions the siege, taking, and demolishing of the strong castle of Dunboy; which put an end to the troubles of Munster. This great and learned nobleman wrote other books relating to the affairs of Ireland; forty-two volumes whereof are in the archbishop of Canterbury's library at Lambeth; and four volumes more of collections, from the originals, in the Cotton library. In this last mentioned grand repository of British and Irish antiquities, we have not only (6) Memoirs of the government of Ireland from the first year of queen Mary, to the year 1602; but also the (7) Declaration of John del Aquila, the king of Spain's general in Ireland against Queen Elizabeth: (8) Articles against Sir John Perrot, lord-deputy; Queen Elizabeth's (9) letter to the earl of Essex, then in Ireland, 1599. (10) An account of complaints

(1) De Actis SS. Hibern. p. 106. (2) P. Walsh's Prospect, &c. p. 436. (3) Fol. Lond. 1689. (4) Fol. Lond. 1690. (5) Fol. Lond. 1633. (6) Titus, C. 10. (7) Julius, F. 6. (8) Ibid. (9) Ibid. (10) Vespasianus, F. 9.

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made against the maintenance of the army in Ireland by way of cess, with Queen Elizabeth's dislike of those complaints; a large volume bearing the title of, (1) *Litteræ originales, aliaque acta authentica de rebus Hibernicis regnante R. Elizabethâ*; (2) Original letters, commissions, and other papers, concerning Ireland in the time of queen Elizabeth, &c. Most or all of these have been carefully read over by the learned archbishop Usher; whose notes in his own hand-writing, are still to be seen in most of them. There is also in the earl of Suffex's library, not to mention others, a large collection of letters and other papers concerning preparation for the relief of Ireland in the years 1595, 1597, 1598, 1599, 1600. Sir George Carew died in the Savoy, A. D. 1629. Together with these three years annals of the Lord-president Carew, the Irish historian ought to peruse a Journal of the Rebellion of Hugh, the O'Neal, Earl of Tyrone, and the appeasing thereof, penned and published by (3) Fynes Morrison; who attended the lord-deputy Mountjoy, Sir Charles Blount, from 1599, to 1602, inclusive; the very same term of the other great man's presiding in Munster: so that both these writers treat of occurrences of one and the same date; but with this difference, that the annalist's scene of action is in the south, and the journalists chiefly in the north, of this kingdom. The latter, now under consideration, begins his work with a short detail of the most notable revolutions in Ireland, from the first descent of the English, till, at p. 45, he comes to his penegyrick on the noble lord, his wife and valiant master. This being over, he presents us with the establishment signed by the queen, and delivered to the lord-deputy; whereby full provision is made for the support of the civil and military lists. He thence proceeds with the battles and skirmishes at the Moyry, Carlingford, &c. and fills his three several books with the transactions of so many distinct years, in like manner, though not altogether with the like judgment, as the reader will observe in those of the president. It appears from our author's account of himself, that he came not into Ireland before the latter end of the summer in 1600, and upon George Cranmer's being slain at Carlingford in November following, was admitted the lord-deputy's chief secretary.

Sir John
Temple.

The Irish Rebellion: or, an (4) history of the beginnings and first progress of the general rebellion raised within the kingdom of Ireland, on the twenty-third of October 1641, was written by Sir John Temple, master of the rolls, and a privy counsellor there at that time. The author being perfectly acquainted with all the secrets of that mystery of iniquity, professes that he has herein, as far as he could without breach of trust, communicated so much of them as he conceived necessary and proper for publick information. He carefully perused the very originals, or authentick copies, of the voluminous examinations remaining with the register; as also the dispatches and letters from suffering gentlemen in the several provinces, representing to the lords justices and council the sad condition of their affairs. The outrages committed here, within the compass of two months, for this great man carries his story no farther than the landing of Sir Simon Harcourt on the last of December 1641, will hence appear to have been the most barbarous and bloody that the histories of any nation or age can produce.

Borlase

This narrative was repeated and continued by Dr. Edmund Borlase, a physician at Chester, son to Sir John Borlase, one of the lords justices, when the rebellion broke out; who calls his book, (5) the History of the execrable Irish Rebellion, &c. pursued to the act of settlement in 1672. The same author, in defence of his said father, and his colleague, Sir William Parsons, published some (6) Brief reflections on the Earl of Castlehaven's Memoirs; in the preface to which he passes a sharp censure on the eighth chapter of Sir William Dugdale's View of the late Troubles, wherein the long parliament of England is represented as the chief fomentor of that rebellion. The late (7) Dr. Nalson has passed this severe censure on Dr. Borlase and his work: "Besides the nearness of his relation to one of the justices, and his being openly and avowedly a favourer of the faction and the men and actions of those times; he is an author of such strange inconsistency, that his book is rather a paradox than a history, and it must needs be so, for I know not by what strange accident the copy of a Manuscript, written by the right honourable the late Earl of Clarendon, happening to fall into his hands, he has very unartfully blended it with his own rough and un-

(1) Vespasianus, F. 12 (2) Titus, B. 10, 12., 13. (3) Fol. Lond. 1617. (4) 4° Lond. 1646, et 8°. Ibid. 1679. (5) Fol. Lond. 1680. (6) 89 Lond. 16°. (7) Introd. to Impart. Collect. Vol. 11. p. 8.

"polished

“ polished heap of matter ; so that his book looks like a curious piece of embroidery sewed with I. R. T.
 “ coarse thread upon a piece of sack-webb.—He has taken great pains to expunge some and alter
 “ many passages, which he thought were too poignant against his favourites, or spoke too much
 “ in vindication of his late Majesty, King Charles the First, and his ministers.” As free remarks
 are made on his vile misrepresentations of King Charles the First ; and his equally unjust praises
 some parliamentary rebels. Dr. Borlase, before the publishing of this voluminous defence of
 father and his friends, had sent abroad a short manual of Irish history, under the title of, (1) *The*
Reduction of Ireland to the Crown of England. Herein he gives his reader a short, but instruc-
 tive, account of the governors of this kingdom since the conquest by Henry the Second, A. D.
 1172, taking special notice of the most memorable occurrences in each of their respective govern-
 ments ; as of the foundation of the university of Dublin, &c. Under that of Sir William Parsons,
 and Sir John Borlase, he gives a brief of the discovery of the rebellion in 1641 ; and afterwards
 of the miseries that ensued : which might have saved the offensive pains which he soon after took
 in the composition of his larger work. The forementioned (2) *Memoirs of the wars of Ireland*,
 were written and published by James Touchet, lord Audley, and earl of Castlehaven ; who had
 resided in Ireland all the time of the rebellion, and several years after the reduction of that king-
 dom. This publication he was prompted to by the second edition of Sir John Temple’s fore-
 mentioned book : wherein he apprehended many particulars to be partially and falsely represented.
 Observations and (3) reflections on these memoirs were forthwith sent abroad in a letter to the Earl
 of Castlehaven, from a person of honour in the country ; which were written by Arthur Earl of
 Anglesey, and occasioned some sharp letters betwixt his Lordship and then Duke of Ormond, who
 thought he had just cause to resent the treatment therein given to himself and his government in
 that kingdom. This matter, not being adjusted by the noble litigants themselves, was the next
 year brought before the king in council ; where both Castlehaven’s *Memoirs* and Anglesey’s *Let-*
ter were censured as *scandalous libels* against the government. Castlehaven afterwards published
 a (4) *Review of his Memoirs* ; wherein he endeavours to maintain, against Sir John, and others,
 that not a twentieth part of the English protestants, who were said to be massacred, were really
 murdered in that rebellion ; many hundreds of those, who are in Sir John’s lists of the slain,
 being known to be alive several years after his report was made ; and his sum total far exceeds
 the produce of his particulars, though, in several places, to magnify his numbers, he repeats
 the same names of persons with the same circumstances of their sufferings. He thence proceeds
 to a consideration of motives which then induced the Irish to rebel ; and those according to their
 own manifesto, were the escheating of six whole counties of Ulster in the lump, on account
 of Tyrone’s rebellion ; though many, whose estates were so seized, never joined in it ; King
 James’s planting that whole province with his own countrymen, and his treating the natives in
 other parts as a meer conquered nation of slaves, never employed in any places of trust and
 profit ; the confident threats of the like seizures intended in the counties of Roscommon, Mayo,
 Galway, Cork, Tipperary, Limerick and Wicklow ; the severities then exercised against the
 Roman catholics in England, and dreaded in Ireland ; and, lastly, the privileges and immu-
 nities which the Scots had newly obtained by their taking up arms for the redress of their
 like grievancies : but the noble Memorialist acknowledges that, in his own judgment, the only
 true and great motive to this rebellion, as well as to all others, since the reign of Henry the
 Second, was the old *national feud*, built upon an inflexible persuasion that the sovereignty and
 property of all the lands in the kingdom, by their unrepealed Brehon law, rested still in the
 surviving heirs of the meer Irish or Milesian stock.

The popish clergy of that time were much divided in their sentiments, about the nature of
 this war ; some calling it a just, holy, and necessary war ; and others frankly acknowledging
 it to be a most wicked and traiterous rebellion. Of the former sort was Nicholas French, the
 pope’s nominal Bishop of Fernes, who was one of the congregation summoned to Waterford
 by the nuncio Rinuccini in 1646. When, and afterwards, at Jamestown, all submission to the
 king was damned with their heaviest church-censures. This incendiary wrote the (5) *Bleed-*

N. French
&c.

(1) 8vo. Lond. 1675. (2) 8vo. Lond. 1681. (3) 8vo. Ibid 1681. (4) 8vo. Lond. 1684. (5) 8vo. — 1674.

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ing Iphigenia; wherein he avowedly justifies every step made in that trayterous enterprize. Of the latter was Dr. Peter Walsh, a Franciscan, who, with fifty-three other regulars, and sixteen seculars, subscribed a form of profession of their abhorrence of the principles of the rebels, and disclaiming the pope's supremacy in temporals, presented to King Charles the Second in 1661. Whereof the reasons were published by the said Walsh, in his (1) History of the Irish Remonstrances, for so the instrument was called. The same was done before, in Latin, under the title of (2) Remonstrantia Hibernorum contra Lovanienses, &c. Autore R. P. F. R. Caron Theologo Emerito. Many other views were given of the transactions subsequent to the grand rebellion of 1641, which were very differently represented by several great men who shared in the counsels of that dismal time.

Chancel.
Hyde.

We have lately had two editions of the great Earl of Clarendon's, Chancellor Hyde's, own (3) History of the rebellion and civil wars in Ireland; which was penned out of the memoirs, and from the oral information of the old Duke of Ormond, whilst his grace was in exile with the author. It sets several occurrences of those days of distraction in different light, from that wherein they are represented by other writers; as particularly the cessation of arms and ensuing peace, the unhappy action at Rathmines, the rebellious confederacies of the clergy, &c. in all which the wise and honest conduct of the lord lieutenant, and his, equally unfortunate, deputy, is plausibly apologized and justified. In this we may suppose the noble author had in his view the same excuse which he (4) elsewhere makes for his cursory treatment on the affairs of Ireland, in another part of his works; because of that *full relation* of all material passages, as well from the beginning of that rebellion, as during the time of his own administration, written by the Marquess of Clanrickard.

Clanric-
kard.

Surely this *full relation* must have been a more perfect history of those times, than what is given us in a late lean collection of letters, warrants, orders, and other loose and incoherent state-papers, under the magnificent title of Memoirs (5) of the Right Honourable the Marquess of Clanrickard, Lord Deputy General of Ireland. The anonymous publisher has indeed prefixed a Dissertation of his own, wherein he pretends to *illustrate* some dark passages in these Memoirs: but, keeping himself in the shades, we want to be better informed how far his conjectures may be relied on. He visibly discovers a strong inclination, to lay most of the bloodshed of those dismal times at the door of the English protestants; an injurious attempt, which, we hope, will shortly be well laid open by a more accurate and better informed writer. To these we may add the (6) Original Proceedings of the high Court of Justice at Dublin and Cork, with Sir George Lowther's Speech on the Sentence of Sir Phelim O'Neale, 1652, 53, 54.—Proceedings of the Army about Colrain, 1641, &c.—A Journal of the Action, &c. towards Munster, 1649. A Journal of Col. Kenningston's March towards the Counties of Cavan and Lowth, 1648.—A Diary of the Surrender of Limerick by the Irish, 1642. And of the same by Ireton, 1651.

MS. D.
Episc.
Clogher.

There are also three volumes in the present Bishop of Clogher's library, which ought to be mentioned before we leave the account of this rebellion. 1. The (7) original Account and Discovery of the Rebellion in Ireland, 1641, by Owen O'Conolly; with Examinations of several others of the same account. 2. The original (8) Examinations of the plundered Persons in Ireland, 1641, taken upon oath by the Bishop of Clogher, Dean Watson, &c. giving an account of many barbarous Murders and Rebellions not mentioned by Temple or Borlace, for the most part of Munster, Ulster and Connaght.—The like for the province of Leinster. 3. (9) An aphorismical Discovery of treasonable Faction, by N. S. who styles himself secretary to Owen Roe O'Neal General of the Irish rebellious army; being an account of most of the transactions in the Roman catholick army in Ireland, from 1641 to 1653, with bulls, letters, &c. from the Pope, &c. Little more occurs of the affairs of Ireland, during the quiet reign of King Charles

(1) Fol. Lond. 1674. (2) Fol. A. D. 1665. (3) 8vo. Lond. et Dublin. 1720. (4) Hist. of Rebellion, Edit. Fol. Vol. 3. p. 367. (5) 8vo. Lond. 1722. (6) 4to. Inter MSS. Madden, p. D. Episc. Clogher. (7) MSS. J. Madden, Fol. n. 3. (8) Ibid. nn. 6. & 7. (9) Ibid. n. 8.

the Second, that I know of, saving a (1) transcript of several letters-patent, &c. during the time of the lieutenancy of John Lord Berkley, A. D. 1670, 1671.

The (2) state of the protestants of Ireland under the government of King James the Second, is accurately and methodically represented by Dr. William King, the present Archbishop of Dublin, who has fully discovered their unparalleled sufferings in every thing that was dear and valuable to them. As particularly, 1. In their properties; by an absolute, French, power every where pleaded for by magistrates and officers in the army, who daily caused their goods to be plundered; whole ships with their cargoes to be seized; their submitting to the free quartering of soldiers; their payment of debts in silver, and receipts in brass-money; raising exorbitant subsidies on both their real and personal estates, &c. But I cannot help doubting whether, on the summing up of these *items*, the worthy author be not mistaken in affirming that the (3) "Interest of the English protestants in Ireland, ruined by this king, was of greater value than the estates of all that favoured his cause in England and Scotland. 2. In their persons; by tenants being encouraged to swear their landlords into plots and gaols; no *habeas corpus* being allowed on the most illegal imprisonments; bakers, under a constant guard, not suffered to sell them any bread; General Rosen's driving of four or five thousand naked protestants to starve under the walls of Derry, an instance of cruelty not to be matched in story, &c. In short, the numbers of those that were daily killed by the soldiers, murdered in their houses, executed by martial law, famished in gaols, and that perished by other violences, astonished several Scotch gentlemen; (4) who declared they had been told a quite different story by their Highland preachers, or otherwise had never come so far to serve in such a cause. 3. In their religion; being continually tortured with assurances, that whatever became of England, the king was resolved to make Ireland a catholick kingdom; having the university and diocesan schools filled with Popish masters, tutors and scholars; the Protestant clergy stripped of their churches, maintenance, and jurisdiction, beaten in the streets, assaulted in divine service, and ferreted out of their houses and lodgings, &c. Upon the whole, he concludes, that there was no other prospect or human possibility of avoiding the utter destruction of all the Protestants in this kingdom, but by their accepting of the protection, and submitting to the government of King William and Queen Mary: all which is farther proved, and made evident, in an appendix of authentick acts, proclamations, orders, letters, memorials, &c.

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shop King.

After this accurate account of the miserable condition of the kingdom, under the male-administration of an unfortunate prince, the reader will be desirous to have a view of the re-establishment of Irish liberties, laws, and properties, under the conduct of, their great deliverer, King William the Third, of ever glorious memory. The martial part of that happy revolution is given us by Dr. George Story, late Dean of Limerick, in his (5) *Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland*; with a continuation thereof. The former part of this work contains a journal of the march of the English army under D. Schonberg, from the day of his grace's landing, to the end of the year 1690; and the latter continues the narrative to the surrender of Limerick, and the entire restitution of the legal government thereupon in the conclusion of 1691. The author was chaplain to a regiment that had a share in this successful enterprize; and an eye-witness of all that was remarkable in it. He was also curious in his enquiries after the customs and traditions of the several provinces and counties through which the army passed; many whereof he has occasionally mentioned and intermixed, for his reader's diversion: and, matters of fact being fairly represented, every man is at liberty to judge whether the reflections made upon them be reasonable and just.

G. Story.

A few lesser historians, hitherto overlooked, may not be unworthy the naming, before we conclude this chapter; as, 1. Maurice Regan, servant and interpreter to Dermot King of Leinster, lived in the year 1171, and wrote very carefully the history of the affairs of Ireland during his own time. This was translated by a friend of his into French verse; and (6) Sir George

Regan,
&c.

(1) Inter. Addend. ad Catal. MSS. D. Joh. (More) nuper Episc. Eliens. (2) 8vo. Lond. 1691. (3) p. 187.
(4) Vid. p. 211, 213. (5) 4to. Lond. 1693. (6) Ware, de Scrip. p. 20, 21.

Carew,

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Carew, afterwards Earl of Totness, turned it into English. Some fragments of it, as far as the year 1157, are yet extant: This Regan (1) affirms that Henry the Second did positively promise to send auxiliary forces to Dermot's assistance; which being long vainly expected at Bristol, Dermot was forced to make a compact with Strongbow. This man's work is in his Grace the Duke of Chandois's library, under the title of (2) *Mauritij Regani, Servi et Interpretis Dermitij, filij Murchardi, olim Regis Lageniæ, Historiæ de Hiberniâ Fragmentum Anglice redditum a D. Georgio Carew, Memoniæ Preside sub Elizabethâ. Annales rerum Hibernicarum ab An. 1579, ad An. 1590. Hibernico Characterè.* 2. Galasy or Gillisa Mac Firbissy; an historian of good account, wrote a chronicle of his own time, and died in 1301. My author (3) Sir James Ware, says nothing of his history being extant. 3. Malachy Mac Aeda, or Hugh's son, (4) Archbishop of Tuam, in 1330, is accounted the author of a large volume extant in Irish, written in those times, called, *The Book of Hugh's Son*. It contains, amongst other matters, a series of the Irish kings, from Neal Nigiolach to Roderick O'Connor, in whose time Ireland became subject to the English crown. 4. Richard Creagh of Limerick, as Ware (5) calls him, wrote a chronicle of Ireland, about the year 1570. He tells us not where it is to be met with: and therefore I am apt to suspect that it lies hid with the same author's history of the saints of this kingdom, of which (6) Archbishop Usher could never get a sight: others (7) tell us that this Creagh or Crewe was Titular Archbishop of Ardmagh, about the year 1580, and that he wrote one treatise *De Origine Linguæ Hibernicæ*; and another called *Chronica Hiberniæ*. 5. Amongst the manuscripts of William Brownlowe, Esquire, of Lurgan (8) Clan Brasil, in the county of Ardmagh, there is a copy of the *Leabhar Eghonagh*, or a treatise of the reigns of the family of the O'Neals, descended from Eogain Mac Nail Naoghiallach, or Neil of the Nine Hostages. 6. In the Bodleyan (9) Library at Oxford, there is an old MS. on parchment, consisting of 292 pages in a large folio, containing 1. A Copy of Part of *Psalter Cassail*. 2. A Copy of *St. Mocuda Rathin and Lismore*; and, 3. The chronicle of the Abbey of Cung, giving some account: 1. Of the antient Irish Families. 2. A Catalogue of their Kings. 3. An Account of the Conquest of Britain by the Romans. 4. Of the Saxon Conquest, and their Heptarchy. 5. An Account of the Irish Saints, in Verse, written in the Tenth Century. 6. The Saints of the Roman Breviary. 7. A Catalogue of the Popes. 8. An Account of the Conversion of the Irish-English to Christianity, with some other Subjects.

(1) Id. Annal. p. 2. (2) Fol. Hist. n. 45. (3) De Script. p. 23. (4) Id. lb. p. 20. (5) Id. Ibid. p. 25. (6) See his Letters, p. 1. (7) *Analect de Rebus Cathol. in Hibern. par. 3. p. 47.* (8) E. Lhwyd, *Archæol. Brit. p. 436.* (9) MSS. Laud. F. 92.

C H A P. III.

Of the Ecclesiastical Historians of IRELAND.

THE late learned Dr. Thomas Smith, in his catalogue of the Cottonian manuscripts, mentions two books of ecclesiastical history relating to the affairs of the church of Ireland, in the most early times, viz. 1. *Fragmentum* (1) ex Antiquo MS. *Literis Lombardicis exarato circa An. 720, de primis Ecclesiarum Christianarum in Gallia, Anglia, et Hibernia Fundatoribus.* 2. *Breve Chronicon* (2) ab orbe condito de rebus Sacris ad Christum natum, et inde, post tempora St. Patricii, fusiùs de Rebus Ecclesiasticis Hibernicorum, partim Latinè partim Hibernicè. Both these have some cursory notes in the hand-writing of the great Abp. Usher, whose *Primordia*, or (3) *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, J. Usher will be an everlasting monument of the author's good services to the church of Ireland. Of this excellent work some account has

(1) Cleopatra, E. 1. (2) Titus, A. 25. (3) Fol. Lond. 1687.

already

already been given in the (4) English Historical Library; so far as it touches on the antient state of church-matters in Great-Britain. His 15th chapter begins with the first transplanting of Irish colonies into the northern parts of the neighbouring isle, which, from them, was afterwards called Scotland, and ends with the history of St. Columba: ascertaining the time of his leaving Ireland to be A. D. 563. Ætat. 42. two years sooner than Bede brings him into the Isle of Hye, and his continuance there to the day of his death, June 9, 597, to be thirty-four years. The 16th treats of the most early preachers of christianity in these parts, before the mission of St. Patrick; wherein several of Tho. Demster's mistakes and forgeries are exposed, and a very coarse character which is not common in this learned primate, given of the man himself in these words: (5) *Tam suspectæ fidei hominem illum fuisse comperimus, & toties tesseram fregisse, ut oculatos nos esse oporteat, et nisi quod videmus, nihil ab eo acceptum credere.* In his last chapter, he rectifies the story of St. Patrick; which he rescues from a load of seeming contradictions and absurdities in the numberless writers of his life. The old disputes, about Tonsure, and the observance of Easter, are plainly stated; and the excellent author concludes his work with some principal occurrences in the lives of those Irish Saints, of whom we shall have occasion to say more in the next chapter. From the same hand we have another large (6) Discourse of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British. In this learned treatise the author clearly proves, out of the writings of St. Patrick, Sedulius, Claudius, Adamnanus, Bede, &c. that the ancient Irish, or Scottish christians differed much from the faith and doctrines now received in the Roman church; particularly concerning the books of canonical scripture, justification, purgatory, the real presence, confession, absolution, Easter, church-power, and the supremacy. There's a whole chapter on the discipline of the ancient Irish Monks, wherein not one word is said of the Culdees. A little before this book was published, came forth Philip O'Sullivan's *Historiæ, &c. Compendium*, whereof notice has been already taken in the foregoing chapter. That rash writer had told many groundless stories of the entire subjection of the first christians of this island to their *Oraculum veritatis*, the Bishop of Rome; whose determinations he says, were always held sacred and final; so that upon the first intimation of his will and pleasure, their old disputes about the observation of Easter immediately ceased; and the seeds of the Pelagian heresy were choaked in the very sprouting. These and other fooleries of that ignorant man, our (7) primate has sufficiently exposed; giving this severe character of the man himself: "A worthy author to ground a report of antiquity upon; who, in relating the matters that fell out in his own time, discovereth himself to be as egregious a liar, as any, I verily think, that this day breatheth in Christendom." The same worthy prelate published a third good help to the knowledge of the primitive state of christianity in Ireland, under the title of, (8) *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge, quæ partim ab Hibernis, partim ad Hibernos, partim de Hibernis vel rebus Hibernicis sunt conscriptæ.* These letters touch upon the ecclesiastical concerns of this kingdom from the year 592, to 1190; wherein something remarkable occurs in every one of the six centuries within that compass, saving the tenth. We have here several Roman censures upon Irish rites: as, in their schismatical behaviour in the Quartadecimal Controversy; their irregular divorces; uncanonical marriages within prohibited degrees; baptism without chrism; symoniacal ordinations; opposers of the papal supremacy; bishops consecrated by a single bishop, and without any certain title or diocese; the Bishop of Dublin's presumption, in ordering a cross to be carried before him, usurping hereby the privilege of an archbishop, &c. To which are added the pope's grant of the whole realm to King Henry the Second of England, with a reservation of *Peter-pence*; and his ratification of all royal endowments, in lands or patronages of parochial cures, made to that see before the year 1179, when Archbishop Lawrence (the second that bore that title) presided in it; together with forms of submission to the Archbishop of Canterbury by his predecessors, as well as the other Norman bishops of Waterford and Limerick, on their respective consecrations in England. There is a printed copy of this Sylloge in the College Library of Dublin; with several additions and amendments under the publisher's own hand.

(4) Part 2. cap. 1. (5) P. 379. (6) 4to. Lond. 1631. (7) Relig. of antient Irish, p. 91, 92, 94, 123, 127, 138. (8) 4to. Lond. 1632.

PART
III.Sir James
Ware.

A commentary of the prelates of Ireland, from the first conversion of the nation to the christian faith down to our times, is given us by Sir James Ware. The foundation of this goodly structure was laid in a piece which he called, (1) *Archiepiscopium Cassilientrum et Tuamensium vitæ, duobus expressa Commentariolis*: which was soon after followed by another short treatise, (2) *De Præsulibus Lageniæ, sive Provinciæ Dubliniensis Liber unus*. After the return of King Charles the Second, he was prevailed on by some of the restored prelates (chiefly by Archbishop Margetson) to review and enlarge the work; which he did, and published the whole under the title before-mentioned: (3) *De Præsulibus Hiberniæ Commentarius, à primâ Gentis Hibernicæ ad fidem Christianam Conversione ad nostrâ usque tempora*. This history, in the English edition, is continued to the year 1704, from accounts sent to the publishers by the then archbishops and bishops of the several sees: and there is added to it a short list of all the chancellors and provosts of Trinity College, near Dublin, from its first foundation. The publishers have omitted here the (4) *large Epistle*, which was written to the author by Dr. John Parry, Bishop of Ossory, and prefixed to the Latin edition of this part of his work; an omission justly to be complained of.

Synods. Several synodical decrees made in Ireland at uncertain times, are in a collection of ancient canons, under sixty six heads, titles, or chapters, in the Cotton Library, frequently cited by (5) Archbishop Usher. To these we may add another body of ecclesiastical laws of this kingdom, in the Irish tongue; of which there is a fair and ancient copy in his Grace the Duke of (6) Chandos's Library; where also may be seen Pope (7) Eugenius the Fourth's Bulls for taking off the excommunication from the village Rossfont, and laying the like censure upon Philip Norres, &c.

Canons. Our oldest ecclesiastical canons, if genuine, must be those which Sir Henry Spelman (8) has published, as the acts of two several synods held by St. Patrick and his suffragans. The former of these he calls *Synodus S. Patricij, Auxilij et Iffernini, Episcoporum in Hiberniâ, celebrata circa Annum Christi 450, vel 456*. The thirty-four decrees of this assembly he transcribed out of a faulty copy in the library of Bennet college at Cambridge; to which there is annexed a collection of scripture-rules, amongst the rest the Ten Commandments entire, even the Second, drawn up by the said prelates. 2. The constitutions of the other, which bears only St. Patrick's name, were transcribed out of the university library at Angiers; and sent thence by the learned Sirmondus, to Archbishop Usher; who communicated them to our author, but could not punctually ascertain their age. These, and many more that are now lost, must be supposed to make up that great volume of canons, which (9) Joceline of Furness makes this faint to leave behind him; and which, he says, were once well known by the title of *Canoin Phadruig* (i. e.) Patrick's Canons. What pains that faint took in collecting and composing these canons, Joceline acquaints us in these words: (10) *Capit Episcoporum Synodos Sanctas sæpius congregare, Concilia solenniter celebrare, et quod fidei Catholice comperit contrarium, Ecclesiasticis Institutes adversum, evellere et destruere, &c.* The history of St. Patrick's synod with two epistles of remarks upon it, may be seen in the Duke of (11) Chandos's library. After this faint's death, and before the coming in of King Henry the Second, the Irish synods, or the decrees made in them, were not many. Those that I have had any account of are only, 1. The Synod of Leghlin in the year 630, whereof Archbishop Usher has helped us to this narrative: (12) *Synodus Lech-lenienfis in Campo albo ad Ripam fluvii, quem Ptolomeus Birgum, nos Barrow vocamus, non procul à Monte Margeo posito. Ubi successores Ailbei, Querani, sive Keriani Clonienfis, Brendani, Nessani, et Lugidi consuluerunt, ut Pascha cum Universali Ecclesiâ, in futuro anno celebrarent.* 2. (13) A great synod at Uíneach in the year 1112, by Celsus Archbishop of Ardmagh. 3. (14) In 1157, Christianus Bishop of Lismore, and the Pope's Legate, presided in a national synod at old Mell, or Mellifont, though the present Mellis stands at three miles distance, wherein sat the Archbishops of Ardmagh, Dublin, and Tuam, and their suffragans. The church there was dedi-

(1) 4° Dublin, 1618. (2) 4° Ibid. 1626. (3) Fol. Dublin, 1665. (4) Vid. Ath. Oxon. vol. 2. col. 448. (5) Rel. of ancient Irish, p. 24, 36, 63, &c. (6) Fol. Membr. Hist. n. 21. (7) Fol. Hist. n. 44. (8) Concil. Brit. tom. 1. p. 51. et. 55. (9) Ware, de script. p. 31. (10) Jocelin. in vita S. Patric. apud Usher, Antiq. Brit. p. 453. (11) 4° Hist. n. 89. (12) Ex Cummiâni Epist. Usher, Antiq. Brit. p. 484, 485. (13) Ware, de præsul. p. 10, 11. (14) Recens. Epist. Hib. p. 150, 151.

cated to St. Mell, one of St. Patrick's nephews; and Christianus himself was first abbot of it. PART
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Synod of
Cashel.

In 1172, a national synod of the three southern provinces was summoned by King Henry the Second, to meet at Cashel; and the reader may see the decrees at length in (2) Giraldus Cambrensis. 2. In 1212, died John Comin, Archbishop of Dublin, whose provincial canons (confirmed by Pope Urban the Third) are among the records of the (3) cathedral of Christ-Church. 3. Henry de Loundres, Archbishop of Dublin, Pope Honorius the Third's Legate in Ireland, held a synod (national I suppose) at Dublin, A. D. 1217; the decrees whereof are extant in the old register, called *Crède mibi*. A copy of these is in the (4) Duke of Chandois's library. 4. In 1240, John St. John, bishop of Fernes, held a synod at Wexford, the canons whereof were once (says Sir James (5) Ware) communicated to me by that lover of antiquity Daniel Molineux (Ulster King at Arms) my great friend while living: and he seems to have been particularly fond of them, since two different (6) transcripts are among his own manuscripts. 5. In 1262, Archbishop Abraham held a provincial synod at Drogheda; (7) part of the decrees whereof are in the register of Octavian de Pallatio, Archbishop of Ardmagh; and a fair transcript of them may be seen, by the curious reader, in the hand of the present worthy Bishop of (8) Clogher. 6. In 1349, died Alexander de Bricknor, Archbishop of Dublin. I remember to have read the decrees of a synod held by him in the white book of the church of Offory, says (9) Sir James Ware. It is certain that about this time the friars mendicants (both Dominicans and Franciscans) met with great opposition: and no where more than in Ireland, where Richard Raphson, Archbishop of Ardmagh (consecrated at Exeter in 1347, and well known by the name of Richardus Armachanus) was their indefatigable adversary. In the (10) publick library at Oxford, there is a volume of his works wholly on this subject, under the following titles. 1. *Richardi Radulphi, i. e. Fitz-Rauf, sermones varij*. 2. *R. Armachani propositio ex parte regis Angliæ in consistorio pro gratia jubilæi ejusdem domini regis populo obtinenda anno 1349, mense Augusto*. 3. *Ejusdem propositio in consistorio coram papa et cardinalibus super materiâ mendicitatus ac privilegiorum contra fratres de ordinibus mendicantium quibuscunque Avinione, 8 Nov. 1357*. 4. *Ejusdem responsiones ad objectiones contra materiam de mendicitate ec paupertate, quod christus nunquam spontaneè [mendicavit]*. 5. *Ejusdem propositio ex parte prælatorum et omnium curatorum totius ecclesiæ coram papâ in publico consistorio, anno 1350, 5 Julij*. 6. He wrote also, to the same purpose, seven books *de paupertate salvatoris*. 7. In 1404, died John Colton, Archbishop of Ardmagh; some part of whose provincial constitutions are (11) said to be extant: but no certain information is given us where to find them. 8. The like is said of those of (Colton's immediate successor) (12) Nicholas Fleming, who died in 1416. 9. The provincial canons of Cashel, agreed on in the synod of Limerick, A. D. 1453, are copied into several books in the (13) Chandois library; one whereof gives us a long detail of the disputes betwixt the bishops of Ardmagh and Meath. 10. The decrees of a provincial synod held A. D. 1512, by Maurice Fitzgerald, Archbishop of Cashel, are inserted in the (14) register of Thomas Pursel, Bishop of Lismore and Waterford; (15) about which time a great many letters were written to Cardinal Wolsey, by the bishops and other grandees of Ireland, touching the ecclesiastical state of that kingdom. 11. In 1518, a provincial synod was held by William Rokeby, Archbishop of Dublin; (16) whose canons are extant in the Red Book of the Bishops of Offory.

About the first dawning of the reformation, we have an account of the churches, deaneries, monasteries, abbeys, and hospitals, as they stood in the year 1532, extracted out of the book called, (17) *Repertorium Viride*, written by John (De Derlington) the seventh Archbishop of Dublin. Afterwards a Treatise on the reformation of Ireland, was written by John

(1) Ware de præful. p. 11. (2) Hist. Vatican. lib. 1. cap. 35. (3) Ware de script. p. 37. (4) Fol. Hist. n. 98, (5) De præful. p. 24. (6) Bibl. Chandois. Fol. Hist. n. 39. et n. 46. (7) Fol. 282. a. (8) Inter MSS. D. John Madden, 8^o n. 1. (9) De præful. Dublin, p. 8. (10) MSS. Bodl. A. 4, 8. Vide et Ibid. B. 3, 12. MSS. supra M. Art. 138. (11) Ware de præful. p. 15. (12) Id. Ibid. p. 15. (13) Fol. Hist. n. 42, et, n. 45. (14) Ware, Hist. of Archbishops of Cashel, p. 9. (15) Bibl. Chandois, 4^o Hist. n. 75. (16) Ware's annals of Hen. 7. p. 53, 63. (17) Bib. Chandois, Fol. Hist. n. 47.

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Usher, (1) Mayor of Dublin, in 1574, father of Sir William Usher, knight, and Thomas Bourchier, a Franciscan doctor of the Sorbon, (who died at Rome about the year 1585) published, his (2) *Historia Ecclesiastica de martyrio fratrum ordinis minorum divi Fancisci de observantiâ, qui partim in Angliâ, sub Henrico octavo Rege, patrim in Belgio sub Principe Auriaco partim et in Hiberniâ tempore Elizabethæ regnantis Reginæ, passi sunt ab anno 1536, ad an. 1582* Hugh O'Cervallan, (3) Bishop of Clogher, published ecclesiastical constitutions; which are extant, and bear date October 29. 1557. These we may reckon as partly reformed, since that bishop, though he came to his see by provision of Pope Paul the Third, did homage at his consecration to King Henry the Eighth, and acknowledged his supremacy: But, however that be, we have others undoubtedly passed since the reformation, under the title of *Determinatio* (4) *Synodalis quarundam Regularum deservientium Ecclesiæ Ardmagh, factæ, A. D. 1614.* We have also a (5) compleat history of the whole proceedings of the Irish convocation held in St. Patrick's church at Dublin, in the year 1634, wherein were made those canons and constitutions, which are still observed in the established church of Ireland. In 1638 (6) Bishop Bedel held a diocesan synod at Kilmore; wherein he and his clergy passed, and subscribed, 22 decrees or byelaws for their own observance. The bishop himself was thereby restrained from constituting a layman his vicar general, or any for term of life; making over the next avoidance of livings: leasing out of mensals, &c. Some thought this so very illegal an act, that it subjected the bishop to a premunire: But Archbishop Usher stopt the mouths of his accusers, by advising them to let him alone, lest he should say more for himself than they were willing to hear. As to religious matters of a yet later date, there's an entire volume of papers in the Bishop of (7) Clogher's library; wherein are contained letters of the several Internuncio's, De Vechy, Rospigliosi, Araldi, Cardinal Barbarini, &c. to the Roman catholick primate and other bishops of Ireland; *Acta Statuta, &c. Capituli Provincialis Ordinis Prædicatorum Hiberniæ, 1678, &c. Literæ, Licentiæ, Commissiones, &c. Magistri Provincialis Ordinis Prædicatorum Hiberniæ; Acta, Ordinationes, &c. Cler. Rom. Cath. Dioceseos Midenfis 1686. Ordinationes, &c. in Visitatione Conventûs S. Salvatoris Ord, Præd. Dublin.* Extracts out of the several registries of the parish churches of Dublin, concerning the marriages, baptizing, and burials of all noblemen, and most gentlemen and their issue, happening in the city of Dubln, since the registry.

Surveys.

For a right information concerning the endowments and temporalities of bishops, besides what we may learn from the general surveys mentioned in the first chapter, we have several other treatises, which are more directly for our purpose in this particular: as, 1. (8) An account of several visitations in Ireland, and the value of livings. 2. (9) *Extenta et taxatio beneficiorum et dignitatum spiritualium in diocesisbus Hiberniæ.* 3. (10) Copies of inquisitions touching church-lands in the counties of Ardmagh, Tyrone, London-Derry, Donnegal, Cavan, and Fermanagh, in the year 1609. 4. An (11) historical narration of the controversy betwixt the Archbishops of Ardmagh and Dublin, touching the primacy. 5. (12) A general settlement of ministers in Ireland, A. D. 1659. 6. (13) *Rentalia antiqua episcopatum Alladenfis, Artfertensis, Cassiliensis, Corgagiensis, Clonenfis, Clanfortensis, Derriensis, Dubliniensis, Elphinenfis, Kildarenfis, Kilmorensis, Laonensis Leghlenfis, Lismorensis, et Tuamenfis.* 7. (14) *Literæ quædam de re-ecclesiasticâ Hibernorum.*

Monasteries.

In the second (15) volume of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, we have a good collection of foundation-charters, deeds of gift, &c. relating to some of the religious houses in Ireland: But all these were either cells belonging to some great abbeys in England, or were endowed by some honourable families of that kingdom. Sir James Ware has given the title of an account of the Monasteries of Ireland, of their original and antiquities, to the (16) largest chapter in his book of *Antiquities*: Wherein he considers the titles of dedication, founders, and benefactors, rules and orders, of each of these in their proper provinces and dioceses: And in (17) another he bestows the like pains on the cathedral churches in this kingdom. Upon this bottom, Monsieur Alemand built his

(1) MSS. in Bibl. Usher. Armagh. (2) 8^o Paris. 1582. et 1586. et 12^o Ingolst. 1583. Vid. Ath. Oxon. Tom. 1. col. 185. (3) Ware, de præsul. p. 36. (4) MS. Col. Trin. Dublin, Fol. J. 113. (5) Bibl. Chandois. Fol. Hist. n. 72. (6) See his life by Bishop Burnet, p. 79, 237, &c. (7) 4^o MSS. Madden, n. 1. (8) Col. Trin. Dublin, Fol. B. 40. (9) Ibid. G. 110. (10) Ibid. B. 44. (11) Ibid. D. 42. (12) Inter MSS. D. Dudl. Loftus, n. 90. (13) p. D. Epif. Clogher, inter MSS. D. Madden, 4^o n. 8. (14) Bibl. Chandois, 4^o Theol. n. 22. (15) Fol. Lond. 1661. (16) Cap. 26. (17) Cap. 29.

(1) *Histoire Monastique d'Irlande*; which has been very lately augmented into a more full grown discourse under the title of *Monasticon* (2) *Hibernicum*. The anonymous publisher of this, very modestly owns, that the forementioned French author did not only lay the foundation of the work, but also provided most of the materials; and acknowledges that it is an easy matter to improve upon the undertakings of others, &c. And yet he will not allow it to be called a bare translation; because of the many additions and alterations that have been made in it. As it now stands, it pretends to give its readers a perfect and full view of, 1. All the abbeys, priories, nunneries, and other regular communities which were in that kingdom. 2. The time when and the titles under which, they were founded. 3. The name and quality of their founders. 4. The provinces, counties, cities, or towns, in which they were seated. 5. The several regular orders to which they belonged, and the most remarkable circumstances relating to their foundation and suppression. 6. Historical and critical observations and draughts of their several habits, with a map of Ireland. The foundation charters of a great many of these monasteries are in the possession of the present worthy (3) Bishop of Clogher.

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Four several sorts of Monastick Rules were found in an old manuscript, and so very antient Irish, that it was hard for the most expert modern to understand it, by Archbishop (4) Usher; who thus reckons them to us, 1. *Collumbækilli*. This is what was perscribed by St. Columb to all the members of his monasteries; and he is said to have founded no fewer than one hundred: Besides which, several others in the kingdom of Northumberland, instituted there by the bishops which he sent thither, were conformable to the same rule. 2. St. Comgall's at Banchor; in which monastery, and its appendant cells, three thousand monks are said to have commonly resided. 3. Of St. Mochuda, or Carthagus, founder and Abbot of Ratheny, and first Bishop of Lismore. 4. Of St. Albeus, Archbishop of Emelach: Of whom, as well as of the other three, we shall have occasion to say more anon. Many more rules are still known to have been compiled by other Irish prelates: As by, 1. Kieran. 2. Brendan. Both these, as being, I suppose, found in the same volume and under one cover, are sometimes quoted in the Ulster annals under the common name of *Lex Ciarani et Brendani*. 3. St. Lugid, or Molua: Whose (5) rule is said to have been much admired by the author's cotemporary, Pope Greogry the Great, 4. St. Columbane: Which has been often published by Goldastus, Messingham, and others: and was incorporated, in most of the French monasteries, with that of St. Bennet. The rules of an Anchoretick life may also be seen in the registry of the (6) monastery of St. Thomas near Dublin.

Monastick Rules

(1) 12mo. Paris. 1690. (2) 8ov. Lond. 1622. (3) Inter MSS. D. Madden, 4^o num. 9. (4) Antiq. Brit. p. 476. (5) In Vit. ejus MS. citante Usserio, Antiq. Brit. p. 476. (6) Ware's Antiq. cap. 17. p. 44.

C H A P. IV.

Writers of the LIVES of the IRISH Saints.

THE whole kingdom of Ireland is commonly called by antient church historians, *Insula Sanctorum*; as being more fertile in the production of saints, martyrs, and confessors, than any other nation in the christian world. Archbishop (1) Usher hereupon observes, that to write the lives of all its saints, or even to recount their names, would be an endless task: And yet, what one says he of this innumerable company, ever received any solemn canonization from the Pope before Malachias, Archbishop of Ardmagh, about the middle of the twelfth century? He puts the question, (2) but leaves it to be answered by future discoverers. Tradition we are sure has dubbed them holy; and, as such, Surius, Bolandus, and others have admitted several of them into their general martyrologies of the catholick church. As they are Irishmen, and have a more

Insula
Sancto-
rum.

(1) Antiq. Brit. p. 491, et 503. (2) Relig. of antient Irish, p. 76.

particular

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particular relation to that part of the church universally established in this Island, they have chiefly fallen under the consideration of such biographers, as were of their own native growth. Two anonymous volumes of these are in the (18) Duke of Chandos's library: And elsewhere we have the (19) maternal genealogies and degrees of these Irish saints; their sacred antiquity, and alphabetical catalogue; the genealogies of St. Patrick, and other saints; as also (20) *Vindiciæ Scotorum Veterum et Sanctorum Indigenarum Hiberniæ*; contra H. Boethium, G. Buchananum, &c. Old hymns in the praise of several of these are innumerable. All that is historical in them is more at large, and less fabulously related in their lives.

B. Æneas. Bishop Æneas or Engus, son of Oengobhan, about the close of the eighth century, wrote a martyrology in Irish verse; which, says Sir James Ware, is still extant. To this a supplement was afterwards added by Murry or Marian O'Gorman, who was Abbot of Knock near Lowth, in the year 1171. Colganus (1) having taken notice of the vast numbers of homonymous saints in several old martyrologies, wherein are twenty-three Columbaes, twenty-four Columbans, about one hundred and twenty Colman's, &c. concludes his strange account with this more amazing one from Engus: *Et licet magna et mira hæc multitudo meritò videatur, exigua tamen videbitur comparatione majoris multitudinis Homonymorum quos S. Ængussius Keledeus (qui ante octingentos et septuaginta annos floruit) libro secundo suorum opusculorum producit. Ibi enim inter 62 sanctorum homonymorum classes, totidem capitibus comprehensas, recenset Mochumios 34. Moluanos 37. Molassios sive Lafreanos 43. Mochuanos 58. et Colmanos supra ducentos; quos omnes ex adjecta locorum, in quibus coluntur, et parentum diversitate indicat esse plane diversos.*

J. Tinmouth.

John Vicar of Tinmouth's (2) great magazine of the British saints has good store of Irish: which (3) Sir James Ware is of opinion, he borrowed from Irish writers, *changing only the stile*. His Sanctilogium, here censured, is only an abstract, as I have already observed in my English and Scottish Libraries, of his *Historia Aurea*. Of this writer, and the English plagiarist from him, the late learned Dr. Smith has left this just character: (4) *Vitas sanctorum Angliæ, Walliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ, in variis libris sparsas, in unum corpus redegit. Opus sane ob reliquias genuine antiquitatis ex membranarum cariosis, quas vir diligentissimus versaverat, exscriptas, et in illa grandi fabularum et quisquiliarum mole reperiendas, non parvi æstimandum. Hujus industriæ laudem in se inhoneſtis artibus derivaturus surrepturusque Johannes (5) Capgravius multa decurtavit et refecit, ac more plagiorum variis modis immutavit, ut ipsius ingenii fœtus haberetur. Floruit A. D. 1366, ut optime ex Bostono Buriensi probat R. R. Ufferus.* Amongst Tinmouth's saints, the chief of those that relate to this kingdom are Bridget, Aidan, Peranus, Patrick, with a particular legend on his purgatory, Columba, Modwenna, Fiacer, Aidan the bishop, Malachias, Benignus, Columbanus, Finan, who is also called Winninus.

A. Magraidan.

Augustine Magraidan, canon of the priory of all saints, in the county of Longford, wrote the lives of the Irish saints; and continued a chronicle, begun by some of the same house, to his own time: part of which I have in manuscript, with additions after his death; which happened in the year 1405. says (6) Sir James Ware. This undoubtedly is the same with that in his Grace the Duke of Chandos's library, under the title of (7) *Collectanea Magraithi Mac Gawna de Genealogiis Sanctorum Hiberniæ*.

Messingham.

In this large field Thomas Messingham picked up his (8) *Florilegium Sanctorum Hiberniæ*; which gave occasion to Dempster's book of piracy, which he calls (9) *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum Libris XIX*; qua viri Sanctitate, Literis, Dignitatibus, toto orbe illustres, et familiæ etiam Scotiæ in varias Urbes transmissæ, &c. recensentur; whereof some account has been given in the Scotch Historical Library. This prize was retaken, with reprisals in abundance, by John Colgan, an Irish frier mendicant and divinity lecturer in the university of Louvain; who published three large volumes of the lives of some hundreds of saints that are supposed to have been born or bred, or, at least, who lived some years, in the kingdom or Ireland.

(18) Fol. Hist. n. 53. et 4to. Hist. n. 41. (19) Fol. Col. Trin. Dublin, D. 19. (20) Ibid. c. 49. (1) Præf. ad Acta. SS. Hib. p. 3. (2) MS. Cotton Tiberius, E. 1. (3) De Serip. p. 27. (4) Hist. Bibl. Cotton. p. 40. (5) In Nova Legenda Angliæ, Fol. Lond. 1526. (6) De Serip. p. 22. (7) 4to. Hist. n. 78. (8) Fol. Paris. 1624. (9) 4to. Bonon. 1627.

The two former of these, though last printed, he named *Triadis* (10) *Thaumaturgæ*, five *Divorum Patricii, Columbæ et Brigidæ, trium veteris et majoris Scotiæ seu Hiberniæ Sanctorum Insulæ communium Patronorum, Acta*. Into these he has transcribed all the long and short lives that he could meet with, either in print or manuscript, which had been written of these three famous and cotemporary saints; saving that he has contented himself with laying before his readers seven or eight of the most bulky of those of St. Patrick, which were all compiled by that apostle's own disciples, and which, he verrily believes, contain all that is to be found in sixty-six by other hands. His third volume is called (11) *Acta Sanctorum Veteris et Majoris Scotiæ seu Hiberniæ Sanctorum Insulæ, partim ex variis per Europam MSS. Cod. exscripta, partim ex antiquis monumentis et probatis authoribus eruta et congeſta*. In this last he has hooked in most of the old holy-men and women in England and Scotland: so that even Dempster himself could not be more intent on multiplying the Scotch army of saints and martyrs, than Colgan of raising recruits for that of his own native country. The reason that he (12) gives for this augmentation of his forces, is, because the antient martyrologies of Ireland have recorded their names as persons, of both sexes, naturalized here by having parish-churches, and other places of religious worship, dedicated to their sacred memories. On the other hand he is apprehensive that his countrymen will blame him for omitting the lives of more Irish saints than he has recorded. This charge he confesses, is just: but he hopes that the infinity of their numbers, the multiplicity of homonymous saints, the loss of many antient memoirs, and his own exile in foreign parts, will be as just an apology. Upon all the three tomes, the publisher has obliged us with very useful notes; which explain the many mistaken and corrupted names of men and places, wherewith the writings of this kind do generally abound: for the copiers of them, being more intent on the preservation of the miraculous acts of their countrymen, than of the antiquities of their country, take least care of the most valuable part of their work.

Dr. Meredith Hanmer is said to have written an (13) *Ephemeris* of the saints of Ireland: M. Han-
but, my author having not said where it was printed, I suppose it yet to be in MS. or lost: nor
can I say any more of Richard (14) Creagh of Limerick; who wrote the like about 1570.
Or D. Rothe's account of the Irish saints, not yet published, which he called *Hierographia*
Hiberniæ; of which (15) Archbishop Usher, who had seen and quotes it, gives an obliging
character. That learned archbishop himself has indeed given us an old catalogue of the (1) Irish
saints from 433, to 664, which are there set in the three following ranks. 1. Bishops, cotem-
porary with St. Patick, no fewer than three hundred and fifty; and founders of as many churches.
2. Monks, mostly presbyters, but some bishops, under several rules; in all 300. Amongst
whom are reckoned two Brendans, two Finians, &c. 3. Hermits or anchorets of the like mixture;
whereof Ultan, Colman, Aedan, &c. were bishops; and Fechin Colman Cronan, &c. presbyters.
To which may be added (2) Henry Fitz-Simon's catalogue of the chief saints of
Ireland; and another little treatise, published at the same time and place with that, by one who
calls himself *Veridicus*, and calls his book *Hiberniæ* (3) *Vindiciæ adversus Dempsterum*.
There is an old vellum manuscript in the Harleian library, which bears the title of *Libellus de*
Fundatione Ecclesiæ St. Petri Consecratæ Ratisbone quæ vulgo Weihlanpeter dicitur; tractans
de Hiberniâ et Sanctis Hiberniensibus quorum corpora requiescunt. There is also in the same
place a translation of this book in High Dutch metre.

The lives of a great many particular saints are still to be had in manuscript; several where-
of seem not to have fallen in the way of the forementioned collectors, and others carry that
face of antiquity, that they appear more to be depended on, than those which have hitherto been
published. I shall therefore endeavour to point out to the reader such of these, as have come to
my knowledge, in an alphabetical order.

(10) Fol. Lovan. 1647. (11) Fol. Ibid. 1645. (12) In Præfat. ad Lect. (13) Ath. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 279.
(14) Ware, de Script. p. 25. (15) Antiq. Brit. p. 386. (1) Ibid. p. 473. (2) 8° Antv. 1621. (3) 8vo. Ibid.
1621.

- PART III.**
Abban. Abban, Abbat, he lived at the same time with St. Brendan. One (3) of the MS. copies of his life says, that he was born *in Ultonia, quæ est quinta pars Hiberniæ*. This wants the beginning; but another more complete seems to be in the Bodleyan (4) library, under the name of Abdon. See Ibar.
- Æd.** Æd, founder of the monastery of Enach Midbrinin in the county of Muscraytire in the province of Munster; but afterwards made bishop of Meath, his native country. The (5) writer of his life says, he died before St. Columb; and Sir James Ware more particularly acquaints us, that his death happened on the tenth of November, 589. His life begins (6) *Sanctus Episcopus Aidus filius Brichij de nepotibus Neil oriundus fuit*.
- Albe.** Albe, he, as well as Declan and Ibarus, was forerunner to St. Patrick; and the monastery of Chell-Ruaid in the county of Dalaraid, where he was born, was built by (7) Colman according to his directions. His life begins, *Albeus* (8) *episcopus virorum Momoniensium pater beatissimus et post S. Patricium secundus patronus*. In this we are told that he was much beloved by (9) St. Patrick; who joined with Ængus, King of Munster, in making him Archbishop of Cashel; he was indeed the first Bishop of Emly, and died September the twelfth, A. D. 527.
- Bar.** Bar or Finbar, he was the first Bishop of Cork: lived about the latter end of the sixth century, and his festival is kept on the twenty-seventh of September; his life begins (10) *Sanctus Dei Electus*.
- Benigne.** Benigne, his life is in J. Tinmouth's Sanctilogium, he was scholar and immediate successor at Ardmagh to St. Patrick; and died November the ninth, 468.
- Berach.** Berach, Abbat, lived in 630, his life begins (11) *Inter cetera quæ Dei potentia*.
- Brendan.** Brendan, native of Kerry, died at Clonfert, May the sixteenth 577. Among the many different MS. copies of his life, besides that in Tinmouth, that has frequently appeared in print, there is one belonging to the friers (12) minorites at Kilkenny, written in the year 1340. And another more antient in the Abbey of St. Mary's at York, which is now in the (13) Cotton Library, where we have likewise one in old (14) French metre. A third in old English verse, is in the (15) Bodleyan. Multitudes more there are in the publick and private libraries of both kingdoms; whereof one begins *Sanctus* (16) *Brendanus filius Finlockæ*; and another *Fuit vir vitæ venerabilis Brendanus nomine*. See more of this saint in my Scotch Library. In the Bodleyan library, there is a prayer of St. Brandan, to which the following Rubrick is prefixed: *Brandanus monachus fecit istam orationem de verbo Dei, per Michaelem archangelum, quando transfretravit maria septies, et data est illi ista oratio post 7 annos paschæ quærenti insulam repromissionis: et celebravit pascha super mare 7 annis continuis. Veraciter dico, quicumque cantaverit orationem istam pro me vel pro amico, peccata remittentur ei, et salvus erit de pænis futuris, sive vivus fuerit sive mortuus. Multam valet, si fuerit duodecim vicibus cantata flexis genibus, aut prostrato corpore. Auctoritas spiritûs sancti docuit sanctum Brandanum istam orationem*.
- Bridget.** Bridget, she was born at Fochard in the county of Lowth, lived in her own nunnery at Kildare or Cella (17) *Quercus*, [*Quircus enim altissima ibi erat, quam multum sancta Brigida diligebat*] and died on the first of February 1523. Her life was first written by Cogitosus, supposed by some to have been her nephew; who, Bishop Usher thinks, was certainly (18) mistaken in burying her at Kildare. In this, as (19) Canisius gives it us, there is a chasm, which either the publisher, or the friers of Aichstadt, from whom he had his copies, thought fit to make, for saving the saints great credit: but this is now (20) supplied out of two MS. copies in the Cotton library, and the church of Sarum. Her miracles were collected in an alphabetical volume by (21) Ultan Mac Concubar Bishop of Ardbraccan in Meath; who died September the fourth, A. D. 606. Aileran (22) the Wife, wrote her life about the year 650, and so did Chæ-

(3) Cited by Ware, de Scrip. p. 28. and Abp. Usher, Antiq. Brit. p. 410. (4) Inter MS. Bodl. F. 11, 72. (5) Vid. Usher Antiq. Brit. p. 498, 499. (6) Ware de Scrip. (7) Ita Usher, ex vita ejus MS. Antiq. Brit. p. 414. (8) Ibid. p. 459. (9) Fal. Membr. Col. Trin. Dublin. D. 37. (10) Bibl. Col. Trin. Dublin. D. 37. (11) Ware de Scrip. p. 29. (12) Col. Trin. Dublin, J. 115. (13) Vespasianus, A 14. (14) Ibid. B. 10. (15) MSS. Bodl. F. 11, 72. (16) Ware de Script. p. 5. (17) Usher Antiq. Brit. p. 328. (18) Ibid. p. 461. (19) Antiq. Lect. Tom. 5. (20) Usher's Relig. of antient Irish, p. 71. (21) Ware, de Script. p. 9. (22) Ibid p. 10.

lian, a monk of Iniskeltra, in the diocese of Killaloe. Amongst the many anonymous writers on the same subject, in the libraries of England and Ireland, one begins, (1) *Fuit Gloriosus Rex in Hibernia*; and another, *Erat quidam vir Nobilis Lagenensis Genere*. In the (2) Cottonian library there is a large volume, in English, of the visions and revelations of St. Bridget: But it is to be observed, that this is the Swedish Bridget, who died at Rome, in the year 1373, and was canonized by Pope (3) Boniface the Ninth, in 1391. These revelations of hers were first printed in Latin at Lubeck, in the year 1492, and have often since been reprinted at Rome, Nuremberg, Antwerp, &c. Our Irish Bridget's life, in Latin heroicks, was procured for Archbishop (4) Usher by his friend Stephen White; in the elegiac prologue to which, in proof of Ireland's being the true old Scotland, is this distich:

*De quâ nata fuit quondam Sanctissima Virgo
Brigida; Scotorum Gloria, Nomen, Honor.*

Carthag, the first Bishop of Lismore, (5) died on the fourteenth of May, 637. Archbishop (6) Usher had two MS. copies of his life; in one of which the number of his scholars, in his monastery at Rath in Meath, are said to be 867, in the other 844. One of these begins; *Gloriosus* (7) *Christi miles*.

Catald, he was born in Munster, Bishop of Ratheny, and afterwards of Trent in Italy. His life was written in Latin by two brothers, Bartholomy and Bonaventure Morini; by the former in prose, and by the latter in verse, both published at (8) Rome, A. D. 1614, with a commemoration speech in Italian, of the said Bonaventure's. And (9) T. Dempster, who will have him to be his own countryman, says, that it was also written by an anonymous author; whose manuscript is in the Ambrosian Library. Another there was that, before the restitution of the (10) *Officium Romanum*, used to be yearly read in the choir of the Cathedral Church at Trent.

Coemgen. See Keivin.

Colman, bishop of Dromore. He died, June the seventh, about the beginning, as is supposed, of the seventh century. His life begins, (11) *Beatissimus vir Columanus Drumorensis episcopus, Aradeorum gente fuit oriundus*.

Colman Ela, had his name from the woods of Ela, where he kept his common residence. He died, say the Martyrologies, on the twenty-sixth of September, in the year 611. His life begins, (12) *Fuit vir quidam*. It calls his monastery Land-Elo; now Linalli in the King's County.

Columba, senior, abbot of Tirdaglass, died December the thirteenth, 552. His life begins; (13) *Sanctus Columba filius Grimtheyn dictus, Nobili Lageniensium genere ortus fuit*.

Columba, junior, called by his countrymen Columbcylle, from the many (14) cells or monasteries which he is said to have founded; whence Londonderry is by ancient Irish writers called Derry Columcille. A Book of his virtues and praises was written by his cotemporary (15) Brendan, Abbot of Birr, who died A. D. November the twenty-ninth, 572. Whether this be in prose or metre is not said: but we know that St. Congal, another of his cotemporaries, founder of the abbey of Bangor, in the Ardes of Ulster, wrote his acts. His life was also written by St. Kynnic or Kenny, who died A. D. 600. Adamnanus's three books of the life of this saint, the most full and compleat of all the rest, are published by (16) Canisius; in the MS. copy of these, in the Cotton library, there is the following (17) admonition subscribed by the author, in imitation of Irenæus and Eusebius, at the end of some of their works: *Obsecro eos quicunque voluerint hos describere libellos, imo potius adjuro per Christum judicem seculorum, ut postquam diligenter descripserint, conferant et emendent cum omni diligentia ad exemplar unde extraxerunt, et hanc quoque adjurationem in hoc loco subscribant*. Adamnanus's life of St. Columba seems to have been transcribed by Simeon, a Scot; who was put upon writing the life himself by King Alexander the Second: And perhaps that large (18) volume of the same life in the Irish tongue, said to be written by Magnus, or Manus, son

(1) Ware, p. 26. (2) Julius, F. 2. (3) Vid. Du. Pin. Sect. 14. (4) Antiq. Brit. p. 381, 507. (5) Vid. Ogygia, p. 9. (6) Antiq. Brit. p. 471. (7) Bibl. Col. Trin. Dublin, D. 37. (8) Vid. Usher Antiq. Brit. p. 392. (9) Hist. Eccles. Scot. lib. 2. n. 278. (10) Antiq. Brit. p. 394. (11) Ware de Script. p. 28. (12) Id. Ibid. (13) Ibid. p. 29. (14) Vid. Usher. Antiq. Brit. (ex Joceline) p. 360. (15) Ware de Script. p. 5. (16) Antiq. Lect. Tom. 5. (17) Vid. Epist. Hib. Syll. p. 43, 44, et 130. (18) Ware de Script. p. 24.

PART
III.

of Hugh, O'Donnel of Tyrconnel, may prove only a translation of the same. In the western isles of Scotland, two copies of St. Columb's life were met with by (2) Mr. Martin; which, he says, were written in the Irish character: The one in the custody of John Mackneal, and the other kept by Mac Donald of Benbecula. Mr. Sacheverel also mentions a (3) MS. book of above three hundred antient inscriptions at J. Columkill, communicated to the Earl of Argyle in King Charles the Second's time, which, if still in being, may probably give some light into the history of this saint. Adamnanus cites a former life written by Commenius Albus. In the Bodleyan (4) library are the works of Columkill, or St. Columbus in verse, containing some account of his own life, his exhortation to princes, and his prophecies: Also the sayings and prophecies of Congallus, Mongan, Brenan, and some others. It is an old vellum manuscript, consisting of an hundred and forty pages, in the form of a musick-book. See more in the Scotch Historical Library.

Columbanus. Columbanus, a native of Leinster, died Abbot of Bobi, near Naples, November the twenty-first, 615. His life, with some of his homilies, is published by Tho. Messingham, in his *Florilegium Inf. Sanctorum*. It is also written by Jonas, Abbot of Luxnel in Burgundy, who lived in 640, and is himself reckoned an Irishman by Trithemius. This and others of Jonas's pieces are falsely ascribed to Bede, and published in his works.

Comman. Coeman or Comman, as his life calls him, was born in Ulster, bred under St. Finian; who sent him to plant christianity in Conaught. Here he founded the famous Abbey of Ros-common; once a bishop's seat, but now annexed to Elphin.

Congal. Congal, the first Abbot of Bangor, died May the tenth, 600. His life begins; *Beatus ac Venerabilis Abbas*: (5) And it says, that in his monastery (6) of Beanchor, in the Ardes of Ulster, and in the cells thereunto belonging, he had 3000 monks. *Ab illo* says (7) Archbishop Usher, *Cell. Congail. ad Dublinensem spectans Archiepiscopum nomen olim accepit, quam hodie Saynkill appellamus.*

Croan. Cronan, abbot (sometimes called bishop) of Rosscrea, flourished in the year 580, and died (in what year uncertain) April the twenty-eighth. His life begins; (8) *Gloriosus Abbas Cronanus*. This tells us that he was son of Odran; and that he did abundance of miracles in his monastery of (9) Ross-Cree; which is now in the county of Tipperary, and was given by king Edward the First to Edmond Butler, Earl of Carrick, in the year 1281.

Cuthbert. Cuthbert, consecrated Bishop of Lindisfarn, in the year 684, is said by (10) some to have been born at Kenamuse; by others at Kells, and by others at Kilmancudrick near Dublin. As an Irishman, he had his life written by Matthew (11) O'Heney, Archbishop of Cassels, in the year 1200; as also by Malachy (12) O'Mongair, St. Bernard's great correspondent, who died in the year 1148. Besides these, there are two more in the Cotton library, which bear the same title of (13) *Liber de Vita Sancti Cuthberti Lindisfarnensis Episcopi, de Historijs Hibernorum excerptus*. And a short abstract, in one (14) folio page, under the title of *Libellus de ortu beati Cudberti, ex Historijs Hibernorum decerptus*.

Declan. Declan, the first Bishop of Ardmore, died the twenty-fourth of July, the day whereon his festival is still kept; but in what year my (15) author does not inform me: But that he was one of the four bishops, who were fore-runners to St. Patrick, and that he preached the Gospel here in the year 402, Mr. Flaherty (16) is positive. His (17) anonymous life is imperfect in the beginning; but the writer, it appears, lived soon after him. In it he assures us that his saint was born in the county of Breg, in East-Meath.

Edan. Edan, or Moedoch, first Bishop of Fernes, died January the thirty-first, 631. We have (18) two manuscript lives of this saint, whereof the one begins, *Fuit quidam vir Nobilis in Regionibus*

(2) Descript. of Western Island, &c. p. 264. (3) Account of the Isle of Man, &c. p. 132. (4) MSS. Laud, D. 17. (5) Col. Trin. Dublin. D. 37. (6) Antiq. Brit. p. 472. (7) Epist. Hib. Syll. n. 48. et antiq. Brit. p. 494. (8) Ware De Script. p. 27. (9) Usher. Antiq. Brit. p. 502. (10) Ware, De Script. p. 11, 12. (11) Id. de Archiep. Cassel, p. 3. (12) Id. De Script. p. 20. (13) Vitellius, D. 14. et Titus, A. 2. (14) Bibl. Chandois, Fol. Hist. n. 42. (15) Ware, De Script. p. 27. (16) Ogygia, p. 28. (17) Usher. Antiq. Brit. p. 562. Vid. et p. 408, 409, 417. (18) Ware, De Script. p. 25.

Connaſtorum. And the other, *Fuit quidam vir Nobilis in partibus Hiberniæ*. Archbishop (17) Usher blames John of Tinmouth and Capgrave for miscalſing St. Laſreamus by the name of Moloffus in this ſaint's life; whereas the Ulſter annals make Laſre and Moluiſſe ſeveral perſons, though both of Daiminis. Both theſe biographers conclude their lives of this ſaint in the ſame words: *Sanctus iſte in Vita S. David Aidanus vocatur, in Vita vero ſua Aidus dicitur; et apud Meneviam in Eccleſiâ S. David appellatur Moedock quod eſt Hibernicum*. The learned prelate obſerves that Edan was metropolitan of Leinſter at Fernes; from whence, ſays he, the dignity ſeems to have been tranſlated, as it was hither from Slebhity, to Kildare, and thence to Dublin.

Ende, Abbot of Arran, lived about the year 490. His life begins; (18) *Mirabilis Deus Omnipotens*. The forementioned learned prelate (19) takes notice that this Ende, or Enna Airne, that is, Enna of Aran, as the Irifh call him, is ſaid in his life, to have been ſon to Conal Deyre, Prince of Oriel in Ulſter, and Brig, daughter to a Prince of Conaſt.

Fechin, Abbot of Foure or Favour. His life was written by his cotemporary, the wiſe Aileran, who died in the year 654. It begins, (20) *Sanctus ac venerabilis Abbas Fechinus*. He is called by the Irifh Feichin Fabair, or Feichin of Foury, or Balle-Leabar, where he lived. From this abbot a fair manor in the county of Lowth, belonging to the Archbishop of Ardmagh, has the name of Tearmuin-Fechin, that is, Aſylum Fechinianum. Archbishop (21) Uſher ſays he died A. D. 664.

Fiachre, nobly deſcended, lived a hermit in France about the year 622. His life is written by ſeveral; we have it in MS. in John of Tinmouth's collection: and printed by Capgrave and (22) Surius. All of theſe take notice of women being forbidden to come in his church or mill; which paſſage Cambrenſis aſcribes to St. Fechin.

Finan, *Wallico nomine*, ſays Archbishop (23) Uſher, *Winninus; Ut enim Fin Hibernis, ita Gwyn et win Cambro-Britannis album denotat*. He was Abbot of Ceanhetich, and died on the ſeventh of April, in what year we know not; but we are well informed that he was cotemporary with St. Brendan. There are two Manuſcript copies of his life, the one whereof begins, (24) *Fuit vir Vitæ venerabilis*. The other, *Finanus Sanctus de plebe quæ Corcudubne dicitur ortus fuit*.

Finbar, firſt Biſhop of Cork. He lived (1) about the year 600, and his feſtival is kept on the twenty-ſeventh of September. His manuſcript life begins, (2) *Sanctus Dei Electus*. He is ſometimes called S. Bar.

Findan, ſon of an Irifh prince, fled from the Danes in the year 795, and turned hermit in Germany; where he died. See his life in (3) Goldaſtus.

Finian, Biſhop, or Abbat, of Clonard, died December the twelfth, 552. His (4) life begins, *Fuit vir nobilis in Hiberniæ partibus*.

Fintan, ſenior, Abbat of Clonenach near Wexford, died in February the ſeventeenth, 603. His anonymous life begins, (5) *Fintanus ſanctus, filius Crumthini*.

Fintan, junior, or Munnu, died October the twenty-fiſt, 635. His (6) life begins, *Fuit ver vitæ venerabilis, nomine Munnu*.

Flannan, Biſhop of Killaloe, in the year 639. His life begins, (7) *Fuit vir vitæ venerabilis, Flannanus nomine*.

Furſeus. Beſides what venerable (8) Bede has recorded of the viſions of this ſaint, whom he makes an Irifh-ſcot; Archbishop (9) Uſher quotes a manuſcript life elder than Bede; and another published by (10) A. Du Cheſne.

Gall, died Abbat of St. Gall in Switzerland, October the ſixteenth, 635. Wallafrid Strabo wrote his life, extant in Surius: he and (11) others vouch him to be Irifh; though Dempſter reckons him among his own countrymen.

(17) Antiq. Brit. p. 490, 498, 499. (18) Ware, de Script. p. 28. (19) Antiq. p. 490, 498, 499. (20) Ware de Scrip. p. 28. (21) Antiq. Brit. p. 501. (22) Tom. 7. Aug. 30. Vid. et Uſſer. Antiq. Brit. p. 488. (23) Ibid. p. 494. (24) Ware de Script. p. 27. (1) Id. ibid. p. 28. (2) Fol. Membr. Col. Trin. Dublin. D. 37. (3) Script. Alamann. Tom. 1. p. 3. (4) Col. Trin. Dublin. D. 37. (5) Ware, de Script. p. 27. (6) Col. Trin. Dublin. D. 37. (7) Ware de Script. p. 28. (8) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 3. Cap. 19. (9) Antiq. Brit. p. 381. (10) Hiſt. Franc. Fol. Par. 1636. p. 637. Vid. et Bibl. Cotton. Claudius, B. 1. et Otho, A. 13. (11) Ware de Script. p. 8.

PART
III.Ita, Ida or
Ide.
Ivorus,
Ibarus or
Ibar.
Keivin.

Ita, Ida, or Ide, Abbess of Cluancredil. Her (12) life was written by one who lived, about her time, in the close of the sixth century.

Ivorus, Ibarus, or Ibar. In his (13) life we are told, that he was born in Ulster; and that his sister married to Cormac, King of Leinster, was mother to St. Abban. But his residence was first in the isles of Arran, and afterwards at his (14) monastery of Becherin, or Inis Beg-Ery, near Wexford.

Keivin, or Coemgen, native of Leinster, and Abbot of Glendelach, died June the third, in the year 618, aged an hundred and twenty years. We have (15) two manuscript copies of his life; one of which begins, *Vir erat in provinciâ Lageniensium*; and the other, *Natus in Hiberniâ insulâ*. Hear what Archbishop (16) Usher says of him, *Nomen ejus Latine pulchrum genitum sonare vitæ scriptor annotat; qui et magnum monasterium à Coemgeno fundatum narrat in inferiori parte vallis quæ quondam Scotice vocabatur Glean de, modo autem Glean-da loch, id est vallis duorum stagnorum*. This was an episcopal see, which is now annexed to Dublin. The same (17) learned prelate quotes one of these lives for a description of Valle-Atheliath, or the town of Atheliath, now called Dublin, or the Black-Bath. Ath-clith is the ford of the Liffey: and in the north of England, where a great many Irish words are in common use, they call a ford a Wath. Is not the Latin word *vadum* as nearly related to this as the Greek *πῶς* is to a ford?

Kiaran,
senior.

Kiaran, senior, lived at the same time with St. Patrick and St. Declan, the first Bishop of Saiger; and died the fifth of March. One writer of his life begins, (18) *Beatissimus episcopus Kiaranus*. Archbishop Usher had (19) another, often quoted by himself; wherein we are told that Kiaran was born in Ossory in the year 352. Timmouth says he died in Cornwall, where he is remembered by the name of Pyranus. A collect used antiently in the service of his holy-day begins thus, (20) *Deus, qui B. Ciaranum seniore confessorum tuum atque pontificem ante alios sanctos in Hiberniæ insulam misisti, &c.*

Kiaran,
junior.

Kiaran, junior, surnamed (21) *Macitæir* or *Filius Artificis*, was scholar to St. Finian, first Abbat of Clannacnoise, and died the ninth of September, 549. His life, which is cited at large by (22) Archbishop Usher, begins, *Vir gloriosus et vitâ sanctissimus abbas Queranus*.

Kilian.

Kilian, an Irish Abbat, afterwards bishop and martyr at Wirtzburg, died July the eighth 689. His anonymous life is given us both by Canisius and Surius.

Kinnic.

Kinnic, died, Abbat of Aghavo, in upper Ossory, the eleventh of October, in the year 600. We have (23) two manuscript copies of his life; one whereof begins, *Cannicus sanctus, abbas de genere Connotbdainnegemin quæ est aquilonalis pars Hiberniæ*; and the other, *Sanctus Kynnicus de genere Cercudaland*. There is also extant the (24) office, or form of prayer, used in the celebration of his festival; in which Kilkenny is called Achadh-bo, which is there said to signify *Ager Boum*.

Laserian.

Laserian, or Molaisre, Abbat of Devenish, died the twelfth of September 571. His life begins, (25) *Postquam divinâ gratiâ operante per S. Patricij prædicationem, &c.* His residence was in the monastery of Daimh-Innis, or Oxenholme, which he built in Loch-Erne. (26) His life says, that he converted Conal the Red, or Colman Derig, Prince of Ulster; who before had forced St. Columb into perpetual banishment.

Lugid, or
Molua.

Lugid, or Molua, Abbat of Clonfert, died the fourth of August, in the year 609. The (27) anonymous writer of his life, which we have in the college library of Dublin, says that he was a leper twenty years.

Mancha-
nus.

Manchanus, founder of the monastery of regular canons at Mohil in the county of Letrim, died in the year 652. (28) His life is supposed to have been written by Richard, Archbishop of Ardmagh. The Ulster annals call him Manchenus; and others Manichæus: Whereupon it is observed that the heretick Manichees and Menahem, (2 Kings xv. 14.) King of Israel

(12) Ware, Descript. p. 6. (13) Usher. Antiq. Brit. p. 507. (14) Usher. Antiq. Brit. p. 414. (15) Ware de Script. p. 27. (16) Antiq. Brit. p. 494, 495. (17) Ibid. p. 448. (18) Ware de Script. p. 27. (19) Col. Trin. Dublin. D. 37. (20) Usher. Antiq. Brit. p. 413. (21) Ibid. p. 471. (22) Ibid. p. 495. (23) Ware de Script. p. 27. (24) Antiq. Brit. p. 493, 495. (25) Ware. de Script. p. 28. (26) Usher. Antiq. Brit. p. 498. (27) Ware, de Scrip. p. 28. (28) Usher. Antiq. Brit. p. 502.

have their names from the same original word, signifying The Comforter. Nazareus begs of his Megaletor, to enquire among his learned acquaintance of the Irish college at Lovain, who is Manchanus, a writer who shines much in the margin of his famous four gospels; concerning whom, says he, though there be many of this name, I have my own conjectures. Having just learned what this fanciful writer thought of Marianus, Columbanus, &c. I imagined that he was of opinion that Manchanus must have been a servant or lover of the isle of Man: But his learned friend, and mine, Mr. Wanley, lately informed me, that he only guessed that Manchanus was a corruption of Monachanus, and that the man whose praises are in his four gospels, was a canon regular of Monaghan. The reader will judge, whether Archbishop Usher's conjectures, or Mr. Toland's are the more probable.

Mocoemog, Abbot of Liath, died the thirteenth day of March, 656. His life begins, (1) *Mocoemog. Beatissimus Abbas Mocoemog.* This mentions, as one of the several of that name who were his contemporaries, one Bishop Colman, who resided in his monastery called Dair-mor, or the Great Wood, in the province of Munster.

Mochua of noble descent in Conaught, died the twenty-fourth of December, in the year 638. His life begins, (2) *Clarus genere vir erat, nomine Mochua.*

Modwen, or Moninna, two saints were of this name. One died the sixth of July, 518. The other lived about the year 640. The lives of both are jumbled into one by (3) Concubran, who lived before the end of the twelfth century. Sir James Ware had this transcribed out of the Cotton library; which, with another of the same, is still extant in that of the D. of (4) Chandois: Where we have also an old hymn to St. Modwen. Concubran, in her life says, she built her monastery of boards, *Tabulis dedolatis*, because the Scots or Irish had not then any (*maceria's*) stone buildings. He likewise acquaints us, that she lived at the same time with St. Patrick; and founded one nunnery, of 150 virgins, whereof she was Abbess, at Fochard, and another at Chellsleve. We have another Manuscript copy of the life of St. Modwen in the Bodleyan (5) library; which is written in the old French language.

Moling, the second Bishop or Archbishop of Fernes, died the seventeenth day of June, in the year 697. The writer of his life says he wrote prophecies, in Irish verse, of the battles and deaths of the Kings of Ireland down to the end of time. (6) His life begins, *De Australi Lageniensium Plaga, quæ dicitur Kenselack.*

Munnu: In his life, mentioned already in Fintan, junior, we have an account of a remarkable judgment on the king's son, who reviled him in the synod of Leighlin; wherein he seems to have presided.

St. Patrick, first Bishop of Ardmagh, and the great apostle of Ireland, came hither in the year 432, retired in 465, and died the seventeenth of March, in the year 492. Innumerable are the authors who have been ambitious of the honour of writing the life of this mighty saint; of which Colganus, from his large collection of all that he met with in his *Trias Thaumaturga* already mentioned, may justly be reckoned the chief. Multitudes of anonymous writers of this life remain still in the libraries of England and Ireland; few whereof were, in all likelihood, known to Colganus. Of these (7) Archbishop Usher had, besides an ancient one in Irish, two more in Latin: whereof the one begins *Patricius qui vocatur et Succet.* The other *Gloriosus Confessor Patricius.* To these may be added, 1. (8) *Vita, Miracula, et Purgatorium, S. Patricii.* 2. (9) *Liber de penis Purgatorij, S. Patricij, ubi de ejus vitâ et Miraculis.* 3. *Vita S. Patricij anonyma, in Bibliothecâ Bodleyanâ.* 4. *Vita septima S. Patricij*, a long one in three parts, in Colganus, &c. This is cited as anonymous, and of our own growth, by (10) Archbishop Usher. 5. *S. Patricij* (11) *Nativitas, Parentes, et Patria.* The like abstract of the life and miracles of this saint was long since given in eight short chapters, by (12) Nennius, whose faith, in these matters, seems to have been of a larger size than Mr. O'Flaherty's. The last mentioned gentleman (13) quotes his last will published in

(1) Col. Trin. Dublin, D. 37. Vid. Antiq. Brit. p. 497. (2) Ware de Script. p. 29. (3) Id. ibid. p. 21. (4) 4^o Hist. n. 76. et Fol. Hist. n. 39. (5) Inter MSS. Digb. n. 34. (6) Ware de Script. p. 8. et 27. (7) Id. ibid. p. 25. (8) Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Digb. n. 34. (9) Ibid. n. 172. (10) Antiq. Brit. p. 336. et alibi. (11) Vid. Ogygia, p. 3. cap. 24. (12) Hist. Brit. cap. 54, to 61. inclus. (13) Ogygia, p. 247. Vid. et Usher. Antiq. Brit. p. 325, et 458.

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Irish verse; wherein he foretels of his own resurrection at Raith Keltair, or Down-Patrick; and likewise prophecies that St. Bridget should outlive him thirty years. The office used at the celebration of his obit is published (1) amongst others of the like kind. There is also an old confession ascribed to St. Patrick, which discourses of Ireland by the name of (2) Scotia; and allows him to have had a deacon for his father; that his grandfather was a priest; and that he was brought captive into Ireland before he was full sixteen years old. His pretended (3) letter, charter or indulgence to the monks at Glastenbury; wherein he is made to give an account of his having finished his work in Ireland in the year 425, &c. is abundantly exposed, as a forgery, by (4) Dr. Stillingfleet. 5. *Vita S. Patricij, Archiepiscopi et Confessoris, Primatis totius Hiberniæ et Doctoris ejusdem Gentis*, in the Cottonian (5) library. 7. Archbishop (6) Usher quotes another Manuscript life, written by an Irishman, which says that the forementioned resurrection, would be at Dunleage-Glaiffe: Upon which a later English hand gives this note, *Quod nos dicimus in nostra lingua Glastingabyri*. Others have subscribed their names to their respective lives of this saint: As, 1. (7) St. Benignus, who was St. Patrick's own scholar, and immediate successor; whose book is part Latin and part Irish. 2. Kinnan, Bishop of Damleag or Duleg. What or where this prelate's performance is, I know not. 3. St. Evin or Eyvin, (8) Abbot of Ross-Mac-Greom about the beginning of the seventh century; to whom Joceline owns himself to be obliged. 4. Tirechan (9) whose two books, still extant in manuscript, bear in their title, that Bishop Tirechan wrote them from the mouth or book of his master, Bishop Ultan. This is an elder writer than Luman. 5. (10) Colman Vaniach, scribe of Ardmagh, who died in the year 725. 6. Kiaran of Belaigduin (11) who died in the year 770. 7. Two of the oldest books of St. Patrick's life were written by (12) Probus an Irishman, about the year 920, as Colganus guesses. They are falsely ascribed to Bede; and printed in the (13) third tome of his works. 8. St. Mael, (14) or Mel the Britain, nephew to St. Patrick, by his sister Darerca, first Bishop of Ardagh, wrote a book of the virtues and miracles of St. Patrick, then living. Mael died the sixth of February, in the year 487. 9. Luman, (15) a Britain also, and nephew to St. Patrick, by his sister Tigridia, first Bishop of Trim, wrote the acts of his uncle. 10. A third (16) nephew, called Patrick, composed also his life; and, after his uncle's death, died at Glastenbury. All that is said of these (17) three last is on the authority of Joceline. 11. Mr. O'Flaherty gives this note on another antient writer of this life (18) *Scholastes ille in vitam S. Patricij, à Fieco, S. Patricij discipulo, et primo Lageniæ Archiepiscopo, Metro Hibernico conscriptam super his verbis, &c.* For which Colganus is cited. Bishop (19) Usher quotes several passages out of the life written by this Fiecus Slebhtiensis. In the life written by (20) Probus, he is called Pheg; and said to be a boy instructed in poetry by his master, Dubtac, an eminent bard; who was one of St. Patrick's first converts. 12. Joceline of Furnes wrote it at large. This has been printed by several of the collectors. Whether the author was (21) monk of Fournes in Lancashire, or of Fournes in Meath, is uncertain; but very sure we are, from his own testimony, that he wrote (22) this life at the request of Thomas, Archbishop of Ardmagh, Malachy the third, Bishop of Down, and John Courcy, Prince of Ulster. 13. Bede wrote also this saint's (23) life, and called his book *Beati Patricij primi Prædicatoris et Episcopi totius Britanniae Vita et Actus*. This by way of reprisal on the Irish, who challenge St. Cuthbert; though Bede allows St. Patrick, which is more than they say of him, to be an Irishman born. He says that this apostle's christian name was Magonius or Mannus; and that he took the name of Patrick, as all other writers of his life agree, on his being consecrated bishop. This was not written by Bede; who never mentions St. Patrick in his ecclesiastical history. 14. Archbishop

(1) Fol. Paris. 1620. Vid. et Usher. Antiq. Brit. p. 352, et 436. (2) Ibid. p. 381. (3) Cressy's Church-history. Fol. 1668. Lib. 2. cap. 1. (4) Orig. Brit. cap. 1. p. 14, &c. (5) Vitellius E. 7. (6) Antiq. Brit. p. 463. (7) Ware de Script. p. 1. (8) Ibid. p. 6. (9) Ibid. p. 9. At Videsis omnino Usher. Antiq. Brit. p. 426, 432, et 444. (10) Ware de Script. p. 14. (11) Id. ibid. (12) Usher. Antiq. Brit. p. 426. (13) Fol. Basil, 1563. (14) Ware de script. p. 32. (15) Id. ibid. (16) Id. ibid. (17) Usher Antiq. Brit. p. 426, 429. (18) Ogygia, p. 347. (19) Antiq. Brit. p. 429, 431, 432, &c. (20) Ibid. p. 442, 443. (21) Vid. Epist. Camd. p. 84. (22) Inter MSS. Col. Trin. Cantab. Class. 24. Ser. 3. n. 5. Bibl. publ. Ibid. n. 247. et Fol. Membr. col. Trin. Dublin, c. 42. (23) Operum, Tom. 3.

Usher himself had once thoughts of collecting all treatises, truly or falsely, fathered on St. Patrick, and publishing them under the title of, (1) *Magno Patricio adscripta Opuscula*. Mr. Camden had told him that he somewhere met with his epistles to the monks of Glastenbury. 15. Of St. Patrick, as well as of Joseph of Arimathea, &c. much may be seen in the large volume, (2) *De Antiquitate vetustæ Ecclesiæ B. Mariæ Glastoniæ*, written by John, a monk of that church; who continues William of Malmesbury's account down to the year 1400. 16. Guil. Thyraeus, or Dr. Terry, wrote a panegyrick on St. Patrick; which is cited and despised by Archbishop (3) Usher.

Ruadan, died April the fifteenth, 584. His life begins (4) *Sanctus Ruadanus de Nobilibus Parentibus*. This (5) life tells us that he was one of St. Finian's scholars, at Cluainiharaid.

Samthan, Abbess of Clonbrone, died the nineteenth day of December, 739. Her life begins (6) *Sancta et venerabilis virgo*.

Senan, Bishop of Iniscatty, died the first of March, 544. the same day with St. David, patron of Wales. His life was written by St. Colman, Bishop of Cloyne. (7) Another anonymous begins *Senanus de Nobilibus, Parentibus, &c.* Instead of this, Colganus has only given us an old monkish rhyme, or Latin hymn; which has little or nothing of his history in it.

Tathey, Martyr. His life is in John of Tinmouth.

Tigernach, Bishop of Cluanacois, now Clones, in the county of Monaghan, died April the fifth, 550. His life begins, (8) *Venerabilis Præsul Tigernacus, Regali ex progenie Natus, Nepos Ecbachi Regis*.

Virgilius, the apostle and first Bishop of Carinthia, had his life written by a scholar of Everhard, Bishop of Salzburg; which is published by Canisius. It begins, *Beatissimus Virgilius in Hibernia insula de Nobili orius Prosapia, literarum studiis ita animum applicavit, ut inter Doctos sui temporis atque Climatis doctissimus haberi potuisset*. About the year 748, he fell under the censure of Pope Zachary, (9) for asserting the doctrine of Antipodes.

Whether many or most of these may not be already published, I cannot certainly tell; but am very sure that some of Messingham and Colgan's begin with the same words, and are often said to have been transcribed from those very copies, to which we are referred by Sir James Ware: But this is so far from rendering our Manuscripts useless, or of no value, that it highly enhances their price. We have already observed how liable Popish transcribers and amanuenses are to mistakes in the proper names of persons and places; and the best helps we have for the rectifying of these, which are never more numerous than in copies sent to editors at a distance, and in haste, must be had, either from the original compositions of the authors themselves, or the first and earliest copies of them.

(1) Vid. Epist. Camd. p. 145. (2) Bibl. Cott. Tiberius, A. 5. (3) Relig. of antient Irish, p. 21. (4) Ware de Script. p. 27. (5) Usher. Antiq. Brit. p. 471. (6) Ware de Script. p. 29. (7) Id. ibid. p. 6. et 27. (8) Ware, de Script p. 6. et 27. (9) Epist. Hib. Syll. p. 49.

C H A P. V.

Of the Register Books of Cathedrals, Monasteries, &c.

OF the original foundation and prime antiquities of our cathedral churches (not only of those that still retain that denomination, but of such as are either quite demolished or dwindled into parochial) (1) Sir J. Ware has given us an elaborate account: But there are many particulars in the several Register-Books of these, and other corporations, which will be of singular use to our Irish historian. Those that I find quoted, and appealed to, as authentick evidence, are, 1. Ard-magh. The register-books of the prelates of this metropolitical church are almost entirely ex-

(1) Antiq. cap. 29.

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tant to this day, as far back as (2) *Octavian de Palatio*; who died in the Year 1513. And there are considerable remnants of five of his predecessors, viz. Nich. Fleming, John Swayne, John Prene, John Mey, and John Bole; the last of which died in the Year 1470, and Nicholas Fleming entered in 1404. In Octavian's we have occurrences of much elder times taken notice of and recorded; as (particularly) part of the Decrees of the provincial synod of Drogheda, under primate Abraham O'Connell, who died in the year 1270. There are some short Collections out of this register in the (3) Chandois Library. 2. Dublin. There is a large manuscript volume of the chapter acts of both the cathedrals belonging to this see in the (4) college library; and, in the archbishop's own custody, the famous collection of records belonging to the church of St. Patrick frequently cited and appealed to (by Archbishop Usher, Sir James Ware, and others) under the title of (5) *Crede miki*. The Black Book of the cathedral of Christ's Church is cited by (6) Sir James Ware, from the first bishop of that see to the last: And both he and (7) Usher observed that part of it which contains the acts of Archbishop Allen to be particularly curious; as having some of that Prelate's own notes and remarks on the transactions of former times. The archbishop quotes from it this very odd passage (8) *Fornices sive voltae fuerunt fundatae per Danos ante adventum St. Patricij ad Hiberniam; et tunc temporis Ecclesia Christi non fuerat fundata nec constructa prout nunc est. Quapropter St. Patricius celebravit Missam in uno fornice sive volta, qui in hodiernam diem appellatur Fornix sive Volta St. Patricij*. Hence, says (9) Mr. O'Flaherty, we may learn what sort of stuff is in its composition; since it is well known that the name of a Dane was never heard of till about the year 570; nor did any of that nation ever set his foot upon Irish ground, till four hundred years after St. Patrick's arrival. The White Book, concerning the affairs of this cathedral was written by Tho. Fich, (10) sub-prior, who died there in 1517. He likewise probably wrote the book of (11) Obits; for the character shews it to be written about that time. He was educated (12) some time in Oxford. A collection of leases of the lands belonging to this church may be seen in the (13) college library. 3. Meath. A catalogue of the bishops of this see was drawn up by (14) Geo. Cogley, some time a civilian in Oxford, and afterwards register of the ecclesiastical court in this diocese. He begins it with Simon Rochfort, the first English bishop of the see, in the year 1194, and ends with Hugh Ynge, who was consecrated in the year 1511. It fell into Bishop Usher's hand, when he was bishop here; and was by him communicated to Sir James Ware, as serviceable in his compiling the history of the Prelates. 4. Clogher. Patrick Culin, bishop of this see, with the help of Rod. Cassidy his archdeacon, compiled a register of the antient affairs of his church. Out of this Sir James (15) Ware, as he confesses, had the greatest part of what he says of that bishop's predecessors. 5. Cloyne. I cannot well guess whether it is a register book of this see, or some other antient manuscript kept there, whereof Mr. (16) O'Flaherty gives the following account: *In pervetusto Hibernico Pergameno Sedis Episcopalis Cluanensis cum aliis antiquis Monumentis, A. D. 1027. à Conælo filio Kedei Mageogbagan Anglicè reddito primam Coloniam in Hiberniam à Partholano deductam in A. M. 1969, incidisse traditur, post Eluvionem 313, et ætatis Abrahæ 21*. 6. Leghlin. I can with greater certainty than I could in the last mentioned case, affirm, that there is a book in the Duke of (17) Chandois's library, the contents whereof do directly relate to the subject matter of this chapter; it bears the title of *Exemplaria Chirographorum Episcoporum Leghlinensium de Possessionibus et Libertatibus Burgensium Leghlinæ*. 7. Limerick. In the registry of the dean of this church there is a (18) survey (taken upon the oaths of twelve English, twelve Danes, and twelve Irish) of the lands, churches, and other things, belonging to the said church. 8. Offory. The (19) Red Book of the Bishops of Offory has a copy of the canons made in the provincial synod by W. Rokeby archbishop of Dublin, in the year 1518. 9. Waterford. The register of Tho. Purcell, Bishop of this place and

(2) Ware, de Præsul. (Edit. Angl.) p. 13, 15, 16, & 17. (3) Fol. Hist. n. 36. (4) Bibl. Col. Trin. Dublin. B. 40. (5) Vid. Epist. Hib. Sylog. 155. et Ware, præsul. Dublin. p. 4. (6) Id. Ibid. p. 1. et 11. (7) Antiq. Brit. p. 497. (8) Ibid. p. 449. (9) Ogygia, p. 43. (10) Ware de Script. p. 24. (11) MSS. Bibl. Col. Trin. Dublin. (12) Ath. Oxon. Tom. 1. Col. 9. (13) MSS. Col. Trin. Dublin. G. 22. (14) Vid. Athen. Oxon. Tom. 1. Col. 10. (15) De præsul. Provinc. Armach. p. 36. Vid. et Usher. Antiq. Brit. p. 446. (16) Ogygia, Epist. Nuncup. p. 10. (17) Fol. Hist. n. 5. (18) Ware, Antiq. cap. 24. (19) Id. Annals of Hen. 7. &c. p. 53, et 63.

Lismore, is quoted by (3) Ware: This prelate by his amanuensis John Ruffel, registered all the antient charters of the church of Lismore, in the year 1486. But that book was lost in his success for Lancaster's time, in the year 1617. It seems to have been found again; since Archbishop (4) Usher assures us that he saw one copy of Pope Adrian the Fourth's bull of investiture into the kingdom of Ireland, granted to Henry the Second, in the register of the Bishops of Lismore; as well as another in that of the Archbishops of Dublin. There may be several more of this sort in other Dioceses of this kingdom; which have not, so much as by their titles, come to my knowledge: But, I am afraid, they are very few. So many and great have been the revolutions, which have happened in this kingdom, that the scarcity of records ecclesiastical as well as civil, is not to be wondered at.

In the second volume of Dugdale's (5) *Monasticon Anglicanum*, there is a collection of records relating chiefly to such religious houses in Ireland, as were cells to others in England of the same order; or were founded by Englishmen; or lastly, whose lands, register-books, and records, fell into the hands of lords and gentlemen of that kingdom at the dissolution: And perhaps a more full account is no where to be had of such as come under any of these three denominations. Sir (6) James Ware went farther; attempting a more general catalogue, and short historical view, of all the monasteries in Ireland: Omitting only such as were meanly built, and forrily endowed, in the more early and infirm state of our national church. Of these he gives an account in their order; according to the several provinces and counties wherein they were placed. Upon this worthy gentleman's foundation, Monsieur Allemand erected his (7) *Histoire Monastique d'Irlande*: Which is very lately improved into (8) *Monasticon Hibernicum*; wherein we have a short history of all the abbies, priories, nunneries, and other regular communities, which were in this kingdom; the time when, and the titles under which, they were founded; the name and quality of their respective founders; the provinces, counties, cities or towns, in which they were seated; the several orders to which they belonged, and the most remarkable circumstances relating to their foundation and suppression: To all which are added historical and critical observations, with draughts of the habits of their respective orders, and a map of Ireland, fitted for the occasion. The anonymous publisher modestly acknowledges that the whole is due to M. Allemand, he having laid the foundation, and found most of the materials: And yet he hopes it will not be reckoned as a mere translation, because of the many additions and alterations; "As it is easy" says he "to improve upon the undertakings of others; especially when they are foreigners, and have not all those helps which others may chance to meet with." We are chiefly indebted for all that we meet with in this *Monasticon* to the general annals and lives of saints: For as great destruction appears to have been made amongst the register-books and cartularies of our monasteries, priories, and hospitals, as we have already observed to have been in those of our bishops and cathedral churches.

Those in and about Dublin, have had the good fortune to be best preserved, particularly, Dublin.
1. The abbey of St. Mary's has one fair cartulary in the (9) Cottonian library, in the title-page whereof there is this note, *Donum Viri Clarissimi D. Jacobi Waræi*: And there are two more belonging to the same house, in the rich treasury of the Duke of Chandois; the former of these bears the title of *Registrum* (10) *Chartarum Monasterii B. Mariæ Virginis, juxta Dublin, exaratum ferè tempore Edwardi Secundi*. Extat in fine *Catalogus Abbatum dicti Monasterii*. The other is thus inscribed, (11) *Chartularium Ecclesiæ B. Mariæ Virginis juxta Dublin*. Hujus pars prior scripta fuit sub Hen. septimo dum Joannes Orum esset Abbas: posterior, temporibus Richardi Beg et Joannes Burges Abbatum, regnante Hen. Octavo. Præfigitur *Chronicon breve ab Edwardo Confessore ad Henricum septimum*. In the *Monasticon Anglicanum* are two charters of King Henry the Second, confirming all donations made to this abbey. 2. All-Saints. This was a priory of Augustine canons, founded by Dermot, King of Leinster, (in the year 1166) in the same place where Trinity-College now stands: the foundation-

(3) Hist. of Prov. of Gash. p. 9. (4) Recens Epist. Hib. p. 133. (5) Fol. Lond. 1662. (6) Antiq. Hib. cap. 25. (7) 12° Paris. 1690. (8) 8° Lond. 1722. (9) Tiberius, A. 11. (10) 4° Membr. Hist. n. 9. (11) Fol. grandi Membr. Hist. n. 10. Vid. Monast. Ang. vol. 1. p. 782.

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charter may be seen in the (4) *Monasticon Anglicanum*; and amongst the manuscripts of Sir Dudley Loftus there is, (or was) (5) *Bustæ Romanæ de Ecclesiis Dubliniensibus: seu Regestum Cœnobii Omnium Sanctorum juxta Dublinium*. 3. St. Thomas. In the college-library (6) at Dublin, there is one register-book of the charters and other endowments of this monastery; and in that of his Grace the Duke of Chandos two more: Whereof the one is called (7) *Chartularium Ecclesiæ S. Thomæ juxta Dublin*. scriptum plerumque sub Edwardo Primo; and the other, (8) *Regestum Chartarum Cœnobii S. Thomæ Martyris juxta Dublin*. cum notis Marginalibus Joannis Alani, Archiepiscopi Dublin. Sub Henrico Octavo scriptus est Liber, A.D. 1526. per Guil. Coppinger Corcagiensem. In calce Libri est Catalogus Abbatum Cœnobii S. Thomæ Martyris juxta Dublin. 4. St. John's. In the last mentioned noble library there are two more register-books, viz. (9) *Regestum Chartarum Hospitalis S. Joannis Bapt. extra novam Portam Civitatis Dublin*. Scriptum sub Edwardo Tertio. Præfigitur Catalogus Priorum ejusdem, partim ex Regesto, partim ex Archivis Regiis collectus; the other (10) *Regestum Chartarum Hospitalis S. Joannis Jerusalem in Hibernia ab an 1325, ad an 1350, temporibus scil. Rogeri Outlaw, Joan Marechalli, Joannis le Archer, filij Richardi, Priorum dicti Hospitalis*. This priory of Crouched Friars was founded in the year 1188, by one Palmer; from whom the Earls of Castlemain afterwards descended. 5. The annals of the Dominicans, or Friars Preachers were continued from their first institution by a brother of that order to the year 1274. To which he has added a catalogue of all the (11) monasteries of Ireland of his order, according to the series of time wherein each of them was founded. Hence it appears, that within the compass of fifty years, no fewer than twenty-three were so founded; whereof the first was placed at Dublin, in the year 1224, and the last at Derry, in the year 1274. To these belong the *excerpta ex libro conventus fratrum minorum de Dublin*. 6. An (12) old register of St. Warburgh's church in Dublin was given to Sir James Ware, by Dr. Sibbald, in the year 1646. Besides these I have not heard of many register-books belonging to Irish monasteries. I shall account to the reader, for such as I know of, in an alphabetical order; and he may enlarge the catalogue as he finds occasion.—Athenree. Here was a great monastery of Dominicans, founded in the year 1241, by the Brimingham's, gentlemen of English extraction, settled in Ireland, who were then and still are Barons of Athenree. To this house antiently belonged, (13) *regestum monasterii fratrum prædicatorum de Athenry. Continet catalogum benefactorum ab A. D. 1241, quo fundata est domus ea à Milero de Brimingham loci domino, usque ad an. 1526*.—Ballin-Tober, or St. Patrick's-Well, in the county of Mayo. There Cathol O'Conner, King of Connaught, is said (by the publishers of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*) to have founded a priory of Augustine canons in the year 1216. Its register is cited by (14) Ware.—Dumbrothy, otherwise called Port St. Mary, in the county of Wexford, was a Cistercian abbey, founded about the year 1180, to which the great Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, was a principal benefactor. To this belong the (15) *registrum chartarum monasterii de Dumbrothy, in com. Wexford, and the capitula privilegiorum domus de Portu S. Mariæ*; as also *papæ celestini dictorum privilegiorum confirmatio*.—Kells or Kenlis, in the county of Kilkenny, was a rich priory of Augustine canons; the prior whereof was a lord spiritual, and (as such) sat in the Parliament of Ireland. It was built and endowed by Geoffry Fitz-Roberts, Seneschal of Leinster (who came into Ireland with the Earl of Pembroke) in the year 1183. That there was a registry-book belonging to this priory, and a very large one, appears from a compleat folio volume, which we still have, bearing the title of, (16) *Collecta ex Cartulario B. Mariæ de Kenlis (alias Kells) in Offoriâ*.—Kilkenny-West. Here was a priory and hospital of (17) Crouched Friars, founded soon after the coming of Henry the Second by the Tyrrells, English noblemen, and titular barons of Fertulogh in Ireland. Sir James Ware quotes the (18) register-book of this house for a

(4) Vol. 2. p. 1039. (5) MSS. D. Dudl. Loftus. n. 57. (6) Col. Trin. Dublin. I. 113. (7) 4^o Membr. Hist. n. 11. (8) 4^o Majori Membr. Hist. n. 12. (9) 4^o Majori Membr. Hist. n. 13. (10) 4^o Majori Membr. Hist. n. 14. (11) Vid. Ware, de Script. p. 22. (12) Bibl. Chandos, 4^o Hist. n. 54. (13) Ware's Annals. p. 8. (14) Bibl. Chandos. Fol. Chart. Hist. n. 20. (15) Antiq. cap. 17. p. 112. (16) Bibl. Chandos, 4^o Hist. n. 69. (17) Ibid. Fol. Hist. n. 47. (18) Monast. Hibern. p. 147.

benefaction made to it by William Marescal, Earl of Pembroke; but where it is now to be had I know not.—Muchmore, on the Locha, is a small town in the county of Antrim, founded by St. Colmanel, Bishop of Dromore, in or about the year 550. The only remains that we have of its registry, (8) *Collecta ex Registro Monasterij S. Colmanelli de Mucmore in Agro Antrimensi*—Slane, in the county of Meath. Christopher Fleming and (9) Elizabeth Stukely, his wife, founded here a monastery of the third order of St. Francis, in the year 1512. Of which we have no other remains, save only its (10) original charter.—Tristernagh, in the county of West-Meath; a priory of regular canons of St. Augustine, was here founded by Geoffry Constantia, an Englishman, in the year 1200. The foundation charter is at length in the additions to the (11) *Monasticon Anglicanum*: and we have also a full copy of the (12) register of the lands, tithes, and other commodities belonging to this priory, taken from the original, and written in the year 1618.—Amongst the (13) Harleian manuscripts we have *Registrum Capellani five Capellanorum Capellæ (i. e. Cantariæ) S. Salvatoris juxta Ecclesiam Cathed. Sanctæ Trinitatis Waterford*. It begins with a grant from the dean and chapter to John Collyne, chaplain, A. D. 1481, and ends with another from the mayor and citizens to the same John Collyne, A. D. 1484, fol. 41. It appears in the body of the book, that John Collyne was founder of an alms-house adjoining to the chapel, as well as of the chapel itself; and (being then Dean of Waterford) settled a yearly maintainance on twelve alms-men therein. There's a note (fol. 38) written by the founder's own hand, A. D. 1478.—Yet Robert Bronn is said to be dean in the first mentioned grant, A. D. 1481.—Other instruments here are relating to the story of the cells of the hospitals of St. John and St. Leonard near Waterford; the former whereof belonged to the prior and convent of the cathedral church of Bath in England, &c.—I take no notice here of the Cistercian monastery of Abbey-Boyle, in the county of Roscommon: for though the annals of that abbey may be seen in the (14) Cotton library, there is nothing in them relating to the affairs of Ireland, saving a short ecclesiastical chronicle from the time of St. Patrick.

C H A P. VI.

Of the IRISH Biographers; or, such Writers as have treated on the Lives of Men of extraordinary Eminence in this Kingdom.

I COULD have wished that in this Historical Library (as well as in the English and Scottish) there might have been matter enough to furnish out a chapter of the writers of the Lives of particular Kings: but I was far from meeting any thing of this kind answerable to my hopes. There is indeed a Treatise that looks a little this way, published (1) lately at Paris, and intitled, *A Chronological, Genealogical, and Historical Dissertation on the Royal Family of the Stuarts, beginning with Milesius, &c.* by Matthew Kennedy, Doctor of Laws, Master of the High Court of Chancery, and Judge of the Admiralty of all Ireland. These titles seem to have been conferred on the author by the Pretender, whom he compliments with the name of James the Eighth of Scotland, and Third of England. In the Irish part of his history (much the largest) he chiefly cites the *Liber Lecanus*; which demonstrates its being now in France, as has been already observed. In his Preface he takes notice of Carbre Liffacre's History: and this he plainly doth on the sole credit of Sir George Mackenzy; as afterwards

(8) De Script. p. 9. Bibl. Chandois. Fol. Hist. n. 36. (9) Vid. Monast. Hibern. p. 171. (10) Bibl. Chandois. Fol. Cart. Hist. n. 20. (11) Vol. 2. p. 1046. (12) Bibl. Chandois. Fol. Hist. n. 52. (13) Memb. Fol. min. (14) Titus, A. 25. (1) 88 Paris. 1705.

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(on the authority of some of our late Irish writers) he quotes the Book of Conquests, the White-Book, &c. That there was always some or other who claimed the title of King of all Ireland, before Henry the Second set his foot in this kingdom, I can easily believe: but these claims were so ambulatory and unfixed, that we shall rarely hear of the supremacy's continuance in the same province to the third or fourth generation. We are (2) told of letters written by some of these monarchs to Charles the Great, &c. but they are not yet found in any of our archives, nor are we directed where to seek for them abroad.

Prelates.

Of the lives of our antient saints (St. Patrick, and a multitude more of our prime primitive prelates, and other fathers of the church of Ireland) we have already treated at large. It remains that we now enquire after the Biographers of such archbishops, &c. as lived about, or since the descent of the English into this kingdom. And, 1. St. Malachy, (or Mælmædoic O'Morgair) Archbishop of Ardmagh; who died at Clervaux, in his way to Rome, in the year 1148. St. Bernard, who then was abbot there, wrote his life. We have it in (3) Mabillon's edition of that father's works. As also in manuscript, both at (4) Oxford and (5) Cambridge. Herein special notice is taken of this prelate's rebuilding of the monastery of Beanchor, in the Ardes of Ulster; after it had been demolished, and nine hundred of its monks slaughtered in one day, by the northern pirates. 2. St. Gelasy (Malachy's immediate successor) died in the year 1174. His life is in (6) Colgan; and seems to have been compiled by that writer himself, ex variis; as he uses to express himself on the like occasions. The short of his story is, that he was born in 1088, made Abbot (and, as such, Provincial Visitor of all the Monasteries of St. Columba's Order) and Bishop of Derry in the year 1120; translated on the abdication of St. Malachias, to the primacy of Ardmagh in the year 1136, and (after presiding in several synods, making peace amongst sundry kings, princes, and other great men of the kingdom) died on the twenty-seventh of March, in the year 1174. The Irish annals call this prelate Gilla Mac-Lieg; because his father Roderick was an eminent poet or historian. 3. The great primate, James Usher's life was written by (his chaplain) Dr. Richard Parr; and by him published with the said (7) primate's letters: the sum of which is, that he was born at Dublin in the year 1580; the first Scholar admitted into Trinity-College in 1593; Master of Arts in 1600; began Collections for the Library there with Sir Tho. Bodley, in 1603; Batchelor of Divinity in 1607; Doctor of Divinity in 1612; Bishop of Meath in 1620; Primate in 1624; Commendatory Bishop of Carlisle in 1641, and died in 1655. His letters shew his skill in all branches of ecclesiastical knowledge; and how much that won him the respects of all the learned men of his time. A breviat of his history is also given by Dr. N. Bernard, in a (8) sermon preached at his funeral. 4. Archbishop Bramhall (who died 1663) had his life written by Dr. John Vesey, Bishop of Limerick, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam; which, under the title of Athanasius Hibernicus, is set before his (9) works. In this there is omitted one remarkable occurrence in his life, that (at the treaty of Uxbridge in 1644, he being then Bishop of Derry) the Parliaments of England and Scotland made this one of their preliminary demands, that Bishop (10) Bramhall, together with Archbishop Laud, and Bishop Wren, should be excepted (with Prince Rupert, &c.) out of the general pardon. This was accordingly done, in an ordinance of indemnity, passed by the Rump-Parliament in 1652. The short of this excellent prelate's story is this: he was born at Pontefract, about the year 1593; educated at Sidney-College in Cambridge; Prebendary of York, and Sub-Dean of Rippon about 1624; came into Ireland with the Lord Deputy Wentworth in 1633, and immediately made Archdeacon of Meath; Bishop of Derry in 1634; Primate in 1660, and died in 1663. Bishop Taylor, who preached his (11) funeral sermon, gives the following account of his good services to the public, and the ill returns that were made: "his zeal for the recovery of church-revenues, was called oppression and rapine; his care of reducing religion to wife

(2) Usher. Præfat. ad Syllogen. (3) Vol. 6. Fol. Paris. 1667. (4) Col. D. Joh. Bapt. Oxon. Abac. 3. B. 19. (5) Col. Ben. Cantab. n. 364. (6) Act. SS. Hib. ad Mart. 27. (7) Fol. Lond. 1686. (8) 8^o Lond. 1656. (9) Fol. Dublin. 1677. (10) See Dugdale's View of the late Troubles, &c. p. 741. (11) See his XI. Sermons, Fol. Lond. 1678. p. 107.

and

and justifiable principles, popery and arminianism; the intermediate prosperity of his person and fortune, the production of illiberal arts and ways of getting; and the necessary refreshments of his wearied spirits, intemperance. 5. Laurence O'Tool, the second Archbishop of Dublin, died in the year 1180; was (2) canonized by Pope Honorius the Third in 1225; and his life is published by (3) Surius. It was written by Ralph de Bristol, some time Treasurer of St. Patrick's, and afterwards Bishop of Kildare. Archbishop Usher had two (4) manuscript copies of this, more correct than that in print; one whereof is still to be had in his (5) library at Trinity-College, near Dublin. 6. George Brown, consecrated Archbishop of Dublin, in the year 1535. His life is published by Mr. Ware, (Sir Jame's son) in his English edition of his father's annals; being placed betwixt those of Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. He is there represented as the single Irish clergyman that declared for King Henry the Eighth's reformation and supremacy; the latter whereof he strenuously maintained in Parliament; contrary to the opinion and profession of the then primate and other prelates. He also declared for the use of Edward the Sixth's liturgy in 1551, for which the said king transferred the title of Primate of all Ireland, from Ardmagh to Dublin: but Queen Mary stripped him of this and his archbishoprick together, upon the sole article of his being a married man. He died soon after the consecration of his successor Curwen. 7. The life of Nicholas Maguire (Bishop of Leghlin) was written by (6) Thomas Brown, a secular priest, and some time chaplain to the said bishop, about the year 1513. And Nicholas himself is said to have written the life of his predecessor, (7) Miles Roche; who, by the character which he bears in the catalogue of the bishops of that see, had not many qualifications worth the recording. 8. The pious Dr. William Bedel (Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh) had his life penned by (8) G. Burnet, late Bishop of Salisbury, who was furnished with most of his materials by Dr. Parr, already mentioned. He was born in Essex, in the year 1570; bred in Cambridge; chosen Provost of Trinity-College near Dublin in 1627; Bishop of Kilmore and (what he voluntarily resigned) Ardagh in 1629; died in the very rage of the rebellion, in 1641, and lies buried in the church-yard of Kilmore. 9. Mr. Wood (9) tells us that Mr. H. Hallywell, some time Fellow of Christ-College in Cambridge, and afterwards Minister of Ifield in Suffex, collected and published (10) The Remains of that reverend and learned Prelate Dr. George Rust, late Lord Bishop of Dromore. But says not that the publisher gives any particular account of his life. However it be, for I know nothing of the matter, something may be hence added to the history of the bishops of that see.

Of the nobility, John Courcy, who was created (by King Henry the Second) the first Earl of Ulster, for his eminent service in the subduing of that province, had his life long since written in Latin. It was translated into English by (11) George Dowdal, Archbishop of Ardmagh, in the year 1551, which translation is in the Duke of (12) Chandos's library. Hither also we may refer a Treatise published, near seventy years ago, by a Dominican friar, (O'Daly) under the title of (13) *Initium, Incrementa, et Exitus, Familiæ Geraldinorum, Desmonia Comitum, &c.* Let it be here observed, that it is only the younger branch of this most honourable and most ancient family, that of the late house of Desinond, which this historian reports to be extinct: for the elder and main stock still flourishes (and long may it do so!) in the truly noble person of the Earl of Kildare. Our author fetches his first Fitzgerald from Troy; whence, in the train of heroes, under the conduct of Æneas, he brings him into Italy; and (at last in due time) lands the chief of his progeny here in Ireland, with Henry the Second, King of England. Since that Revolution, the pedigrees of the several houses of this great family have undoubtedly been well preserved: but it was not this writer's business to be so copious (as he might have been) on this subject. What he had chiefly in view, was to

(2) Vid. L. Cherub. Bullar. Tom. 1. p. 49. Edit. Rom. 1617. (3) Vit. SS. Tom 6. Nov. 14. (4) Vid. Epist. Hib. Recens. p. 154. (5) Fol. Membr. D. 37. (6) Ware, de Script. p. 24. (7) Id. ibid. (8) 8^o Lond. 1685. (9) Ath. Oxon. Vol. 2. p. 787. (10) 4^o Lond. 1686. (11) Ware, de Script. p. 25. (12) Fol. Hist. n. 44. (13) 8^o Ulster. 1655.

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Pedigrees

magnify the services done by some of the last Earls of Desmond to the Roman cause, by screening the emissaries of that church (particularly Sanders) from the just reward of their iniquity; and he therefore concludes his work with (what he calls) the Persecutions of Queen Elizabeth and King James the First. I can hardly think it worth the observing, that Thomas Earl of Ormond and Offory (in King James the First's time) had his life immortalized by Dermot Meara, an eminent Irish physician of his time, in an historical poem, which he published under the title of (4) *Ormonius, five Illustrissimi Herois ac Domini D. Thomæ Butler Ormoniae et Offiriae Comititis, &c. Prosapia, laborumque præciquorum ab eodem pro Patriâ et Principe susceptorum commemoratio, Heroico Carmine conscripta*. To which he adds an Epicedion on his death; (5) with some other little matters relating to that noble family.

Dr. Keating (6) or his translator, whose interpolations (as he has managed the matter) are not to be distinguished from the genuine text of his author, represents as a singular glory of the Irish nation, "That their Milesian ancestors had so great a veneration, and valued themselves so much upon the nobility of their extract, that they preserved their pedigrees and genealogies with the strictest care; and it is evident, that in former times there were above two hundred principal annalists and historians in that kingdom, who had a handsome revenue, and a large estate in land, assigned them to support themselves in the study of heraldry and chronology, and to gain a perfect knowledge of those useful professions. Every nobleman retained a number of these learned men, on purpose to record the actions of himself and his family, and to transmit them to posterity; besides such as were in constant pay for the service of the publick: but these private antiquaries had no liberty of themselves to enter any thing upon record, unless it had been first approved by the great triennial assembly; whose confirmation gave authority to all the private, as well as publick records of the kingdom." Hence we learn how this historian became able to trace so many genealogies of the great men of this kingdom, up to Noah or Adam; and whence we have that variety of such pedigrees, which appears in publick and private libraries of England and Ireland. The reader will not be offended if I point at a few of these. I. In the Cottonian library there are, 1. (7) *Callyeni Episcopi et Legati Prophetiæ, in quibus de familia O'Donnellorum multa continentur, in Lingua Hibernica; ut quidam istius linguæ peritus annotavit*. 2. (8) *Genealogies of several Irish Families*. 3. (9) *Genealogia Butleriorum et Darciorum, Comitum Ultoniæ et Kildariæ, et Burgenfium, five Familiæ de Bourke*. II. In the Duke of Chandos's, 1. (10) *Elegiæ Hibernicæ in Obitus quorundam virorum Nobilium*.—*Inscriptiones aliquot veteres in Ecclesiis quibusdam Hiberniæ*. 2. (11) *Monumenta Sepulchralia in Hiberniâ*. 3. (12) *A Patent to John Fitz-Thomas for the title of Earl of Kildare*.—*To Edmund le Botiller for that of Earl of Carrig*.—*John de Bretingham, Earl of Lowth*.—*James le Botiller, Earl of Ormond*.—*Maurice Fitz-Thomas, Earl of Desmond*.—*Robert de Veres, Marquis of Dublin*.—*Robert de Veræ, Duke of Ireland*.—*Robert Barnwell, Baron of Trimbleston*.—*Robert Preston, Viscount Gormanston*.—*Robert Bold, Baron of Ratooth*.—*Robert Eustaces, Baron of Portlestan*. 4. (13) *Genealogies of several of the Nobility of Ireland*. 5. (14) *Catalogus Nobilium Virorum Hiberniæ jam Extinctorum*. *Insignia quædam Gentilitia Hiberniæ*.—*Genealogia familiæ de Burk*. 6. (15) *Stemma Hugonis de Lacy*. *Charta Henrici Regis facta Hugoni de Lacy de Commitatu Ultoniæ*.—*The Nobility of Ireland rated to the Subsidy by Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy, July the Eighth in the year 1615*.—*Rob. Roth's History of the Family of Ormond in Ireland*. 7. (16) *The History of the Geraldines of Munster, with the Genealogy and Acts of the Earls of Desmond, from Maurice Fitz-Thomas the first Earl, to Garret the last; continued to the Year 1602, by Thomas Ruffel*. 8. (17) *Obitus Comitum Desmondiæ et aliorum ejusdem familiæ usque ad an. 1560*.—*Vita Geraldii Abbatis Cœnnobij Maionensis in Conatia, qui obiit tertio Idibus Martij*

(4) 8° Lond. 1615. (5) Vid. Ath. Oxon. Tom. I. col. 381. (6) Edit. Angl. p. 137. (7) Vespasianus, E. 2. (8) Titus, C. 10. (9) Domitianus, A. 18. (10) Fol. Membr. Hist. n. 8. (11) Fol. Hist. n. 15. (12) Fol. Hist. n. 20. (13) 4to. Hist. n. 34. (14) Fol. Hist. n. 39. (15) Fol. Hist. n. 45. (16) 4to. Hist. n. 56. (17) Fol. Hist. n. 55.

A. D. 131.—Genealogia Baronis de Donvoyne. 9. (1) Genealogiæ Hibernorum quorundam, unâ cum Etymologiis Locorum Hiberniæ. III. In the collection of Manuscripts made by the late Dr. John Madden, M. D. and now in the possession of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Clogher, 1. (2) Descents of divers noble Families in Ireland. 2. An (3) Historical and Genealogical Account of the most noble and ancient House of Ormond; with many antient Evidences relating thereunto. 3. (4) Many Hundreds of the Genealogies of Families in England and noble Families in Ireland. 4. (5) An Historical and Genealogical Account of the Nobility of England and some of Ireland, by Mr. Camden; written with his own hand. 5. (6) Chartæ Titulorum Honorum variorum antiquorum Hiberniæ Nobilium. 6. Excerpta de Chartis, Antiquis Rotulis, &c. de rebus gestis et Successionibus Genealogicis omnium Nobilium Antiquissimorum Hiberniæ. A Catalogue of the Lords Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal, Lords Treasurers, Chief Justices of the Courts of King's-Bench and Common-Pleas, Barons of the Exchequer, and Masters of the Rolls, in Ireland, from Henry the Third's Days. An Alphabetical Catalogue of the Knights of Ireland, since the thirteenth year of Henry the Third. A Collection of the Decents and pedigrees of many Hundred Families of Gentlemen and Noblemen of England and Ireland. IV. In the library at Trinity-College near Dublin. 1. (8) The Genealogies of all the antient Families in Ireland, in the old Irish Book of Ballimote. 2. (9) Genealogia Richardi Normanni, Comitis de Clare.—The Letter of Nic. Viarmbone, alias Ulster King at Arms, to all Nobles and Gentlemen 1574.—Genealogies of Kildare and Desmond. A Note of the Obits of the Earls of Kildare taken out of Books belonging to Girald late Earl of Kildare and Elizabeth Grey.—The Race of the Giraldines that came into Ireland.—The Race of the Earls of Kildare. 3. (10) Christopher Cusacke of of GERALSTON'S Book of Collections, touching Ireland, made in the Year 1511, with Genealogical Tables of Primate Usher before it. 4. (11) The Names of the chief Families in the several Counties of Ireland, Lords of Parliament, and Aldermen of Dublin. 5. (12) Tabulæ Genealogicæ et Nomina Virorum in Hiberniâ. V. In the library at University College in Oxford, (13) Genealogies of the Clancarties, up to Adam; with others.

In the forementioned triennial assembly, King Ollamh Fodhla, about nine hundred and fifty years before the coming of our Saviour, gave the royal assent to a great many good laws; and amongst the rest, to (14) one whereby it was ordained, that "Every nobleman and great officer should, by the learned heralds, have a particular coat of arms assigned him, according to his merit and his quality; whereby he should be distinguished from others of the same rank, and be known by any antiquary or person of learning, wherever he appeared: whether at sea or land, in the prince's court, at the place of his own residence, or in the field of battle." Good store of these are to be seen, in both kingdoms, blazoned in their proper colours. Not to mention the choicest collections in the Heralds-Office at London, or in the possession of Mr. Hawkins, Ulster king at arms, in Dublin, to both which the curious will naturally have recourse in their enquiries after matters of this kind: the reader ought to know that, I. In the often-mentioned rich library of his Grace the Duke of Chandos, there are (15) two large volumes of the arms of English and Irish nobility intermixed. II. One such in the library at (16) Caius College in Cambridge. III. Several in that of Queen's College in Oxford; given to that society by, their late benefactor, Sir Joseph Williamson. IV. In Trinity College near Dublin, we have, 1. (17) The arms of several kings, noblemen, and gentlemen, in Ireland. 2. (18) The coats of knights dubbed in this Kingdom. 3. (19) Arms of Knights and some other Irish Gentlemen, amongst many of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland put alphabetically.

Some few persons, of a lower rank than the nobility, have, for some special merit, had the Common honour of being recommended as examples to future generations, by having their lives recorded by their friends or followers. Of this sort of compositions there is a whole volume amongst the

(1) Fol. Hist. n. 10. (2) Fol. n. 10. (3) II. Vol. nn. 15, et 16. (4) 4to. n. 5. (5) 4to. n. 8. (6) 4to. n. 9. (8) Fol. Membr. D. 18. (9) Fol. B. 58. (10) Fol. B. 30. (11) 8vo. A. 52. (12) Fol. 1. 103. (13) MSS. G. 9. (14) Keating, p. 143. (15) Fol. Hist. n. 42. et 4to Hist. n. 70. (16) Class. B. n. 37. (17) Fol. 1. 113 (18) Fol. C. 25. (19) Fol. 1. 7. et F. 125.

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Duke of (18) Chandois's Manuscripts; and there are many particular lives of canonized traytors, who were executed at Tyburn and elsewhere, for conspiring against their lawful sovereigns, and attempting to introduce a foreign Jurisdiction. We have already taken notice of some of Edmund Campian's honours in this way: and a good many more might be mentioned. In the Bodleyan Library we have his life in (19) Latin heroicks; as also, (20) *Historia del glorioso Martyrio de Edmundo Campiano, y Tho. Cotano, y diez y seis Sacerdotes, &c.* 1581, 82, 83, Compuesta par Franc. Herrera.

Writers.

The lives and works of the Irish writers have been most fully accounted for, by, the great restorer of Ireland's antiquities and history, Sir James Ware; whose unwearied diligence and judicious discoveries, can never be too frequently remembered or extolled. His two books, *De Scriptoribus Hiberniæ*, were first published in (1) Latin, as his other scattered pieces were: but these, as well as the rest were much enlarged, and are now printed in (2) English, in the same volume with those that we have already recommended, and shall hereafter have occasion to recommend to the readers perusal. In the former of these books, our worthy author treats of such writers as were natives of Ireland; and in the latter, foreigners preferred in that kingdom. It is an unjust reflection which the (3) Oxford antiquary casts on this work; in affirming that *a great part of it is taken out of the book of John Bayle*. He, indeed, is sometimes quoted in the former part; but sparingly, and most commonly with a remarkable diffidence in his authority: but in the latter he is rarely named without a due notice and correction of his (4) errors and mistakes. Sir James, as his preface informs us, had for the main of his building, much more substantial supporters. He viewed most of the printed books in the publick and private libraries of England, as well as of his own country; and the most valuable collection of manuscripts referred to, were in his own hands, or in the hands of his two intimate friends, Archbishop Usher and Sir Robert Cotton. The worthy author himself ought to have had his own life written more at large than hitherto it has appeared to the world: for that lean sketch of it which is prefixed to the late edition of his works, is only a poor abstract or what has been said of him by the Oxford (5) antiquary; whose very words and phrases, none of the most elegant, are there literally transcribed. The late excellent Mr. Evelyn (6) thought fit to insert his name in the catalogue of historians and antiquaries, of whose *heads and effigies* he recommends a collection amongst the curious in medals; as *what may, in great part, supply what one cannot hope to procure in more rich and lasting materials*. Less respect than this should not be shewn to a person, for whom the judicious Archbishop Usher had so much esteem, as to conclude his own most valuable collection of the choicest remains of Irish history, with this honourable recommendation of his friend: (7) *à D. Jacobo Waræo Dublinensi equite aurato, et regij apud nos Ærarij rationali dignissimo, Hiberniæ nostræ annales, unâ cum patriorum scriptorum catalogo (è quibus eorum quæ hac in parte desiderantur non exiguum peti poterit supplementum) benevolus lector expectabit.*

C H A P. VII.

Of IRISH Records and Law-Books.

Laws.

OUR historians generally agree, that there was very early a body of laws in this kingdom; and they do, as unanimously allow, that this grew up to maturity from a very weak estate at first. *Ab Amergini tempore*, says (8) one of them, *ad Conquovarum Ultoniæ regem*,

(18) 4to. Hist. n. 52. (19) Cod. Laud. F. 2. (20) Cod. Bodl. D. 3. 6. (1) 4to. Dublin. 1638. (2) Fol. Lond. et Dublin. 1705. (3) Ath. Oxon. Vol. 2. col. 725. (4) Vid. Edit. Angl. par. 2. p. 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36. (5) Ath. Oxon. Vol. 2. col. 725, 726. (6) See his Numismata, p. 257, 260. (7) Antiq. Brit. p. 503. (8) Ogygia, p. 216.

qui subor tum salvatoris vixit, legum oracula, for about a thousand years, penes poëtarum arbitria erant, qui strictâ oratione sententias ferebant. This Amergine, as the same (9) historian had told us before, was brother to the captains of the first colony of Scots, who came from Spain into Ireland, A. M. 2934, and was *sub fratribus suis supremus Vates, or Filedh*; by which appellation the men of his time meant not to distinguish persons, that were only skilled in poetry, but others also eminent in other parts of useful learning: so that this great man is to be reckoned sufficiently endowed with all the accomplishments which are ascribed to him in an old Irish distich, whereof the sense is thus expressed by our author,

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*Primus Amerginus Genucandidus Author Iernæ.
Historicus, Judex lege, Poëta, Sophus.*

In the reign of King (10) Conquevar, Forchern, Nede and (his majesty's poet laureat) Athrine, were compilers of the kingdoms Bretanime, or Judicia Cœlestia. The like Cœlestia Judicia, or law maxims, were written by Moran, (11) King Feradach's chief justice, about the year of our Lord ninety, and by King Cormach himself in the year 254. These last institutions, as well as those of his son Carbrej, are said to be still extant. Others eminent in this sort of juridical Fileadhacht, under some of the following heathen monarchs, have their names recorded by our author. By the guidance of these law maxims, and other like rules, the brehons, or judges of the several provincial kings, determined all controversies brought before them; and their general axioms were the Leges Brehonicae, whereof several specimens are to be seen in our public and private libraries. The most complete collection that we have of these is in the (12) Duke of Chandois's library; and even this is far from being perfect. It contains twenty-two sheets and a half, close written in two columns; the former whereof is not quite legible, and full of abbreviated words. It puts me in mind of Hoel Dha's laws; several copies whereof, that I have seen, are in the like condition: but, as there is now an accurate edition of these in the press at London, so I am willing to hope that I may live to see the like care taken of our Brehon-laws. This I dare promise the antiquaries and historians of this kingdom, that, if they fall into the hands of as skilful a publisher, as the Welsh laws are in, we shall have a very delightful and instructive view of many antient rites and customs of this country; which, as yet, continue in the utmost darkness and obscurity. The grave sages of the law who compiled ours, were a distinct tribe or family, as the historians, physicians, poets and harpers, to which was allotted a sufficient farm in inheritance: and in criminal causes, the Brehon had an eleventh part of all the fines. This might sometimes amount to a considerable sum: for murders, rapes, and robberies, were only subject to a pecuniary commutation, which they called Eric. By the statute of Kilkenny, 40 Edwardi III. which is and long has been, lost out of the parliamentary records of this kingdom, it was enacted, (13) under the penalty of high treason, that none of the king's English subjects in this island should submit to a trial by the Brehon law. Notwithstanding which, many of them were still under the necessity of being concluded by the Irish laws and customs; till the whole kingdom was settled on an English bottom by King James the First.

That the common law of England was submitted and sworn to by all the Irish potentates, who put themselves under the protection of King Henry the Second, is universally acknowledged by the historians of both kingdoms; and this, or so much of it as is not altered by statute, is still as prevailing and current in the four courts of Dublin as in Westminster-hall. After this grant was made by the said King Henry, and confirmed by King John, there went a remarkable mandate from (14) Henry the Third to the lord justice of Ireland, to call together the prelates and other grandes of the kingdom; *Et coram eis publicè legi faciatis chartam Joannis regis patris nostri, cui sigillum suum appensum est, quam fieri fecit et jurari à magnatibus Hiberniæ de legibus et consuetudinibus Angliæ observandis in Hiberniâ. Et præcipiatis eis ex parte nostrâ quod Leges illas et consuetudines in charta prædicta contentas de cætero firmiter teneant et observent.*

(9) Ogygia, p. 183. (10) Id. p. 217. (11) Ogygia, p. 217, 218. Vide etiam de Cormaci Institut. plura p. 336, 337. (12) Fol. Hist. n. 56. (13) Vid. D. J. Ware, Antiq. Hib. cap. 8. (14) Duodecimo Hen 3.

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Et hoc idem per singulos comitatus Hiberniæ clamari faciatis et teneri. Prohibentes firmiter ex parte nostrâ et super forisfacturam nostram ne quis contra hoc mandatum venire præsumat. These concessions were only made to such of the natives as *turned over*, and became liege-subjects to the English kings; and to those Englishmen who incorporated with them. Hence it came to pass that, upon inter-marriages betwixt those that were without and within the English pale, frequent applications were made by those *without*, whether man or woman, for the benefit of these laws and the franchises thereunto belonging; and very frequent are royal grants of naturalization upon any such petitions, amongst the ancient records in Wakefield tower. In short the common law is, to this day, the same in Westminster-hall and in the four courts at Dublin: so that whatever has been said on that subject, in the English Historical Library, is of equal weight in both kingdoms; and the writers thereon, such as Glanvil, Fleta, Bracton, Breton, Fortescue, &c. are of the same authority here as in England. The like is to be said of the English year-books, reports and term-rolls of all the inferior courts; as low, at least, as the tenth of Henry the Seventh. After that period, indeed, there are some cases reported, which judgment being therein given upon acts of parliament, purely English, no way relate to the kingdom of Ireland: but even in these, there are several which equally concern our neighbours and ourselves; inasmuch as most of the public acts, which, by experience, have been found beneficial to the whole community of England, have soon after been admitted here, and had likewise the royal assent in this kingdom.

The most antient Law-Record that we have in Ireland, after the settlement of the English under King Henry the Second, should be the *Modus tenendi Parliamentum*; which the late learned Dr. Dopping, Bishop of Meath, published with a preface, wherein he endeavours to support its antiquity and authority. I have (15) elsewhere laid before the reader some of the weighty objections that are raised against the English *Modus*, from which this is said to have been borrowed: And if he desires any farther discoveries of the imposture, he may have them at large from (16) Mr. Prynne; who likewise assures us, that Archbishop Usher expressed his dislike of Mr. Hackwel's exemplification, whereon Bishop Dopping and others build the chief of their confidence. The late learned (17) Dr. Hickes laments the ignorance of the famous Sir Edward Coke in this particular; and (18) Mr. Selden cannot believe that either the English, or Irish, is so old as the reign of Henry the Second.

Statute
Law.

How and by what authority, we came by our statute laws, is a question lately started in a short discourse, entitled, (19) *The Case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England*, stated. By William Molyneux, of Dublin, Esquire, dedicated to King William. The author declares himself unconcerned at the issue of the contest betwixt the bishop and society at Derry, about the lands there; nor has he any share in the woollen-manufacture: and yet the management of these disputes is acknowledged to have partly given rise to his undertaking. He endeavours to prove, 1. That King Henry the Second did not conquer Ireland. 2. By original compact he gave them English laws, and parliaments, with the *Modus Tenendi*, &c. 3. English acts, introductory of new laws, since the tenth of Henry the Seventh, were not of force in Ireland, till 1641. 4. Our ecclesiastical state is independent on the English, &c. This gentleman was allowed by every body to write like a person of good parts, good learning, and good breeding; and it was generally thought an excusable failure, in his case, if his zeal for the honour and interest of his native country sometimes exceeded his knowledge: but so it happened, that, immediately upon the publishing of his book, the English house of commons made an humble (20) address to the king; wherein they took notice of *dangerous attempts lately made by some of his subjects in Ireland, to shake off their subjection and dependance upon England*; taking also particular notice of the *bold and pernicious assertions* of this writer. Hereupon several labblers in English laws and politics looked upon themselves as called *to arms*; and each endeavoured to be foremost in a glorious triumph over the Philistine. Amongst these, the

(15) Engl. Hist. Libr. (Edit. Noviss.) p. 156. (16) Animad. on 4th Inst. from p. 1. to p. 12. (17) Dissert. pift. p. 152. (18) Tit. of Hon. p. 615. (19) 8vo. Dublin. 1698, et 1719. (20) Jul. 2. 1698.

two prime champions were William Atwood, esquire, and John Cary, merchant in Bristol. PART III.
 The former of these was barrister at law; and had conversed much with the records in the tower at London, or at least with, Mr. Petyt, the keeper of them. Upon his banner was written, (21) *The History and Reasons of the Dependency of Ireland upon the Imperial Crown of the Kingdom of England*: in which he undertakes to expose the nature of Mr. Molineaux's complaint and his mistaken popular notions about liberty; to prove the original right which the kings of Britain and England, Arthur, Edgar, &c. had to the dominion of Ireland; and to shew that the claim is no better founded, and stronger than it was at first. He seems to have had a sufficient number of records upon his file, to answer his own occasions, as well as his adversaries arguments: but the great haste he made into the field has obliged him to huddle them up in too much confusion; and the eighteen queries, wherewith he concludes his discourse, shew that he had written himself into a heat. Mr. Cary calls his book, (22) *A Vindication of the Parliament of England, in Answer, &c.* He had newly published his *Essay upon Trade*; wherein he had given it as his opinion, that unless Ireland was more strictly bound up, by laws made in England, it would quickly destroy their Woollen Manufactory. In order to the clearing of this position, he had considered the arguments that (he foresaw) might be brought against such a shackling of this kingdom by statute-laws of an English growth: and this prepared him for a ready encounter with Mr. Molyneux, whom he pursues, paragraph by paragraph, with a good appearance of skill in the laws of both kingdoms, and a notable strength of reasoning thereupon. In short, the merchant argues and pleads like a counsellor at law: and the barrister strings his small wares together like a shop-keeper.

In Sir Richard Bolton's (2) edition of the statutes of Ireland, there is the following note on 10 Henry VII. cap. 22. Bolton's Acts.
 "In the thirteenth year of Edward the Second, the statutes of the first and second of Westminster, with those of Merton, Marlbridge, and Gloucester, were confirmed in this kingdom: And all other statutes which were of force in England, were referred to be examined in the next Parliament; and so many as were then allowed and published to stand likewise for laws in this kingdom. In the twentieth of Henry the Fourth, it was enacted in this kingdom, that the statutes made in England should not be of force in this kingdom, unless they were allowed and published in this kingdom by Parliament: And the like statute was made again in the twenty-ninth of Henry the Sixth. These statutes are not to be found in the rolls, nor any Parliament-roll of that time; but I have seen the same exemplified under the great seal: And the exemplification remaineth in the treasury of the city of Waterford." We are very sure that (3) King Edward the First, immediately after the enacting of the second statute of Westminster, in the thirteenth year of his reign, did send over that law (and others, here mentioned, of his own passing) to Walter, Bishop of Waterford, then lord justice of this kingdom; in Hiberniæ says the record, *Proclamanda et Observanda*. Now it is hard to imagine that Edward the Second should confirm these laws of his father's; which had been observed and in force for about forty years, without any such formal sanction in an Irish Parliament: But the record is very particular and circumstantial in its report of this matter, and to me, seems plainly to lay open the whole mystery. Those statutes, it says, were delivered to Roger Bretun, clerk to the said Bishop of Waterford, in the thirteenth year of Edward the First; and these exemplified laws may very probably be still seen in the treasury at Waterford: And this date makes it the easier to stumble on the precise thirteenth year of Edward the Second for their supposed ratification.

To prevent losses of this kind, Sir Henry Sidney (4) first ordered all the Irish statutes enacted here by Parliaments, from their prime institution down to his own time, to be collected and published in print. Sir Henry Sidney's.
 He died in the year 1586; and I have not heard of any new edition of our laws, after his death, till that work was honourably undertaken, (and as honestly performed) by (5) Sir Richard Bolton, lord chief baron of this kingdom; who supplied several defects in the former edition, many good statutes in full force having been overlooked and omitted by Sir Henry's

(21) 8° Lond. 1698. (22) 8° Lond. 1698. (2) Fol. Dublin, 1921. (3) See Prynne, on the 4th Institut. p. 258.
 (4) Vid. Ath. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 181. (5) Fol. Dublin, 1621.

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collectors. To this end, he perused all the Parliament-rolls that were extant; and, after he had drawn out from thence all the publick acts that were for his purpose, his collection was examined and approved by the three chief judges, and master of the rolls, before it was committed to the press. The impression was at the charges of the London society of stationers, who were patent printers to King James the First; and they (1) afterwards continued it to the tenth of Charles the First, inclusive, Benjamin Tooke, King Charles the second's printer, added the (2) act of settlement and some few more: And we have very lately Took's reprinted, in somewhat too careless a manner, by the present Typographer Royal, (3) Andrew Crook; who drops his work at the revolution.

Magna
Charta.

None of these statute-books begins, as all the English ones of their kind constantly do, with the Magna Charta of King Henry the Third: And yet it is confidently (4) reported, that such a record we have, and that it is seven or eight years older than that which was granted to the subjects of England by the same Monarch. The two charters are said to differ in nothing, save only in the *mutatis mutandis*; as, in the Irish, we have Dublin, instead of London in the other, the Liffey for the Thames, &c. There are many circumstances in Mr. Molyneaux's state of this part of his case, which I am not well able, I confess, to bring fairly together: We have lost the original, it seems; but there is an antient copy of it in the Red-Book of the Exchequer. This bears date the twelfth of November, in the first year of that king's reign; which is within less than five weeks after his coming to the crown. On the sixth of February following, he sends a grant from Gloucester, which we are sure is genuine, for it is upon record, wherein are these words: (5) *Volumus quod Libertatibus Regno nostro Angliæ, à Patre nostro et nobis concessis, gaudeatis vos et vestri Hæredis in perpetuum.* It is hard to conclude that this grant must be meant of the grand charter; which was not granted, even to the Resiants in England, before the ninth of this reign at the soonest: And yet the English liberties that accompanied this writ are said to be such, *Quas distinctè in scriptum redactas de communi consilio omnium fidelium nostrorum vobis mittimus.* If I should venture to say, that Henry the Third's English charter itself cannot possibly be so old as the printed books make it, I should certainly be excused by any man, that enquires when Archbishop Boniface came to the see of Canterbury, &c.

Reports.

Reports of this kingdom were first collected by Sir John Davies, already mentioned; who gave this famous work the title of, (6) *De Premier Reports des Cafes et Matters en ley Resolves et Adjudges in les Courts del Royal en Ireland.* A second (7) edition of the book leaves out the word *pri-mier* in the title page; as if some older reports had afterwards been published of cases tried in this kingdom: But, no such of any kind older or younger (save one, which shall be accounted for by and by) have hitherto come to my knowledge. I am sure the author (8) himself affirms that he had good reason to call these the first reports; since all the arguments and reasons of the judgments and resolutions given in courts of Ireland had hitherto been utterly lost, and buried in oblivion: And he (9) afterwards protests, that this collection was principally intended for the use and benefit of practisers in Ireland; and to move and incite others in this kingdom to perform the like service to posterity. Two cases there are here very learnedly handled and determined, which relate only to the customs of Ireland; and those are on the two famous antient tenures by Tani-stry and Gavelkind. Of the former of these, Sir James Ware has given us this account, agreed to by the report: (10) *Lege Tanistrie jus Hereditarium Successionis, apud Magnates, seu Regionum Dynastas, non observabatur; sed qui viribus et Clientelâ potentior, plerumque Senior et Dignissimus Sanguinis et Cognominis, defuncto Dynastæ succedebat.* This custom was by the attorney general (the reporter of the case) shewn to be so unjust, and uncertain, that it ought to be abolished: But having obtained for many ages, the debates thereupon lasted three or four years in the king's bench; and at last, the contesting parties, by an agreement, confirmed by rule of court, divided the inheritance. Here ended that dispute, which otherwise had certainly been condemned, as

(1) Fol. ibid. 1635. (2) Fol. Dublin, 1678. (3) Fol. ibid. 1719. (4) Molyneaux's Case, Edit. Noviss. p. 27. (5) See Prynne upon the 4th Institut. p. 250. (6) Fol. Lond. 1628. (7) Fol. ibid. 1674. (8) Pref. p. 2. (9) Pref. p. 23. (10) Antiq. Hib. cap. 8.

contrary

contrary to the common law of England: For which reason, amongst others, the same judges condemned the other Tenure of Gavelkind. This was far different from that which, under the same name, had long been known in Kent: For here, (3) *Hæreditas defuncti divisa fuit æqualiter inter filios, tam Notbos quam legitimè Natos; et, iis deficientibus, inter proximos hæredes Masculos, fæminis penitus exclusis.* This sort of tenure had been long since abolished, in North-wales, by King Edward the First: And for its inconvenience and unreasonableness, was now declared here to be void in law. The names of Tanistry and Gavelkind, both undoubtedly borrowed from the English Saxons, will be no more heard of in any of our four courts; but ought not to be forgotten by our antiquaries. The cases relating to the royal fishery in the Bann, and the county Palatine of Wexford, afford matters worthy the perusal of our Irish historian: Nor are those of the chapter of Fernes and the Premunire less instructive to the gentlemen of the robe. Soon after the first edition of these reports, there was published, (4) The case of defective titles in Ireland: the occasion whereof was this: King James the First had, in the fourth year of his reign, authorized commissioners to make grants of several lands in the counties of Roscommon, Sligo, Mayo, and Galway, for the strengthening of titles that might otherwise be questionable in law. The commission gave no directions concerning the Tenure to be reserved; but the commissioners ventured to insert into their patents, Lord Dillon's particularly, whereon the tryal was commenced, the holding by knights service, as of his Majesty's Castle of Dublin. This reservation of a mean tenure, instead of one in capite, was, after a debate of several days by council on both sides, and a solemn consultation of the judges thereupon, by special and strict command of the lord deputy, declared to be a prejudice to the crown; and the whole grant, whereof this Modus Concessionis was made an unwarrantable part, hereby made void. It happened very luckily that, in the course of the arguments in this great case, the council took notice of a supposed mistake in (5) Sir Henry Spelman; who was said to fix the original of Feuds in England at the Norman conquest. To set this matter in a true light, that worthy gentleman forthwith wrote his (6) excellent discourse on The original Growth, Propagation, and Condition of Feuds and Tenures by Knights Service in England: A treatise which will make its author's name precious, as long as there is any learning left in either of these kingdoms.

As to Irish records in the Tower of London, there is only a single roll (in Wakefield-Tower) which wholly respects the affairs of this kingdom; and this is placed, in the catalogue, under the first of Edward the Third, but extends to the twelfth of that reign, inclusive. The rest are mixed with the English, in the Letters-Patents, Charter-Grants, Parliamentary-Petitions, Pardons, &c. Whoever looks for these in the Manuscript-Abstracts made of them, by Mr. Prynne, and Mr. Petyt, will find himself liable to frequent mistakes; the record itself often differing in substance, from the short view which those industrious persons give of it. To give an instance or two; I. Pat. 12. H. 3. m. 4. *Omnes Archiepiscopatus et Episcopatus Hibernæ concessæ sunt H. Dublin. Archiepiscopo [non, ut in Indice, Dunelm. Episcopo] quamdiu vacuerint, donec Debitum quod Rex ei debet, de fructibus eorundem fuerit persolutum.* II. Pat. 8. Ed. 3. p. 1. m. 14. *Georgius de Rupe Amerciatus fuit CC marcas, pro eo quod ad Parlamentum apud Dublin. Anno R. Ed. 2. duodecimo, et Ed. 3. secundo [non ut Index, secundo et duodecimo dicti R. Ed. 2.] non venit. Et Rex nunc pardonavit Johanni filio suo summam prædictam, except. X libr.* Of the mixture of Irish grants with English, as forementioned, take these instances relating to the government of this kingdom. I. Pat. 4. Ed. 1. m. 18. The office of lord justice is granted to Robert de Ufford, with very large powers. II. Ralph de Ufford, has the like grant, with power of pardoning such of the English or Irish rebels, of that kingdom, as he thinks proper. Pat. 18. Ed. 4. p. 1. m. 3. And, by a second, authority to place and displace, at his own will and pleasure, all inferior officers. Ibid. m. 6. III. Pat. 16. Ed. 3. p. 1. m. 18. John Darcy, Lord Justice, with the King's leave, appoints John Morris his deputy. His Grace the (1) Duke of Chandois has a volume of abstracts of these records relating to Ireland; wherein are copies at large of the creations of divers noblemen of this kingdom scattered in the said rolls.

(3) Ware, *ibid.* (4) A. D. 1639. by Command of the Lord Deputy Wentworth, (5) In Gloss. v. Feudum. (6) Reliq. Spelm. Fol. Lond. 1698. p. 1. &c. ad p. 46. (1) Fol. Hist. n. 20.

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III.Parli-
ment
Rolls.

We have in the print, (2) An exact abridgment of the Parliamentary records in the Tower of London, from the fifteenth of Edward the Second, to the first of Richard Third, inclusive, collected by Sir Robert Cotton, and revised by William Prynne. As a specimen of the many observables, relating to Ireland, in the several reigns within the forementioned period, take this short abstract of those in that of King Edward the Third; who, in the fifth year of his reign, calls a Parliament, amongst other motives, "For the affairs of Ireland, and for the king's expedition thither." (3) Whereupon it is fully accorded, that the king shall pass thither in person; and, in the mean time, forces to be sent over, and all that have lands there to repair to their defence; learned men in the law to be sent over, as justices or otherwise, without (4) excuse. But, the king being (the next year) invited to go into France on a marriage-treaty, the expedition into Ireland is deferred for one year: so as aid might be sent in the mean time. Yet, on an alarm from Scotland, the whole Parliament advises the King to stay his journey into Ireland, sending thither a new supply of men and money; to continue within the realm; and with an armed power to go towards the north, there to lye ready for the (5) Scot. An. Reg. 21. agreed in Parliament, that inquiry be made, why the king has no profit from his lands in Ireland; and that, if the fault appear to be in his ministers, they be discarded; and others, more faithful, placed in their (6) stead. In the same Parliament, provision is made against the county of Hibernia's (Ulster) falling to the king's enemies on the death of (7) Elizabeth, wife to Lionel, the king's son, without issue. At another Parliament, held in the fortieth year of this king's reign, it being suggested that the Pope, for the homage done by King John for the realms of England and Ireland, meant to cite the king to Rome, it was by common consent enacted in effect following: That forasmuch as neither King John, nor any other king, could bring his realm and kingdom into such thralldom and subjection, but by common assent of Parliament; the which was not done; that which he did was against his oath at his coronation: If therefore the pope should attempt any thing against the king by process or otherwise, the king with all his subjects should, with all their force and power, (8) resist the same. This act is not in the late statute-book; nor so much as mentioned by Rastal himself. In several bundles of miscellaneous records gathered out of the rubbish in the White-Tower at London, the following are under the title of Hibernia. 1. Three records relating to Mannors and Franchises of the Earls of Kildare. 2. Lowth and Castrum Frank. 3. Two to the Prior of St. Trinity in Dublin, *i. e.* Christ-Church. 4. *Manerium de salta Salmonum*. 5. Lands of Knights Templers. 6. Mannors of Rathgell, Trim, Nonan-Ardsalagh, Athderk, &c. 7. Church of Stabanan. 8. City of Dublin. R. 2. Offelan Serjeant in Kildare. For other English records relating to this kingdom of Ireland, the reader may consult the fourth part of Sir Edward Coke's (9) Institutes; together with (10) W. Prynne's brief animadversions, &c. on the said fourth part: As also the same Mr. Prynne's (11) third tome of his exact Chronological Vindication, &c.

Berming-
ham-
Tower.

Thomas Chetham, Esquire, some time keeper of the records in Bermingham-Tower in the Castle at Dublin, made (12) collections out of all the rolls, original charters and briefs, in his custody; which are still forth-coming: But I dare not promise all therein referred to are, at this day, to be met with in the said Tower. Matters of the greatest antiquity that I could observe there, are proceedings of the itinerant judges in their circuits; and some of these reach as high as the reign of Edward the First, ascertaining the titles and tenures of several considerable estates in the kingdom. Nay there are some of these as old as the forty-fourth of Henry the Third, as also abstracts of patent and close rolls from the thirty-third of Edward the Third, as low, though not in a continued chain, as the twelfth of Henry Seventh; and charters, protections, wards, franchises, presentations, confirmations, &c. of the like age. Before the custody of these fell into the hands of the late Mr. Addison, they were miserably neglected and embezzelled. That worthy person put their remains into good order and a decent garb; wherein I do not doubt but (his ingenious successor) Mr. Hill will preserve them.

(2) Fol. Lond. 1657. (3) P. 9. (4) P. 10. (5) P. 13. (6) Lond. P. 59. (7) P. 66. (8) P. 102. (9) Fol. Lond. 1648. (10) Fol. Ibid. 1669. (11) Fol. Ibid. 1668. (12) Fol. Ibid. 1668.

There were formerly a great many valuable records, and monuments of antiquity in the Exchequer at Dublin; as there are still in that at Westminster. Amongst these the White-Book and the Red were of great authority. In the former of these was a writ sent by Edward the First, to his chancellor in Ireland, wherein he mentions *quædam Statuta per nos de assensu Prælatorum, Comitum, Baronum, et Communitatis Regni nostri Hiberniæ, nuper apud Lincoln, et quædam alia Statuta postmodum apud Eborum facta*. For this Mr. Molyneux (1) refers us to it, as in being when he wrote his book: whereas Sir James (2) Ware says, that it was accidentally burned, in the year 1610. He says farther, that he himself had some historical notes taken out of it long since. These I hoped to have had some account of in the Duke of Chandos's library: But, no tidings of them there. In the Red Book, (if it has escaped the fate of its fellow) we are to look for Magna Charta, as has been already observed: And, if an antient copy of that charter be all that it could afford us, we need not much regret its loss. Such helps to history as are most probably to be sought for here, are, receipts and disbursements of the crown; expences of the royal household; surveys of the demesnes, &c. In the noble Harleyan library the charters, bulls, deeds, &c. amount to about 14000. Amongst which many relate to Irish affairs. Take this small sketch of them, 43. Anno 72.—Ric. Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Justice of Ireland, Anno nono, Hen. sexti.—73. Ejusd. Ric. (Talbot's seal) Cancel. Anno Eodem.—74. Ejusdem Rec. (as the two former) of Salary received from Sir Thomas Straunge Treasurer Anno Eodem.—75. Rec. of the same from the same, of 562 l. for forces, Anno Eodem.—76. Rec. of the prior of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem of 10 marks (half year's pension) from the said treasurer, Anno Eodem.—77. Another of the Archbishop of Dublin of the same kind with n. 75. Anno Eodem.—78. Primate George (Cromer's) commission to the Bishop of Meath to consecrate bishops, ordain, &c. A. D. 1521, —76. Bond from Connacius O Neyll, principal of his nation, to abide the sentence of date. Archbishop Cromer, A. D. 1525.

45. D. 7. Deed of conveyance (of lands in Connacht) from Joan. de Arderne to Richard de Rupella, about the latter end of Hen. III. Sans Test. Joan. de. Ripariis, Rob. de Ufford, &c.

49. C. 1. Manasr. de Damarten Omnibus Homnibus, &c. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse Reginaldo de Cottona et Aæredibus ipsius totam Terram suam et Humagia sua omnia quæ tenuit in die qua Dominus noster Hen. Rex Angliæ transfretavit in Hiberniam, in bosco et in plano, &c.

39. A. 1. Legier book of Waltham Abbey, fol. 82, in Cyrogr. Guli. Wirmlea—Hæc omnia facta sunt die Ascensionis prima postquam Johannes fil. Regis Hen. Secundi ivit in Hiberniam.

50. G. 38. Grants of lands made by Galfr. de Geynvil and (his wife) Matilda de Lafey to the Abbat and Monks de Bellobecco Test. Hen. de Stratona tunc Senesc. nostro in Mydia, Hugone de Porces tunc Vic. nostro de Trim, &c. A. D. 1259.

52. E. 14. Receipt from Treasurer Straunge of 10 l. bounty-money (Nomine Regardi) by John Keting, Anno Hen. VI. nono.

There is also in the same library, a large volume of surveys of the antient and opulent estates of the Mortimers (Earls of March and Ulster) in the kingdom of Ireland; whereof several were chief governors of the realm. There are also a couple of volumes, amongst the present learned Bishop of Clogher's manuscripts, which may perhaps most properly be taken notice of in this place: 1. (3) Abstracts of the revenue and charge of the kingdom of Ireland, from 1658, to 1688, several establishments, for both the civil and military lists, since 1603. Extracts from the Hanaper-Office of the dates of the patents of peers and bishops; as likewise divers account-records from Bermingham-Tower. 2. (4) Collections out of inquisitions (*post mortem*) of the nobility and other great men of the kingdom: As also out of the like inquisitions concerning the territories belonging to the dissolved monasteries and other religious houses: And out of the rolls of the high court of chancery, in relation to charter-lands of the nobility, and restitution of

(1) Case, &c. Ed. Noviss. p. 57. (2) Annal. p. 47. (3) Inter MSS. D. Madden, Fol. n. 5. (4) Ibid. 4^o n. 6. tempo-

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Auditor
general.

In the auditor general's office we have entries of letters patents for lands and offices, from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign to this time; yearly rolls of the vice-treasurer's accounts, those of the collectors of the revenue, and all other officers civil and military, who have any accounts to make with the crown. These rolls are made up out of books, transmitted from the said vice-treasurer, of receipts and disbursements of the whole revenue; as pensions and salaries in the four courts, custom-house, and other branches of the civil list, and (in the military,) the like disbursements, under their respective heads, to general officers, half-pay, incidents, contingencies, army, ordnance, garrisons, barracks, Parliament payments, king's letters, &c. There is one of the fore-mentioned books that belongs to the reign of Henry the Eighth, and one or two more to that of Edward the Sixth: But no continued series, till we are a good way advanced in that of Queen Elizabeth.

I shall not need to say any thing of matters transacted in the four courts, and much less to meddle with the more inferior pleadings in sheriff-turns, county-courts, courts-leet, courts-baron, &c. The proceedings of all these, under the guidance of the common and statute laws, are in the same method with those in England: Of which enough has been said elsewhere.

(5) Fol. D. 14. (6) See Sir John Temple's Hist. in præfat.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the IRISH Coins and Medals.

MR. FLAHERTY (1) says that Ennius Ruber, who began his reign, A. M. 3482, was the first King of Ireland that coined silver money. This is more early than there was any of that metal at Rome; and only about fifty years after Numa Pompilius had magnified himself in giving the name of Numinus to his brass farthings. Saxo Grammaticus (2) gives an account of the victory obtained by Starchater, the gigantic champion of Frotho the fourth King of Denmark, over Huglet King of Ireland; whose treasury at Dublin was plundered by the conqueror's soldiers: *Tantæ siquidem magnitudinis pucunia reperta fuerat, ut minor partitionis cura cunctis existeret.* No Irish chronicle knows any thing either of King Huglet or General Starchater; nor of a thousand more of Saxo's romantic expeditions into Ireland. Keating (3) tells us, that it was about the time that St. Patrick entered upon his apostleship (in the fifth century) that mints were erected at Ardmagh and Cashel, and money coined for the service of the state: but several instances are given by Sir James Ware, of their payments by weight (in gold) A. D. 1004, 1029, 1042, and 1152. And (4) Keating himself afterwards confesses, that Turgesius the Dane obliged every master of a family throughout this whole island (about the year 870) to pay him a yearly tribute of an ounce of gold.

Danish.

In the year 1074, Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, by his newly consecrated suffragan Patrick, Bishop of Dublin, wrote a letter to (5) Terdelvac, King of Ireland; wherein he re-

(1) Ogygia, p. 249. See also Keating, ad an. 3357. (2) Hist. Dan. lib. 6. (3) p. 327. (4) Id. p. 433. (5) Epist. Hib. Sylog. p. 71.

commends to that prince's care the redress of several corruptions in the ecclesiastical administration within his kingdom. Amongst these: *Quod sacri ordines per pecuniam ab episcopis dantur*. Whether this money was coined in Ireland, or brought from foreign parts, is not certain. Cambrensis (6) says expressly, that it was brought in by the Danish merchants. That the Danes coined money, Sir James Ware (7) takes to be sufficiently apparent from the silver penny of Anlaf or Anlaph King of Dublin; whereof he gives us the (8) Icon. This piece is the same which we meet with amongst the English Saxon coins in (9) Speed, Mr. (10) O'Walker, and (11) Sir Andrew Fountain. All these three allow that Anlaf was son and successor to Sithric, a Danish usurper of the kingdom of Northumberland: nor do they deny that he's the person whom King Æthelstan forced to withdraw into Ireland, whereof some historians make him a king. It seems most probable that he coined money as King of Northumberland; because there are some brass mites that bear Anlaf's name, amongst many of the same metal, which were all undoubtedly minted in that portion of the old (12) Saxon heptarchy. The learned and ingenious knight differs in opinion with his friend Mr. Walker; who had acquainted him (by letter or conference, I suppose; for he says nothing of it in his printed notes) that the reverse on Anlaf's coin seemed to represent a church. The conjecture will appear plausible enough to any that compares this with one of the Emperor Ludowic (the Fourth) given us by (13) O'Wormius; who boldly says of the like scrawls, that they are *figura templi*: but Sir Andrew must be in the right, if Anlaf lived and died (as our historians generally report his case) an infidel. The Saxon (14) Chronicle, which sings the glories of his conqueror in a most sublime strain, brings him from Ireland to the fatal battle of Brunanburgh; and describes his disgraceful flight back again. The best manuscript copy has it in these words: **Dreorig dara tha laf on dinger mera, ofer deop waeter Dyflen setan; eft Ireland aewistmode.** i. e. The sorry remains (of Anlaf's army) put to Sea and made for Dublin; returning to Ireland in a (shattered and) shameful manner. Upon the whole of this story, the reader is to judge for himself, whether it is most likely that King Anlaf coined the several sorts of silver pennies (for several, three at least, we have of them) in Ireland, and scattered them in England; or brought them with him from Northumberland, on his first arrival in Ireland. I will only beg leave to observe, that on the piece now before us, there seems to be a cluster of three kingdoms, not much unlike the three Legs (as they are called) which we see on the modern farthings of the Isle of Man; that the (15) English historians make Anlaf King of Ireland, Northumberland, and (*multarum insularum*) of the Isles; and that the (16) Manks chronicles acknowledge Syrach and his son Goddard (whom I vehemently suspect to be the Northumbrian Sithric and Godfrid) to have reigned successively in their island. Anlaf indeed they do not mention, being perhaps ashamed of him after his ignominious defeat: but, as he succeeded to his father and brother in the petty throne of Northumberland, we may well conclude that he also was King of Man. The rather, because the Manks chronicle itself makes Olave (which is near a-kin to Anlaf) to be son to Goddard, and his successor on the throne. The greatest difficulty is, Olave was above an hundred years younger than Anlaf, allowing computation to be right on both sides. Is not this (however) the firmest ground whereon the Manks Tripos can stand?

Whether the silver coins found at (17) Glandeloch, in the county of Wicklow, in the year 1639, be ancient Irish (or foreigners) is hard to determine; nor can I so probably discern the number of 1115 (or MCXV.) on the third of them, as my author fancied he could. The mintage was every where rude in that age; and these are of so near a resemblance to others found in most of the northern and western nations of Europe, that our conjectures upon them are very uncertain. Roderick, the last Irish king, who surrendered his crown and dominions to

(6) Typogr. Hib. Distinct. 3. cap. 10. (7) Antiq. cap. 25. (8) Tab. ad p. 53. fig. 6. (9) Hist. of G. Britain, p. 341. (10) Præf. in Vit. Ælfredi R. Tab. 5. n. 22. (11) Numism. Anglo-Sax. et Anglo-Dan. Tab. 3. (12) D. And. Fountain. Tab. 10. (13) Mon. Dan. lib. 5. p. 440. (14) Chron. Anglo-Sax. ad an. 938. (15) Hen. Huntingdon. lib. 5. R. Higden, lib. 6. &c. &c. (16) See W. Saceverel's Survey, p. 28. (17) Ware, Antiq. cap. 25.

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Henry the Second of England, died in the year 1198; and by his last will and testament, (says (1) Mr. Flaherty, out of an antient book of annals penned about that time) bequeathed a deal of gold and silver to all the churches of Ireland, as well as to those of Rome and Jerusalem. He does not say that this was in coined money; much less that it bore his own image and superscription. "It is true indeed, (says Archbishop (2) Usher) that King Henry the Second, to the end he might the more easily obtain the Pope's good-will for his entring upon Ireland, did voluntarily offer unto him the payment of a yearly pension of one penny out of every house in the country: which (for ought that I can learn) was the first ecclesiastical tribute that ever came into the Pope's coffers out of Ireland. But King Henry got nothing else by the bargain, but the bare office of collecting the Pope's Smoke-Silver; as we called it here when we paid it."

English. He says not, nor could he, that these pennies were minted in Ireland: for after the Irish came under the dominion of the English kings, the first coined money that we read of was in the year 1210, in the eleventh of King John; when (3) John de Grey, (Bishop of Norwich, and Lord Justice of Ireland) by command of his master King John, caused pence and farthings to be stamped, of the same weight and fineness with those of England; which had an equal currency in both kingdoms. On these was the king's head in a triangle, inscribed, (4) JOHANNES REX, and on the reverse, a crescent and bright planet with three lesser stars, or sterlings, in the three points of another triangle, with the mint-master's name, ROBERD. ON. DIVE. for Divelin. The Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Pembroke judiciously observed to me, that the triangle on the Irish coins of this king (as well as those of his son and grandson, Henry the Third and Edward the First) was intended to represent a Harp; which is more fully impressed on the coins of their successors. King John made the standard of Irish (5) money equal to the English at the same time that he published the laws of England, and required the execution of them in his new erected counties of this kingdom. Indeed, this king was the first that brought in sterling-money into the two kingdoms, which had its denomination from those (6) Easterlings, which he called, from Germany, to assist in the refining of his coin.

Hen. III. Henry the Third, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, caused a new (7) coin to be struck, and called in the old. This bears the king's head, in a three-cornered harp, as above, with this inscription, HENRICUS REX III. On the reverse, a cross, quartering the penny into four farthings, with RICHARD. ON. DIVE. In this very year, Pope (8) Innocent the Fourth called for his Irish subsidies for the Holy-Land: which perhaps caused this new coinage.

Edward I. In the year 1279, (9) Robert (it should be Stephen) de Fulborn, Bishop of Waterford, lord deputy, changed the coin, by command of Edward the First. This gives the king's face, in the same posture with those of the two former reigns; inscribed, EDW. R. ANGL. DNS. HIB. On the reverse a cross, as in his father's, with CIVITAS DUBLINIE. Sir John Davies is mistaken, when in his (10) Report of the Case of Mixed Monies, he saith, that in his reign there was but one mint in Ireland, and that was at Dublin; for the late Archbishop of York had a penny and a halfpenny of this king, that were coined at Waterford; and Sir James Ware had another that was coined at Pontana or Drogheda. In the year 1300, the money called Pollards and Crocards was prohibited both in England and Ireland, by Edward the First's proclamation. These were counterfeit pennies, worth no more, in real value, than (11) half sterlings. This prince, says (12) Mr. Thoresby, made considerable alterations in the money, being the first of our kings that fixed the standard of our coin; he was also the first that added Dominus Hiberniæ to his stile, which is never wanting in his coins, nor in those of his son Edward the Second, nor in the groats of Edward the Third, but was afterwards left out; nor is there any more mention of Ireland upon the English monies, till King Henry the Eighth put it into his stile as one of his kingdoms. This king also left out the sceptre, which appears no more upon the small monies till Henry the Eighth; nor upon the large, till Queen Elizabeth's crowns and half-crowns.

(1) Ogygia, p. 442. (2) Relig. of Antient Irish, p. 123. (3) Vid. Matt. Paris. ad an. 1210. et Holingshed, p. 174. (4) See Speed's Chron. p. 531. (5) Pref. to Davis's Reports, p. 1. et Fol. 21. a. b. (6) Cambd. Brit. N. E. col. 922. Vid. et. Somneri, Gloss. v. Sterlingus. (7) Rot. Claus. 36. Hen. 3. (8) Rymer, Tom. 1. p. 462. (9) Annal. Camd. Hibern. (10) Fol. 26. b. (11) R. Holingshed, p. 309. (12) Ducat. Leod. p. 352.

He also left off the mint-masters names upon the reverse, (to which I know but one exception, viz. N^o 172.) and in place thereof put *Ciuitas* or *Villa*, and the name of the place of coinage; of which I have London, Canterbury, York, Kingston, Durham, Newcastle, Berwick, Lincoln, Exeter, Bristol, St. Edmund's Bury, Dublin, Cork, and Waterford. He is also said to be the first that coined half-pennies and farthings, round; but the noble Earl of Pembroke shewed me one of Henry the Third. He was, I believe, the first who absolutely forbade the use of broken monies; for of old they had no other monies but pence, and if they would have a halfpenny or a farthing, they broke the penny into two or four parts. These round halfpennies and farthings continued till King James the First, who left off the coining of silver farthings. I was at a great loss how to distinguish the monies of King Edward the Second from this king's, not only because there is no number added to his name, but because the face, stile, weight, and reverse are alike in both: I had indeed observed some to have only EDW. others EDWA. or EDWARD: but could not upon any certain grounds appropriate them to either, till his Grace my Lord Archbishop of York was pleased to instruct me, that all the coins upon which only the three first letters of the name are put, viz. EDW. belong to the first Edward, which conjecture is supported by two strong arguments: 1. These are in much greater plenty than the other, five for one; and every one knows, that Edward the First coined abundantly more money than his son; and therefore, in reason, that must be his of which most is remaining, 2. Edward the First is famous for setting up four mints at Dublin, and coining a great deal of money there. Now in all these his name was put EDW. and never otherwise; a good argument that the coins of England, where the name is so writ, belong to him likewise.

Edward the Third came to the crown in the year 1326; and, in the tenth year of his reign, Edw. III. there was an (1) act of state for the coining of halfpence and farthings in Ireland, of such an alloy that the pound des Mailles should contain twenty-one shillings in tale; and as many ferlings as made twenty-one shillings and eleven-pence.

Henry the Fourth, in the year 1404, ordered the noble of his five immediate predecessors to Hen. IV. pass in Ireland for (2) ten shillings; and, from that time, all sorts of coin went at a higher value here than in England.

Henry the Sixth, in the twentieth year of his reign, A. D. 1446, passed an Act of Parliament Hen. VI. at (3) Trim, in the lieutenancy of the Earl of Shrewsbury, suppressing all clipped money, O'Rely's money, and other unlawful coins. Elsewhere (4) the Author says this act passed in the year 1447. In 1459, the mint was again opened in the castles of Dublin and Trim; where not only silver but brass (5) money was coined: of this latter metal several old pieces have been found, which shew that some of the ancient Irish (6) bishops had the privilege of coining such money.

Edward the Fourth, in the year 1462, (Thomas Earl of Desmond being deputy under the Edw. IV. Duke of Clarence) established several (7) mints for groats, two-pences, pence, half-pence, and farthings: and English money, in his time, first went here at a fourth more value than in England. And in the year 1467, liberty was given, by Act of Parliament, for the coining of money in the cities of Waterford and Limerick, and in the Towns of Tredagh, Gallway, and Carlingford; as well as in the castles of Dublin and Trim. In the year 1475, the fifteenth of this king's reign, the Bishop of Meath, Deputy to the Duke of Clarence, Lord Lieutenant, held a Parliament at Dublin; wherein the value of silver money was raised a third part: so that the groats of former reigns went now for sixpence, and lesser money in proportion. By the same law the mint was fixed at Dublin, Drogheda, and Waterford; and prohibited in other places. And, in the eighteenth year of the said king's reign, another law empowered the master of the mint to coin pieces of three-pence, two-pence, and a penny. Upon this money was the impression of three (8) crowns, representing the three kingdoms of England, France, and Ireland; and all of it was a third less in value than the English. We may hence learn, of what value and

(1) Ware, Antiq. cap. 25. (2) Sir J. Davis's Reports, Fol. 22. (3) Ware, Antiq. cap. 25. (4) Id. Annal. p. 74. (5) Rot. Parl. 39. Hen. 6. (6) F. Morison, Itin. Par. 1. p. 284. (7) Ware's Annal. p. 74. (8) Ware, Antiq. cap. 25.

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tribe that two-pence is, which Speed has assigned to Henry the Fourth. It is undoubtedly of that king's coin, though his name is not upon it: But it is one of his Irish coins; and not of his English, as Speed took it to be. "Whether any of this king's coin (says the late Archbishop of (1) York) have the head in a triangle I know not. The groats I am sure have not, but are like the English ones, save that they are of less weight, and have IBERNIE writ at length; the two-pences, I just now named, have not the king's head at all, but instead thereof the arms of France and England. Mr. Thoresby has a piece, which, by the weight, (twelve grains) he judges to be one of this king's pennies, that has the triangle like the old pieces; but I should rather think it is a half-penny of Edward the First's; for I have one of his that weighs ten grains: Or else a penny of the later times of Edward the Third's, for the weight is too much for one of Edward the Fourth's Irish pennies. But the shape of the letters will perhaps shew to which of the kings this piece, as also the two-pence, do belong. The groat I have of Edward the Fourth's, stamped at Waterford, weighs one penny weight and nine grains, which is somewhat less than three fourths of his English money. I have another piece of his, stamped at Dublin, which is not so broad as the groats of that time; but is of the bigness of one of Queen Elizabeth's groats: It weighs but nineteen grains. Why may not this be one of the three pences of this king?" The forementioned worthy gentleman, and my very good friend (Mr. Thoresby) has four more Irish coins of Edward the Fourth, which must not be omitted. The first of these is an Irish groat, whereon there is no mention at all of England, the inscription on the pile-side being, EDWARDUS, DEI GRA. DNS. HIBERNI. and on the reverse, *Posui Deum, &c.* CIVITAS DUBLINIE. Another, not differing from this, save only that it is coined in VILLA DE DROGEDA. The third has the king's stile as the two former; but on the reverse has no more than CIVITAS DUBLINIE. without the *Posui, &c.* and a large star or sun, which takes up the whole area. The fourth is his golden (2) ryal or royal, well described and figured by the late Mr. Evelyn; who nevertheless is mistaken in making it a current medal of Edward the Third; this is evident, as is well observed, from there being only three Flower-de-Lis in the arms

Rich. III. In the first year of Richard the Third (*A. D.* 1483.) an act passed at Dublin (3) for the breaking of all counterfeit money; which was afterwards confirmed by another law, of the sixth year of Henry the seventh (*A. D.* 1491) But that any other money, of a better and finer sort, was coined, in either of these reigns, appears not.

H. VIII. King Henry the Eighth, in the thirty-second year of his reign, coined new groats, two-pences, and pennies, with a harp on the reverse of each: Not to be exported into England, under the forfeiture of treble of the value, with fine and imprisonment. The next year following (1541.) the stile of King of Ireland was enacted and proclaimed at Dublin. In these two years there was a great alteration made in the king's Irish money: For, in the former, his stile ran HENRIC. VIII. D. G. R. AGL. Z. with an arched crown over the arms of France and England; and on the reverse, FRANCE. DOMINUS. HIBERNIE. about a crowned harp betwixt the letters *H.* and *R.* which are likewise crowned; whereas, in the latter, his title is, ANGLIE. FRANCIE. ET. HIBERNIE, REX. Both these in metal coarse enough.

Edw. VI. In the second year of Edward the Sixth's reign, Sir Edward Bellingham, (4) lord deputy, coined new money, by the king's command, in the castle of Dublin: And in the last of his reign (1552,) the groats of too base metal, were ordered to pass at two-pence. We are not told what superscription they bore; nor have I ever yet seen any of them. This I know, that in the (5) Harleian library there is an indenture made betwixt King Edward the Sixth and Martyn Pirri, August the ninth, *A. R.* 4. for four sorts of silver-money to be coined in Dublin. 1. Groat, worth four-pence, sterling. 2. Half-groat, or two-pence. 3. Penny. 4. Half-penny. So that a hundred forty-four groats weigh one pound troy. Two-pences, 288, &c.

Mary I. Queen Mary's Irish money was, 1. A very fair shilling before her marriage, with her head crowned, MARIA D. G. ANG. FRA. Z. HIBERNIE. REGINA. Reverse a crowned harp between *M.*

(1) MS. Notes on Irish Coins. (2) Evelyn's Numismans, p. 85. 86. (3) Ware, Antiq. Cap. 25. (4) Id. Annal. Hen. 7, &c. p. 118. (5) Cart. 57. H. 4.

and R. crowned, (4) VERITAS. TEMPORIS. FILIA. MDLIII. This weighs three penny weight and fifteen grains; and is of a very base alloy, 2. The other bears, PHILIP. Z. MARIA. D. G. rex & REGINA. By the crown over their heads is the year 1557. Reverse a crowned harp between P. and M. crowned also, *Posuimus Deum Adjutor. nostr.* This is of the same vile metal with the former. In her last year the rose-pennies of Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth, mixed with brass, were (by English proclamation) restrained to Ireland.

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Queen Elizabeth. In the beginning of her reign, the Irish are said to have had a mint of their own: But afterwards she ordered all their money to be transmitted to them from England. Their shillings were stamped with a harp, thence called harpers, and were worth no more than nine-pence, English. A little before her death, for the more ready vanquishing of the rebels in that kingdom, she paid her army in a base coin; which was commanded, by proclamation, to pass in all payments. Three parts of this were copper, and one silver; though the Goldsmiths valued a shilling at no more than two-pence, sterling. Of these were coined shillings, sixpences, and three-pences; (5) "stamped with her Highness's arms crowned, and Inscription of her usual Stile; and on the other, with the Harp crowned, &c. As also certain pieces of small money "of meer copper, of pence, half-pence, and farthings, for the use of the poorer sort, stamped on each side as the other." These are the very words of the proclamation (6); which takes notice of the silver in this coin being only three ounces fine. This alteration and taking away the allowance (of one shilling in the pound) for exchange, *bred a general grievance.* Mr. Thoresby (7) has published the Icon of one of this queen's brass coins; which near the arms has E. R. and the inscription, ELIZABETH. D. G. AN. FR. ET. HIB. REG. Reverse, a crowned harp, with *Posui*, &c. and the year 1601. By the date he was tempted to take it, at first, for a piece of this base money; but, the wash of silver being very slender, he seems afterwards to think it was only struck for a copper farthing. Upon the refusal of a considerable sum of this money tendered in payment of a bond, a great suit at law happened; which gave occasion to the forementioned excellent report of Sir John Davies, concerning the case of mixed money: But this new standard had its currency in Ireland only: All other coins being ordered to be brought into the treasury: "To the great Loss, says Sir James (8) Ware, of the soldiers, and enriching of the pay-masters." The last mentioned (9) worthy knight tells us, that in the beginning of this queen's reign, a sort of coin was stamped for Ireland, with her majesty's effigies on the face-side, and three harps on the reverse; which went for twelve-pence here; but only nine-pence in England. These I have not as yet seen; but can easily believe, what he soon (10) after acquaints us with, that the mixed money of England, being no longer current there, was brought hither in great quantities. The Bungalls, as called by the Irish, went for six-pence, and the broad-pieces for twelve-pence at first: But afterwards the former went only for two-pence, and the latter for a groat. This lasted not long. After they were refused elsewhere, they continued to pass in Connaught; the former at a penny, and the latter at two-pence.

Elizabeth

King James the First, finding the rebellion in Ireland wholly suppressed by (his renowned predecessor) Queen Elizabeth, called in her mixed money; and (in 1605.) sent over new silver-harpers of the same purity with their old ones. These carried the king's head crowned, and inscribed, JACOBUS. D. G. MAG. BRIT. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. and on the reverse, a harp, with HENRICVS. ROSAS. REGNA. JACOBUS. When he came to the crown, the Irish had, besides the late queen's adulterate coin, several species of money of a finer metal; which Sir George Carew, then treasurer of the army, collected and carried off, so as that very few could be had of that sort. These were, 1. Broad-faced groats, coined originally for four-pence, and now worth eight. 2. Cross-keele groats, stamped with a tripple crown; which were likewise coined for four-pence, but at better value at that time. These (says my (11) author) "Were either sent hither of old by the Popes;

James I.

(4) Thoresby, Ducat. Lond. p. 365. (5) F. Morison's Itin, Par. I. p. 283. (6) Pacat. Hibern. p. 146, 148, &c. et 387. (7) Ducat, Leod. p. 367. (8) Annals of Queen Elizabeth, p. 57. (9) Id. ibid. p. 5. (10) Ibid. p. 8. (11) F. Morison, Itin. par. I. p. 284.

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III.

"or, for the honour of them, had his stamp set upon them." 3. Dominus-groats, of the like fineness with the two former; so called, because they were coined by such English kings as stiled themselves only *Domini Hiberniæ*. 4. Rex-groats, of those who took the title of Kings of Ireland; which had such a mixture of copper, that their intrinsic value rarely exceeded two-pence. 5. White-groats; of so base a mixture, that nine of them were sometimes given for an English shilling. They had also brass-harpers, which were as big as a shilling; but went for no more than a penny: And farthings of the same metal, called *mulkins*.

Charles I. King Charles the First. Upon this king's heavy expences (A. D. 1642.) in maintaining his army for suppressing the popish Rebels, the loyal subjects of Ireland were encouraged, by an order of the council, to bring in their plate to be coined. This many did; and the first money, that was hereupon sent out of the mint, had no other stamp than the intrinsic value of the silver; as 1 *d.* 6 *gr.* current at 4 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ &c. Afterwards, all pieces from 1 *d.* to 5 *s.* with a crown add C. R. (12) and on the reverse with V. s. II. s. VI. *d.* &c. There is another Irish crown-piece of this king's without any inscription; which, upon one side, has a plain cross; on the other the letter V. s. Whether this was coined at the siege of Dublin, 1641, Mr. Thoresby, who has one of the pieces, cannot surely inform us: But it is certain that, soon after the beginning of the rebellion, there was some coined, of a different stamp from those that afterwards had C. R. under a crown. Of his obdional pieces, we have the shilling, six-pence, and groat, of Dublin; and the six-pence of Cork: All which may justly now be reckoned as medals. There is also a silver Irish medal, with a crowned king playing upon the harp, as King (13) David is represented; over which is the crown of England with this inscription, FLOREAT REX. On the reverse, St. Patrick, or some other mitred bishop, with a crozier in his hand inscribed QUIESCAT. PLEBS. These are still common in copper and brass; and being of different dimensions are current for half-pence and farthings. Both sizes have the figure of the king, with a radiated crown and harp: and the imperial crown of these kingdoms in a different metal, viz. (brass upon the copper and vice versa) with FLOREAT REX. The reverses are different: The larger having St. Patrick in his episcopal habit, with his crozier, preaching to the people ECCE. GREX. Behind him is a shield with IIII. and II. The lesser have a church behind the same tutelar saint; who is casting out of this island all venomous beasts with the Staff of Jesus, of which says my (14) friend, the native Irish tell many wonderful things.

Charles II. King Charles the Second coined no silver money (that I know of) for the sole use of the kingdom of Ireland. His half-pence and farthings, in copper and brass, with a harp on the reverse, were common and current; as his father's were before him, and his brother's still continue to be. The late learned (15) Mr. Evelyn has given us the draught of a small medal; which undoubtedly belongs to this reign, and Ireland. It gives the figure of St. Catharine at length, holding a sword point down in her left hand, a palm in the right, and standing by a broken wheel; inscribed PIETATE INSIGNIS. This is exactly what we have on the reverse of one of the several English medals struck on the coming of Queen Catharine of Portugal into England: But ours, which was probably minted on the same occasion, has on its reverse the portraiture of Fame; holding a branch of olive; inscribed PROVINCIA CONNAGH.

James II. King James the Second turned all the brass (1) guns of Ireland, and all the vessels of brass and copper that could be seized in the hands of Protestants, into money; which passed as silver, and at equal value with it, being so current by proclamation, the eighteenth day of June, in the year 1686. The workmen at the mint valued the metal at no more than three-pence or a groat a pound; but being now coined, one pound of it went at the value of five pounds sterling. The half-crown-piece (the largest now struck) bore the king's head in bust, inscribed JACOBUS II. DEI GRATIA, and on the reverse a crown laid on two scepters crosswise, inscribed, MAG. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. 1689; above the crown were XXX. denoting its value to be thirty

(12) Borlase, Reduct. &c. p. 234, 235. (13) Evelyn's Numism. p. 133. (14) Mr. Thoresby, Ducat. Leod. p. 378. n. 481. See also Cressey's Ch. Hist. p. 179, 180. (15) Numism. p. 132, 133. (1) See Mr. Thoresby's Account from Dublin. Ph. Transact. n. 297. and Abp. King's State of the Protest. § 11. p. 150, 151. &c.

pence, and on the exure, the month wherein the several pieces were coined; as Aug. Sept. Oct. PART III.
 The shillings and six-pences had all the said marks and inscriptions. At the same time there were pewter pennies coined with a speck of copper or brass in the middle, about the bigness of his own Irish halfpenny (before he left England) of the same metal; from which it hardly differed in any thing, save that, on the head side, its value was thus ascertained, 1d. In the beginning of the next year, another proclamation called in the half-crowns; which being new stamped, were ordered to pass for crowns: So that now three penny-worth of metal would make ten pounds sterling. These pieces carried the king on horse-back, circumscribed. IAC. II. DEI. GRA. MAG. BRI. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. On the reverse a crown imperial, guarded with the four royal scutcheons (cross-wise and crowned) of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, interwoven with ANNO DOM. 1690, and inscribed, CHRISTO. VICTORE TRIUMPHO. Just before the battle at the Boyne, the copper and brass money failing, the last mentioned stamps and inscriptions were put upon pieces of pewter; which were intended to be sent abroad at the said currency of a crown, and a proclamation was ready for that purpose: But King William came sooner to Dublin than was expected, and thereupon that project was dropped. I have one of these pewter crowns given me by (my often-mentioned and never-to-be-forgotten friend) Mr. Thoresby of Leeds, every way like the copper ones; but having about its edge (or tranchee) this inscription, to prevent belike its being clipped, MELIORIS. TESSERA. FATI. ANNO. REGNI. SEXTO. The rarity of these may be an occasion of their being now treasured up as medals; since we have not yet heard of above an hundred and fifty of them being found after King James's withdrawing himself out of this kingdom: And even those were a surprize to the gentleman who stumbled upon them. Whereas in twelve months time, there was no less than 965,375*l.* coined in the other base metals; the Popish soldiers being paid their subsistence, and the Protestant creditors obliged to receive their debts, in that wretched sort of money: So that these, as was reasonably computed, lost about 60,000*l.* per month by this cruel stratagem. After King James left Ireland, there was in the year following, viz. 1691, another sort of brass money coined at Limerick, which, from the picture and inscription upon them, were commonly called Hibernia's; each of these is as large as his first brass shillings, having on one side the king's head, with IACOBUS. DEI. GRATIA. on the other side the figure of a woman sitting, leaning with her left-arm upon a harp, and in her right-hand holding up a cross. In the circumference is Hibernia 1691.

King William and Queen Mary coined only halfpence and farthings, (of copper, brass, and pewter) after the example of two of their immediate predecessors: And, after the queen's death, the king himself did the like. In his reign there were frequent occasions given for the striking of medals, in order to preserve lively representations of his glorious successes to all future times. Amongst those that more immediately relate to Ireland, are, I. His majesty's triumphant passing of the Boyne on the first of July, 1690, which afforded us the king in bust with the following inscription, GULIELMVS. III. D. G. MAG. BRIT. FRAN. ET. HIB. REX. And on the reverse the same royal person, in a general's posture, crossing the river on horse-back, King James flying (as one in a fright) with extended arms, and followed by Count de Laufun with his broken troops; and a little lower the renowned Duke of Schomberg and Dr. Walker (late Governor of London-Derry) lying dead on the opposite banks of the river: Over all which is this legend, APPARUIT. ET. DISSIPAVIT. and on the exurge, LIBERATA. HIBERNIA. II. The next year we had a fresh occasion of rejoicing in the month of July, and of setting before the world the great advantages of the battle of Aghrim; which was done by a representation of King William in bust, and a crown of laurel inscribed, as the former, with his majesty's usual titles. On the reverse, a lion trampling on a leopard, and, with one of his paws, wounding a cock flying from him with an open bill and extended wings, inscribed, SIC. VNO. FERIT. VNGVE. DVOS. and on the exurge, IACOBO. ET. LVDOVICO. HIBERNIA. PVLSIS. III. On the final surrendry of the city of Limerick, (and with it, of the whole kingdom of Ireland) in October following, we had the king in bust, &c. as in the two former; and on the reverse, Hercules, with his club held over sprawling Ireland,

Will. &
Mary.

PART III. Ireland, and France (with a flower-de-lis on her target) making the best of her way out of the field: The inscription, PLURES. IMPARES. VNI. and on the exurge, HIBERNIS. SUBIECTIS. GALLIS. FVGATIS. This device had certainly an eye to the like, formed some time before, by the French king; whereon were UNUS. CONTRA. OMNES. and NEC. PLURIBUS. IMPAR.

Q. Anne. Queen Anne coined no sort of money for Ireland. The many grand atchievements of her victorious general the Duke of Marlborough, merited and had the glory of being recorded in durable metal and marble. And Ireland has its share in the honours done, to every member of the empire of Great-Britain, by that brave commander; though the medals are not so particularly appropriated to this kingdom as to come under our present consideration.

George. His present Majesty King George will, we trust, close our cabinet of medals with a finishing piece on the yet stricter union of Great-Britain and Ireland: A blessing which seems to have been long laid up in store for the illustrious and now royal house of Hanover.

T H E A P P E N D I X.

N U M B. I.

An Alphabetical Account of several antient Irish Historians, Annals, &c. mentioned and referred to by Dr. Keating; which are either barely named, or wholly omitted, in the foregoing Chapters.

ANTIQUARIES. The great and learned monarch of Ireland, above seven hundred Antiqua-
ries. years before our Saviour's incarnation, Ollamh Fodhla, first undertook to transmit to posterity, in a very correct history, the several travels, voyages, adventures, wars, and other memorable transactions, of all his royal ancestors, from Feniufa Farfa, the King of Scythia, to his own times: and, in order to purge and digest the records of his kingdom, he summoned his principal nobility, his druids, the poets and historiographers, to meet him in full assembly at Tara once in every three years.—In this assembly, the antient records and chronicles of the island, were perused and examined, and if any falsehoods were detected, they were instantly erased, that posterity might not be imposed on by false history: and the author, who had the insolence to abuse the world by his relation, either by perverting matters of fact, and representing them in improper colours; or by fancies or inventions of his own, was solemnly degraded from the honour of sitting in that assembly, and was dismissed with a mark of infamy upon him. His works were destroyed, as unworthy of credit; and were not to be admitted into the archives, or received among the records of the kingdom. Par. I. p. 67.—In the interval between every session of this triennial parliament, not only the profest antiquaries, but the gentry and persons of abilities in all professions and capacities, did with all diligence and fidelity collect what was worthy to be observed in their several districts and provinces; and laid their remarks before the next assembly to be examined; and, if they were approved, to be transcribed in the royal records, for the benefit and information of their descendants.—There were above two hundred principal annalists and historians in this kingdom; who had a handsome revenue and large estate in land assigned them, to support themselves in the study of heraldry and chronology, and to gain a perfect knowledge in those useful professions. Ibid. p. 69. During the reign of Tuathal Teachtmair, towards the latter end of the first Christian century, it was enacted, that all the annals, histories and other public chronicles of the kingdom, should be examined and revised; and the same method should be used in fixing their authority, as was ordained by the triennial parliament of that illustrious monarch Ollamh Fodhla: for great corruptions had been introduced from the murder of Fiachadh Fionoluidh, under the usurpation of the plebeians, and those conventions had been discontinued till the restoration of Tuathal. Ibid. p. 110.—The office of the antiquary was to preserve the genealogies of the kings of Ireland, to correct the regal tables of succession, and to deliver down the pedigrees of every collateral branch of the royal family. Ibid. p. 139.—In the reign of King Laogaire, which began A. D. 427. a committee of three kings, three bishops, whereof St. Patrick himself was one, and three antiquaries, were appointed to examine the genealogies of the principal families and antient records of this kingdom; and, having purged them of all spurious relations, to deposit them in the archives of the island as a venerable and authentic collection. This body
K of

of records was called the Great Antiquity; and its veracity was to be relied on, and never to be questioned by future generations. Transcripts of this are the books of Ardmach, the Psalter of Cashel, &c. Par. II. p. 9.

Antique
Irish Ma-
nuscripts.

Books of the like kind with these, are: 1. Cion Droma Sneachta. The old White Book, so called, gives an account of the landing here of three daughters of Cain; and says, that from the eldest of these the whole island was first called Banba. Par. I. p. 10.—This choice volume was written before St. Patrick first arrived in Ireland. Ibid. p. 29. 2. Cluain Mac Naois. This with that of Ardmagh, &c. newly mentioned, was one of the authentic copies of the Great Antiquity. Par. II. p. 9. 3. Etymologies. The author is an antient writer; but I much question his fidelity, and every one is left to judge for himself. Par. I. p. 76. 4. Glean de Loch. This antient and valuable record asserts, that the assembly of Dromceat, wherein St. Columb-Cill was present, sat constantly, with prorogation, for the space of a whole year and one month; where most excellent laws were established, for correcting abuses in the state. Par. II. p. 32. 5. Hoath. Called the annals, or Black Book, of Hoath. Par. I. p. 70. 6. Huaidh-chongabhala. Of the same authority with the Psalter of Cashel. Par. II. p. 9. 7. Invasions. This is a record upon whose authority we may depend. Par. I. p. 29. It is otherwise called the Book of Conquests. Ibid. p. 47. 8. Jobhuir Chiaran. So called because it was written by St. Chiaran. Par. II. p. 28. 9. Leath Cuin. A history very antient, and of great authority. Par. II. p. 7. 10. Mac Eogan. That valuable record, called Leabha. Ruadh, or the Red Book of, Mac Eogan, is a book of the annals of Ireland, written about three hundred years ago. It is sometimes cited by the name of Leabhar Breac, or the Speckled Book, and is a chronicle of *undisputed* authority. Par. II. p. 7. 36, 117. 11. The Black Book of Molaga, of the same nature and authority with the Psalter of Cashel. This chronicle relates, that there was a copy of the New Testament transcribed from the book of Fiontan, which was claimed by no proprietor; and therefore Fiontan insisted that the copy was his, as being written from the original which was in his hands. St. Collum-Cill was of another opinion; and claimed it for himself. King Diarmud gave sentence in favour of Fiontan: which was so resented by the saint that he incensed the northern Clanna Neill against him; who obtained a complete victory over him and his allies of Conacht. Par. II. p. 9. 29. 12. Moling. Another transcript of the Great Antiquity. Par. II. p. 9. 13. Oiris. A manuscript, still extant, of great antiquity. Par. II. p. 14.

Boireimhe
Laighen.

Boireimhe Laighen, or, the tribute of Leinster. This is an old history of the famous tax, of six-thousand cows, as many ounces of silver, &c. duly paid, every second year, by the inhabitants of the province of Leinster, during the reigns of forty monarchs of Ireland, Par. I. p. 110.

Cambren-
sis.

Cambrensis Girald. This author deserves no manner of regard or credit to be given him; and his chronicle is the most partial representation of the Irish history that ever was imposed on any nation in the world. He has endeavoured to make the venerable antiquities of the island a meer fable; and given occasion to the historians that came after him to abuse the world, with the same fictitious relations. Par. I. p. 13.

Caoilte, Mac Ronain. V. Ruanus.

Chronicle
of Saints.

Chronicle of the Saints. This book expressly asserts, that St. Collum-Kill was the son of Feidhlin; who was great grandson to King Nial of the nine Hostages. Par. II. p. 34.

Cogadh
Gall.

Cogadh, Gall ra Gaoidhealuibh. Or, an account of the wars with the Gauls against the Irish. It is a valuable record, wherein are recited the particular exploits and invasions of the Danes and Norwegians, when they attempted to make a conquest of this country. Par. II. p. 50.

Columkil.

Columkil. The Amhra or Vision of this saint is a poem of good authority; though its testimony may perhaps be questioned in some particulars. It relates his most memorable acts. Par. II. p. 33.—It was penned by Dallan Forguill a poet, soon after his decease. Ibid. p. 35.

Cormac
King.

Cormac Mac Cuillenan. The king and bishop of Munster, being a prince of great learning and an accomplished statesman, wrote an admirable treatise, called Advice to Kings, for the use of

of his son Cairbre Liffeachair; which was penned in his thatched house at Anachvil in Ceananus, near Tara, where, he after quitted the throne and turned Christian, he spent the latter part of his life in a contented privacy. Par. I. p. 141. Some of his historical poems are to be found in the Psalter of Cashel. Ibid. p. 148. and Par. II. p. 23, 24, 65, 66, 67.

Creagh. The learned Rich. Creagh, Primate of Ireland, hath this remark: *Gallica locutio* [i. e. The Irish tongue, called Gaoidhalg from Gaoidhal the grammarian who taught it in Scythia, before Nemedius came into Ireland] *est in usu in Hibernia, ab adventu Nemedi anno 630, à diluvio in hunc usque diem.* Par. I. p. 45. Creagh.

The Irish tongue is obscure and difficult to be understood; and the natives of Ireland, who spake it properly enough, can hardly attain the knowledge of its characters, especially to read, and perfectly to come acquainted with the antient records: which ought to discourage a foreigner from writing about the origin of the Irish nation, and likewise to render a faithful translation of Irish manuscripts the more valuable in the opinion of every one, who bears any regard to the genuine antiquities of that kingdom. Par. I. p. 32. Irish Language.

Mac Carty, Florence. He is a reputable author; and has delivered down the transactions of Ireland for many ages. Par. II. p. 80. Mac Carty.

St. Patrick. There is an old manuscript in vellum, exceeding curious, entitled, The Life of St. Patrick; which treats likewise of the lives of Muchuda, Albain, and other saints, and particularly mentions that St. Patrick himself was of a Welsh extraction. And I have read in an antient Irish manuscript, whose authority I cannot dispute, that St. Patrick and his two sisters were brought captive into Ireland, from Armorica or Britany, in the kingdom of France. Par. I. p. 155, 156.—We are informed by a manuscript chronicle of antiquity, that sixty-four persons have severally written the life of this reverend missionary. Par. II. p. 8. St. Patrick

Psalter of, I. Tara. That the annals, genealogies, and chronicles, of the kingdom might be preserved incorrupt, without falsehood or interpolations, it was established by law, that the most important transactions should be transcribed once in every three years into the Royal Psalter of Tara; after they had been examined, and received a sanction from the approbation of the great assembly already mentioned. Par. II. p. 10. This is one of the most authentic records, Par. I. p. 57.—2. Cashel. We are informed by Charles Mac Cuillenan, in his Psalter of Cashel, that the Welsh in Britain descended originally from Briotan Maol, &c. Par. I. p. 20. A most valuable record. Ibid. p. 47.—The faithful Cormac Mac Cuilleán, in his Psalter of Cashel, &c. Ibid. p. 50.—The Psalter of Cashel likewise, and others of the most antient and authentick chronicles of Ireland take notice, &c. Ibid. p. 132. 3. Na Rann—This account we receive from an antient poet in the following verses, to be found in the Psalter Na Rann. Ibid. p. 37. Psalters.

Poets. The office of the Poet, in the necessary retinue of the kings of Ireland, was to transmit to posterity the heroic and memorable actions of famous men, of whatsoever quality they were; to compose satyrs upon debauchery and vice; and to lash the immorality of courtiers and inferior persons, without partiality or affection. Par. I. p. 139.—The principal occasion of the meeting of the parliament at Dromceat, summoned by King Aodh, or Hugh, about the middle of the sixth century, was to concert proper measures for the expelling and banishing that numerous body of men, who were called Poets, out of the island. These professors were become very chargeable to the inhabitants; and, being of a covetous disposition, where a grievance insupportable to the people. Upon the account of the privileges and immunities enjoyed by the versifiers, from the indulgence of former king's, a third part of the whole kingdom passed under the notion of Poets, and professed themselves regular members of that society: for it was a plausible excuse to idleness and ease; it being ordained by law that they should be supported by other mens labours, and billeted upon the people throughout the island from All-Hallow-Tide till May. This grievance being represented to the king, he resolved to reduce their number: For St. Columkil, being present in this convention, advised that the college of Poets should be reformed, but not suppressed. Par. II. p. 25, 26, 31.—Among these our historian cites by name, 1. Bearchan, an antient prophet; who foretold the arrival of the Norwegians, and their conquest of the island. Par. II. p. 55. 2. Cairbre Mufe, a learned gentleman. Poets.

man of the line of Herimon, presented an ingenious poem to Oiloll Ollum, King of Munster, wherein he celebrated the valour, magnificence, and grandure, of his royal patron; who so graciously accepted the performance, that, as a reward, he bestowed upon him the two Urmhumhain, or Ormonds, called from him Muscruide. Par. I. p. 58. 3. Comhda, and Conall, about the middle of the seventh century, had an excellent genius for poetry; and were the laureats of that age. Par. II. p. 41. 4. Dallan. The sharp rencounters betwixt the kings of Munster and Leinster, towards the latter end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth centuries, stand upon record in a very antient treatise of Cluain Aidhnach Fiontan in Leix; where the particulars of the battle of Bellach Mugna are related at large. It is a poetical composition of a learned person called Dallan; who was retained as principal historiographer to Clearbhal King of Leinster. Par. II. p. 72. 5. O'Dugan. The particulars of the many good services of the clan of Dailgais, to the kings of Munster, in the forementioned disputes, are recorded in a poem, composed by O Dugan. Par. II. p. 65. 6. Ecochaidh Eigeas, was chief Poet of the kingdom, in the reign of King Hugh, about the middle of the sixth century; and is sometimes called Dallan Forgaill. This governor of the society, had authority to examine into the qualifications and abilities of novices and candidates; and, upon admission, he sent them into the several provinces of the island. Particularly, he recommended Hugh Eigeas to Crioch Brearg; and Meath Urmaol he constituted chief Poet in the two provinces of Munster, Seanchan in Connacht, and Furb in Ulster. He likewise settled a poet of good learning and ingenuity in the family of every lord throughout the whole kingdom. Par. II. p. 31. 7. Eochaidh O'Flin, an Antiquary and Poet of great note amongst the Irish, wrote and sung of their adventures in the most early times; as of the misfortunes that befell the Milesians at sea, the division of the kingdom by the four sons of Partholanus, &c. Par. I. p. 17, 54. 8. Flanagan, whose authority is indisputable, described the many great battles betwixt the kings of Munster and Ulster in the third century. Par. I. p. 122. 9. Giolla Caomhan, a celebrated poet, gives an account of the first arrival of the Milesians in Egypt; as also of their expulsion thence. Par. I. p. 38, 42. 10. Maolruthain, an old poet, gives a particular account of the agreement of King Hugh with St. Columbkil. Par. II. p. 31. 11. Tanuidhe O'Maol Conaire, a famous Antiquary and Poet; to whom we are indebted for the best account of the Firbolgian race. Par. I. p. 23, 60. 12. Torne Eigis, a learned and eminent Poet, writes of the interment of a great many of our antient kings in their royal dormitory at Rollic na Roigh, near Cruachan, in the province of Connaught. Par. I. p. 142. 13. Torna O'Mac Cionaire, one of the most principal Poets and Antiquaries of the island, takes notice of the early commerce and friendly intercourse which our provincial kings had with the neighbouring princes. Par. I. p. 82.

Roman-
tick Tales. Romantick Tales. Volumes would not contain all the military exploits of the Irish heroes: but whosoever desires to be acquainted with those illustrious events, may, if he understands the antient language of the country, have recourse to manuscripts that are now preserved in the kingdom of Ireland, and whose authority was never yet questioned. They are easy of access to the curious; and the antiquaries are glad of the opportunity of communicating them. The books, that treat of the actions of those heroes, are these: Bristioch Muigh Muiotheimhne, Oideah na geur ruidhe, Tain Bo Cuailgne, Tain Bo Seagham haine Deargruathar Chonuill Chearnuig, Feis Bamhna, Tain Bo Fleidhis. Par. I. p. 99. [These, I am well informed, are of the same kind with the English histories of Guy of Warwick, Bevis of Southampton, Robin Hood, &c.]

Ruanus. Ruanus. As for those who say that Fiontan was drowned in the flood, and afterwards came to life, and lived long enough to publish the Ante-diluvian History of the island, what can they propose but to amuse the ignorant, and raise a jealousy that no manner of credit is to be given to the true and authentic chronicles of this kingdom?—I must own there is a very good reason for me to believe that there was a very old man in the time of St. Patrick, who lived some hundred of years before; and gave him a particular account of the history of the island: not only relating to some of the most remarkable transactions of his own time; but he delivered down the

the traditions he had received from his ancestors that concerned the antiquities of the kingdom. But the name of this person was Tuam, the son of Carril, if we believe some antiquaries; or if we give credit to others, Roanus (that is) Caoilte Mac Ronain: Who was above three hundred years old, and informed St. Patrick of the observations he had made (through the course of a long life) relating to the affairs of his own country. This Caiolte was certainly the man that was afterwards called Roanus or Ronanus: For there is not an old record or manuscript of any authority, in this kingdom, which makes mention of Fiontan by those names; and therefore Giraldus Cambrensis could have no foundation, but his own fancy, for calling Fiontan by the name Roanus or Ronanus. Par. I. p. 12, 13.

Sanders, Nic. There is an author, one Sanders, whose legendary writings have ever been rejected by the lovers of truth, that has the confidence to assert, in his first book of the English wars, that, as soon as the Irish had received the Christian faith, they submitted themselves, their consciences and estates, to the management and direction of the Bishop of Rome; and that they acknowledged no other sovereign prince of that kingdom, but the Roman Pontiff, from the first establishment of Christianity in the island, till it fell into the hands of the English under Henry the Second.——But we have been too long in refuting the falsehood of Sanders, an author of no credit; though it was proper to remove this objection, before we proceeded farther in the course of this history. Par. II. p. 1.

Usher, Ja. Archbishop Usher, that prodigy of learning and industry. Par. II. p. 101.

Usher.

N. B. In this part of the APPENDIX the Dublin EDITION of Keating's History is cited; whereas that of London is made use of in the foregoing CHAPTERS.

N U M B. II.

A Translation of the *Irish* Preface to Mr. *Lbuid's Irish* Dictionary.

To the Gentlemen, and other learned Persons of the Irish Nation, whether Irish, Scots, or other Foreigners, Long Health and Happiness.

IT is but reasonable (generous gentlemen) that I here make an apology for undertaking to write and publish a dictionary in a different language from my native tongue; and which I did not learn by ear from any person whose native language it was.

For though, it is true, I travelled through Ireland, and the north-west of the Highlands of Scotland, partly to make remarks on the natural curiosities, and partly to view the old monuments of those nations; yet frequently meeting and conversing with those who spoke English, I learned but very little Irish in that progress: and therefore it is from books, for the most part, that I have acquired the little knowledge I have in that language. Now, the motive that first engaged me in the study of Irish, was this:

Some Welsh and English gentlemen laid their commands on me, to write something beyond what has hitherto been published concerning the original antiquity of the British nation; and in regard the old and ancient languages are the keys that open the way to the knowledge of antiquity, I found it the more necessary to make myself as much master as was possible of all the old obsolete words of my own native language. For it was generally owned, and taken for granted, (whether true or false) that the British was the first and most antient language in Great Britain.

As soon as I had made, by the help of a certain parchment-manuscript, a tolerable progress in the old British language, I found my knowledge therein not only imperfect and defective, as to the meaning and signification of the old names of persons and places, but also that there were many more words in the old statutes, histories, and poems, whose significations still remained to me very dubious and obscure; notwithstanding the great benefit and advantage we have from the Welsh and Latin dictionary, compiled by the very learned and ingenious Dr. J. Davies, and printed at London in the year 1632.

This

This difficulty naturally led me to conjecture, that a little skill in the old Irish words would be very useful to me in explaining those antient British words; and therefore I applied myself to read the Irish Bible, and the Chronological History of Ireland, written by the learned antiquary, Dr. J. Keating, with a few other modern books that occasionally fell into my hands; and being persuaded, that making a collection of the words, would very much assist my memory; I therefore at first made a dictionary for my own particular use, which afterwards swelled to the bulk you now see it in the following impression.

I am very sensible that this is a work not only imperfect and defective, but also in some places erroneous; and that a native of Ireland or Scotland might perform it with less labour, and more accuracy and judgment: however, thus much I venture to affirm, in behalf of this first essay, that it is more copious than the first impression (usually) of a dictionary of any language now generally spoken throughout Europe. Rome, as they say, was not built in a day; it is not the work of any one man, nor indeed the product of an age, to write a complete dictionary of any language whatever: and as for what is amiss here, I can say no more of it, but humbly submit it to the judgment and correction of the gentle and judicious reader. Had there been before this an Irish dictionary published, by any native of Ireland or Scotland, it would have been now very useful to me, and also to others before my time; but, as it has always been usual upon the like occasions, I have hopes that even this incomplete performance will be kindly received, and taken in good part: because an half-formed imperfect dictionary is preferable to no dictionary, and that, according to the common proverb, "it is better late than never." I made diligent enquiry (as many Irish and Scottish gentlemen, who are now living in this kingdom of England, do well know) for a person well versed and learned in Irish manuscripts, to correct and amend this dictionary, before it went to the press; but as it was very difficult to find such a person, (which I have not hitherto met with) by whom these sheets might be corrected; I could do no better than to send three printed copies of this dictionary to Ireland, and three more to Scotland, with letters to my acquaintance in each kingdom, to correct and enlarge this work: two only of my friends returned answers, one from Ireland, and the other from Scotland; whose corrections and amendments are printed by way of supplement or appendix at the end of this work, and distinguished sometimes with the letters Ir. and Sc. for Ireland and Scotland, by reason I was not at liberty to mention the gentlemen's names without their own approbation. The words which they found erroneously or imperfectly interpreted, are marked thus, . . ; and, if you please, to fix the like mark to the same words in the dictionary, it will not be amiss; and a direction to you, which ought not to be forgotten, that such a word was not justly interpreted. It is yet necessary to enlarge farther concerning this dictionary, in the following manner:

' I. As concerning those words that are not distinguished with a letter, or any other mark, I collected them, for the most part, out of divers Irish books; but more particularly from the Old Testament translated into Irish by the friar — King, at the desire and expence of Dr. William Bedle, Bishop of Killmore; and from Dr. William O'Donnel, Archbishop of Tuam, his translation of the New Testament.

' I know very well I have often inserted unnecessary examples and quotations; but I first collected them, when I was a young beginner, to assist my memory, and to acquire thereby more knowledge and satisfaction in many words that were dubious, and whose signification I could not well remember: and afterwards I printed them for the benefit of the English reader, and other foreigners; because I was conscious my single authority was of no great weight, being I was only a foreigner myself. Another motive I had for printing was to abridge sometimes names and words; which, though perhaps unnecessary to you, might nevertheless be convenient for foreigners, who have a desire to learn the language.

' II. Every word that is marked with the letter K. (besides many other words that are not marked at all) is taken out of Dr. J. Keating's History of Ireland. I omitted translating into English the Historical Examples of this author, by reason the knowledge of them was no way useful, or of any advantage to strangers; and therefore it was an unnecessary charge to print them. As for the years in the chronological part, wherein he and the learned and ingenious

gentleman, Roger O'Flaherty, disagree; every judicious reader must know, that this dictionary is neither a judge of, nor a searcher into, the chronicles of Ireland: however, I thought it more expedient to refer the reader to the year mentioned in Keating's Chronology, believing that to be a better method than to depend on directing him to the page, because the book was never printed; and therefore it is almost impossible that a manuscript should be transcribed so exactly, and with so just an agreement in the pages, as would be necessary in referring the reader to them. The few historical remembrances you have here and there intermixed, are mentioned by way of amusement to those who are curious in the Irish and Scottish antiquities. But as touching what relates to the stories of (1) Tuathaibh Fiodhgha, and such like of the same nature, they are published for the sake of those that study antiquity, to give them to understand, that every traditional story that is handed down from age to age to this time, is not to be looked upon as true and authentic; however ingenious and perhaps learned the author in his own time, or those that transcribed after him, might justly be esteemed. There are some fables indeed, and romantic stories in the first histories of all nations, but notwithstanding that, we may give credit to relations that are probably true, however old they be, and of long standing; but we are not under any necessity to take for granted that which is in its own nature very improbable and unlikely: and therefore in these two last centuries, all learned nations have expunged, out of their true and genuine histories, all those fabulous relations, that were apt to bring the truth of the whole in question; but I must not digress too far from the work in hand.

III. As for those words that are marked thus †, they are more obsolete and unintelligible, being partly borrowed in antient times from the Latin or Greek, or some other languages; and partly original Irish words now grown obsolete, or preserved only in some particular places, and disused and unintelligible in most others. At first I began to transcribe them out of an old manuscript; but afterwards, meeting with a larger book, printed at Lovain, by Michael O'Clery, a friar, under the title of Seanasan Nuadh, (or a Glossary of old difficult Words) wherein was a collection of all such obsolete words: I inserted that book intirely into mine, distinguishing those words with the mark I have already mentioned, which the printers commonly call a dagger. My design at first was, as may appear in the three first leaves, to give, for the most part, the English interpretation only of those words; in order thereby to save the expence of printing the Irish explanation; but afterwards, when I found I was not able to carry my design through the whole work in the manner I proposed, and that the whole impression of Clery's Glossary was almost out; and also, that the very examples, which ought to be preserved, were grown obsolete; I was of opinion, that to print both the Irish and English interpretation of many words, would be useful and acceptable to the learners of the old Irish: I endeavoured likewise, with my utmost care, to print the words correctly and alphabetically; whereas Michael O'Clery did but transcribe as he found them immethodically collected in old manuscripts, wherein the interpretations and examples are so obsolete, that a man would require to be very well acquainted with the old Irish to understand them perfectly; and there are likewise some intirely lost, and others so old as to be forgotten and grown quite out of use.

IV. The words that are distinguished with the letters Pl. and sometimes with P. only, are taken out of the Latin-Irish dictionary, compiled by the ingenious and industrious friar, Mr. Richard Plunket, and by him finished at Trim in Ireland, in the year 1662. The reader may see a farther account of him in the English preface. Now, in regard I employed a friend to assist me sometimes in transcribing out of his book, that has occasioned in a few particular places some mistakes, being led into them by homonymous Latin words: as an instance of this, I found the word *fobhthonnán* in the transcript of the Latin word *glis*; and, because I knew that *patheu*, *fatheu*, and *fatheuin*, in the Welsh, signified a *dormouse*, and considering likewise that there is a considerable number of obsolete words in the Irish, I concluded that *fobh-*

(1) Tuathaibh Fiodhgha, according to Dr. Keating, were some British gentlemen, so called, that used poisoned arms in Ireland in the time of Herimon, whose wounds were reckoned incurable. K. A. M. 2737.

thonnán

‘ *ibonnan* and *seascarluch* signified the same thing, to wit, a *dormouse*; whereas, the author, by the word *fobhtbonnan* intended a thistle only, the word *glifs* (gen. *gliffis*) being used in that sense by the Roman natural historian (if we rightly understand him) C. Plinius. I have hopes, however, that the mistakes of this kind are not many, and they stand corrected amongst other errors in the Supplement at the end of this work: but, if any doubts of the like nature arise to the reader, he may probably satisfy himself with looking over the Latin Celtic vocabulary in the second title of this first volume; wherein the Irish (besides the words distinguished with the letter N.) is entirely copied with mine own hand, out of the hand-writing (as I take it) of the said Mr. Richard Plunket. I hope my reader will excuse me for using, in that vocabulary, and in the comparative etymology in the first title, the orthography of the general alphabet in Irish words; when he considers the characters I make use of there, are more intelligible to strangers, and no way injurious or disagreeable to the natives of the kingdom. There are a great many in the queen’s dominions, and likewise amongst learned foreigners throughout Europe, who have had a great desire to compare the Irish and other languages together; and in order to promote that, the reader may observe the general alphabet in the second page of the first leaf, which is much easier and sooner learned than a strange alphabet. What I first proposed to do, was, (as may be seen in the title of the comparative vocabulary) to set down such Irish words, as best agreed with some dialect of the Welsh: but after I sent this work to the press, I considered (upon second thoughts) that the more copious it was, the more useful and acceptable; and therefore I improved it, as you see, to a little vocabulary.’

As for the abbreviations in this following dictionary, I need not treat of them here, because they are set apart by themselves, together with the other abbreviations at the end of this work. My reason for putting the verbs in the first person of the singular number, and in the present tense of the indicative mood, is not only for its being the most regular method that can be constantly observed, but because it was the method I saw used in an old manuscript vocabulary, and what was formerly practised in our own language, as may be seen in the manuscript of Eutex; which I made mention of in the Cornish grammar. (1) I usually, however, put the English in the infinitive mood, to agree with the method of explaining the Latin in an English, French, or Spanish dictionary; and therefore, if this be an error, I do not take it to be a material one: But as touching other mistakes in this dictionary; of which I partly had some doubts myself, and therein agreed with my friends to whom I shewed the printed copies, I will make particular mention of them here, because such a *memento* may be useful to the curious reader.

1. And first, the letter *b*, (especially in the words distinguished thus †) is often omitted: As for example, *Sgiophtaidb*, active for *Sgiophtaidh*: *Coblach* (at the word † *Tascor*) for *Cobhlach*, a navy, &c. But if such mistakes in the orthography do not happen here and there in some particular words, I never omit the *b*. Neither did O’Clery omit it in the book which he wrote. He transcribed them all entirely out of old parchment manuscripts: And, in antient times, *b* was not used as an auxiliary to any of the letters which are varied, but only *c* and *t*: It is true, there are points over very old characters, but they were not all marked or pointed so, particularly *b* and *m*; these were left to the judgment of the reader when to pronounce them without the auxiliary point, and when to read them as *bb* and *mb*.
2. The same letter is sometimes unnecessarily inserted; as in the word, *Do shluighb* for *Do shluig*, he swallowed, from the verb *Sluigim*, to swallow; *Fuighim* for *Fuigi*. I leave.
3. A double consonant is put for a single one; and a single consonant for a double one; as in the word, *Treann* for *Trean*, powerful; and *Bin* for *Binn*, sweet or musical.
4. The words that ought to begin with a vowel, are sometimes placed wrong after the letters *d* or *t*, as in the word, *Toireaak* for *Oireadb*, a ploughman, &c.
5. I find there are some words, in the Irish copies transcribed by O’Clery out of an old parchment vocabulary, and some words I transcribed myself, out of O’Clery’s book, which are misplaced and put out of their due order, some of them by O’Clery’s printer, (for I marked and corrected some of them myself, though others escaped my notice) and some by my own printer, insomuch that they sometimes make, as it

(1) P. 226. Col. 1. This Book is of about a thousand years standing.

often happens in a language they do not understand, two words of one, and again one word of two. 6. As for the words that are marked with a dagger †, and explained by Irish words, it is more expedient to rely on the interpretation the learned natives of the kingdom have always, time out of mind, put upon such words, than on the English translation; wherein I might sometimes be liable to mistakes. 7. In some places, the same thing is understood by a word with diverse variations, as the word, *Ball*, *Ballach*, and *Bealach*, the way. 8. Sometimes you will find the same word inserted twice, as the word *Bann*, explained by Liathroid (viz.) a knob, and *Bann* Lat. *Pila*; the reason of which mistake is this, because the Latin word *Pila* is taken in both senses; to wit, for a ball, or for any round thing, as a knob; and its being transcribed out of Plunket's Latin dictionary, and no other word joined with it to direct me to the true sense, I was at a loss to know whether I was right or wrong in terming *Bann*, Liathroid: But this will occasion no great mistake in the reader, and, I have hopes, that the other Errata, after these few hints, will not be very material.

As for the obscurity of some words left at my door, or at O'Clery's, it is rather to be imputed (as I have shewn) to those antient authors that first collected the words; and no doubt but future ages, by rendering old manuscripts more familiar to them, will understand them better than the present. As for passing any censure on the rule concerning broad and small vowels; I chose rather to forbear making any remark at all upon them, by reason that old men who formerly wrote *Arget* (i. e.) Silver, instead of *Airgid*, as we now write it, never used to change a vowel but in declining of words, &c. And I do not know that it was ever done in any other language, unless by some particular persons who through mistake or ignorance were guilty of it.

And having given the best account I could of my own inability and defects; give me leave humbly to offer a few remarks to the consideration of your grammarians, concerning speaking and correctly writing the Irish, especially in such books as are designed for the press, where perhaps there are no Irish characters; as particularly the Bible, and Singing Psalms now used in Scotland, the Christian doctrine written by Tobias Stapleton, and other books. Here then to follow those points, which occasioned some doubts to arise in me, and which I desire to leave to your consideration.

I. That you have lost the antient and true pronunciation of the letters *db*, *gh*, and *th*; and that in former times, *db*, was pronounced as *th* in English, in these words, *thither*, *therefore*, &c. and *gh*, as *ch*, only so much softer, or weaker, as *g* is softer than *c*; and that *th* was usually pronounced as it is in English, in the word *thing*. And my reason for it is this, because we and the Armorick Britons do retain still some of the same words in use with you: (as appears in the comparative vocabulary,) and we pronounce them in that manner, as for example, *Bodhar*, deaf, and *Bliadhuin*, a year, are pronounced by us in the same manner, that *Botha*, and *Bloothin*, if there were any such words, would be according to the English pronunciation.

II. This defect or suppression of the old pronunciation occasioned authors to be doubtful when to write *db*, and when *gh*, which put them under a necessity of putting one letter for another; by which means both these letters happened sometimes to be placed wrong, as was likewise *th*; as in the word *Math*, or *Magh*, a field, *Gen.* xxxiv. 7. And I venture to add this likewise, that, in my opinion, it is unnecessary to write *gh*, in the middle of a word, as it is, *ex. gr.* in the word *Tighearna*, lord, which without doubt is the same with the Greek and Latin *Tyrannus*, and therefore ought to be written *Tiarna*.

III. As concerning the mute letters in the beginning of words, as *ar mbuel*, our mouths; *ar gcoir*, our right; *ar bhfeann*, our land; *ar dtir*, our country: In regard they are not used in any other language, they must therefore be disagreeable to strangers, who are upon that account disposed to entertain a mean opinion of the Irish, even at the sight of an Irish book: In so much that the language, however full and copious in itself, is looked upon to be but wild and barbarous. I am not ignorant of the reason you give for this, to wit, to preserve the initial or possessive letter in writing, (in order to shew the primitive, or radix, of the word) though its sound be lost in the pronunciation. To which I answer; that there is no necessity for continuing the initial letter in the Irish, more than in the Welsh, Cornish, or, Armorick, all

which do vary their initial pronunciation as you do; but at the same time they change their initial letter too, both in writing and in printing; neither do they preserve the possessive letter, nor from thence apprehend any inconvenience: And moreover it was not formerly practised among the Irish, as any one may see that consults the old parchment manuscripts. Now, however justifiable it may be to introduce and preserve a novelty that is useful and convenient; yet it is not allowed to introduce one that is unnecessary, superfluous, and disagreeable. The old manner of orthography, which you formerly used in your language, and we in ours, was instead of changing or transposing letters, to make one letter without any variation capable of different sounds, as the English and French do now in many letters. I confess indeed that it was not a good method, because it rendered the difficulty in reading greater; but it is more than probable, that the method now used in the modern Irish will be found inexpedient and liable to the same objection; but if the exchange of letters (as it is now used) be thought of so great use, we ought rather in their place to introduce Greek characters which may be always found in any considerable printing-house; as for example, *ar peul*, *ar yoir*, *ar searan*, *ar Sir*, &c. But as a great manner will very probably look upon this in their own private judgments to be superfluous and unnecessary, so I am persuaded still it were better to omit the possessive letter.

IV. Another cause of dislike that strangers have to the Irish, is to find the auxiliary *b* made use of so often, which makes many of them speak of the language with contempt before they understand it, and ridicule such words as these *Neimbdblighteach*, (i. e.) unlawful, *Neimbdburachd* negligence, *Neimmbisgeach*, sober, &c. Now, the cause from whence this inconvenience proceeds, is the small number of letters the Irish have, and their using many consonants in compound words, notwithstanding that *Neavuintreavuil*, for instance, and *Neivisgeach* are as intelligible as *Neimmbuintreambuil* and *Neimmbisgeach*; now this disagreeableness and inconvenience might, in my opinion, be removed by omitting after the example of others those superfluous letters, and by printing the words exactly, as the French begin to do now, after the manner we speak them, which may easily be done by making use of an alphabet, made up of Latin and Irish characters.

A, *a* Angl. *a*, *aw*, Angl. *β*. *b*; *χ*, *ch*; *d*, *d*; *δ*, *dh*; *e*, *e*; *f*, *f*; *g*, *g*; *gh*, *g b*; *ng*, *ng*; *i*, *ee*, Angl. *K*, *k*; *l*, *l*; *M*, *m*; *N*, *n*; *O*, *o*; *P*, *p*; *r*, *r*; *s*, or *f*, *sh*, Angl. *t*, *t*; *th*, *th*; *u*, *o*, *o*; Angl. *v*, *v*; *Y*, *i*, Angl. in third, *bird*, &c. or *ao* in Irish. Moreover, if the pronunciation be so great as to require distinct letters, the Greek letter *λ* may be put in the place of *ll*, and *ρ* for *rr*. I do not intend hereby to make any alteration in the Irish orthography, because that would render the old manuscripts more difficult to be understood, and in time more subject to wear out of memory; all I design by it is the expediency of making use of such an alphabet in printing the Irish language in such places where perhaps there are few or no Irish-men: And as there are without doubt but few printing-houses where these characters *d*, *ng*, and *th* are to be found; it will therefore be convenient to use in their places the Greek characters, *δ*, *γ*, and *θ*, and likewise, if there be occasion for a farther distinction, the Greek letters *λ*, for *ll*, *β* and *μ* for *bb* and *mb*; when *b* and *m* require to be changed: As for instance, *bean*, a woman, when you change it into *bbean*, and *mor* great into *mbor*, &c. The letter *f* may likewise be constantly used for *ph*, after the manner of the Italians, who write *Filosopfo*, and not *Philosopfo*; and the Italian alphabet is very easy to be written, as all nations do own: This method would save some expence, even in printing one Irish book, as the reader may observe in the following specimen of the articles of our

C R E E D.

“**K** Rreidim an Ia atair nan uile chuvach Krutaiteoin neive & talvan Agus an Iosa Krift & eunvakfan ar diarnaine, Noch do gavad on Spirad nijv, rugad te Muire Oig, do Uraig,

Note, These Letters marked thus *, should be in Irish Characters, but none such are in Kingdom.

“ an

“ an fais fa Fuigk Filaid do Krochad, do Keutad fuair bas & do hadlaikhead, do chuaid fuas ar
 “ neav, agus ata anois na huid ar deis De Atair ne nuite chuvachd as fin tiocfas do vreit vreire
 “ ar veogaiv & ar varvaiv. Kreidim an fa spirad nijv an Eaglais nioza chovchodchion human na
 “ nijv maiteamh na beakzad eifeirge chodlana marv agus an veata vatanach. *Amen.*”

As concerning the promiscuous using of the letters *a*, *o*, or *u*, and *e*, or *i*, for one another, (tho’ it be now an approved rule among grammarians) yet formerly it was reckoned no correct way of writing; and therefore, in my own opinion, there is no necessity for continuing of it; if the different dialects or idioms of the language, which I own is beyond my capacity to judge of, do not require it; and if they should, it were but just to give preference to some one dialect, as formerly was given among the Grecians to the people of Attica.

VI. I am persuaded that such an Irish grammar would be very necessary and useful, that could shew at large every variation, not only in the modern but old Irish, of the verbs and nouns, and the rules of Syntax; wherein Molloy’s grammar is defective, together with such an account, till a better was given of the old orthography, as I have published in this book concerning the British language, beginning at page 225. If such a grammar, with proper rules and instructions, was written by some able ingenious Irish or Scottish gentleman, and farther recommended with a large table of such old Irish words as are not contained in this dictionary, or erroneously, or, at best, not fully interpreted; such a book (I say) thus written and printed, either in London or Dublin, would without doubt sell, and go off admirably well.

And now that I have mentioned the sale of books, it is necessary and seasonable that I here make it my request to you, not to give ear to those that pass their judgment on this book at second hand; or that are unacquainted with the Irish or Welsh languages. I made an offer to several stationers in London to print this book, because I neither had inclination nor leisure to do it myself; but when they rejected it, I sent it to the press at my own expence. Now it is well known to many of you that live in London, that it is on account of such books as are not to be sold for their own advantage, that the booksellers are said to be like the dog in the manger; for when they look on the title page of a book, and find it not printed for the benefit of one of their own brethren, but at the expence of the author, it is usual with them to tell their customers, that they have heard many gentlemen of learning and judgment lessen that book; though very probably they never heard it censured so, but perhaps the direct contrary. Again, a gentleman coming to a coffee-house, or any such public place, not knowing their cunning and deceit, says perhaps to his friend, or the company he is in, that such a book is generally disapproved; and that by this means the book, if it be not vindicated by some learned man of note and character, is little thought of and cried down in most cities. They have also another common custom among them in that city; and that is, to give it out to their customers and country booksellers, that the whole impression is sold off, when perhaps the author has not at that time disposed of the tenth book. They have various other methods which very much obstruct the progress and improvement of knowledge in England; but I have digressed too far; and therefore those gentlemen who have a desire to buy this book, may be pleased to communicate their intentions to Mr. Jeremiah Pepyat, Bookseller in Dublin; or to myself here in this town, which they may do by the help of any friend they have in England.

I know many will say, that I ought to give a distinct and separate account of these languages by themselves, viz. the Irish, Welsh, Cornish, and Armorick; I confess that would lessen the price of each in its own peculiar country, but then it would not be near so useful to critics and men of learning; for by this method they get, especially by the help of old manuscripts, farther light into many even of their own words, from their likeness and analogy to other words of a neighbouring nation. There was this to be considered besides, that at least one half of the impression would be bought up by the English, and by the foreigners beyond seas, who have

an equal inclination and curiosity for each language, and consequently a like desire to have the whole printed together.

And now I would not detain you any longer upon this subject, but that I think it necessary to address myself to those who ridicule and make a jest of the Welsh and Irish languages, and therefore do condemn, as vain and useless, the labour of those who would endeavour to preserve them: But no wise or knowing man ought to take notice of such ridiculing wits; for their scoffs and jests proceed either from ignorance or want of better education; but I know, from my own experience, and without doubt many of you are not ignorant of the same, that though there are too many that give themselves great liberty in talking after such a manner; yet the most learned, and men of the greatest experience amongst the English, discover not only an inclination to preserve our languages and manuscripts, but are also the most bountiful patrons of learning, and perhaps of the most extensive capacities and understandings in all kinds of literature and sciences, take them one with another, of any people in Europe. I have no reason to speak partially in this affair; because I do not profess to be an Englishman, but an old Briton, and according to our British genealogy, descended in the male line from Heliodore Leathanuin, the son of Mercian, the son of Keneu, the son of Coel Killshevic (alias Coel Godebog) in the province of Reged in Scotland, in the fourth century, before the Saxons came into Great-Britain; but we are at a loss now for the modern name of that country; and we have no other account of its situation, but that it is Cumbria, the metropolis of which country was *Caer Alclud*, which according to some is now called Dunbarton, and according to others, the city of Glasgow.

I have already declared that it was through ignorance that many persons would have your language and ours buried in oblivion; and I have no reason upon any account to recall my words, but rather to make this additional remark, that it argues so great a want of judgment, that any man who would pretend to learning, ought to be ashamed of it.

I. It is undoubtedly true, that they were the first languages of the British isles, under which denomination, as Ireland was formerly included, so it was likewise called *Eire*; and it is as certain that they were the most antient and best preserved of any languages in the west of Europe, and consequently to suffer these languages to decline and perish, would be as great an inconvenience to the society of knowledge and literature, as the loss of the old Celtic, Italian, and Spanish, is now found to be; and future ages will have reason to be astonished at the supine ignorance, in this point, of the two last centuries, wherein so much learning has in other respects flourished.

II. These therefore being the first and original languages of the British isles, it follows that it is necessary to acquire them in some degree, to be able to explain and account for the names of persons and places; and it is for that reason that these eminent antiquaries, Camden, Bochart, and Boxhorn, and other learned persons of that kind, were of opinion, that it was necessary to converse frequently with Welsh or Irishmen, or both, to be able to make any judgment of their languages; and withal, that they themselves did not write so fully and copiously as they would have done, if they had been masters of those languages.

III. The famous and learned nations of France, Italy and Spain, will not be capable of giving an account of those languages which (1) Menage, (2) Aldrete, and many other learned persons endeavoured to do, and indeed made laudable Essays that way; if they do not arrive to some perfection in the knowledge of your language and ours; which, without dispute, is allowed to have been the best part of the languages they treated of, before the arms and conquests of the Romans, Goths, and Africans, laid waste their countries, and corrupted their languages. And as concerning even the Greek and Latin languages, from which alone the French and Italian are derived, there are many of their words derived from other languages; for their Radices are not to be found in their own, but sometimes (though I know

(1) *Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue Francois*, Fol. à Paris. Anno 1694, et origini Italiani. (2) *Del Origen y principio de la lengua Castellana o Romance*.

‘ contrary to the general rules of etymologies) in the Italian, Spanish, and French, and sometimes
 ‘ in the German, languages; but they were generally better preserved in your language than
 ‘ ours, with this distinction only, that you come much nearer to the Latin, and we to the
 ‘ Greek; which observation will no doubt occur to you as well as to me, after perusing the
 ‘ British Etymologicon, beginning at page 266. Nay, your language is better situated for
 ‘ being preserved than any other language to this day spoken throughout Europe (I mean so
 ‘ far as relates to what is contained in your books, but not to your common method of speaking).
 ‘ There was likewise a considerable number of the same words which we find in the Greek
 ‘ retained in your language, that is certainly included in what I mean, when I say the Irish is
 ‘ like the Latin; because the Roman language was for the most part derived from the Greek,
 ‘ as Vossius has made it appear; and in a particular manner agreeing with the Æolick dialect
 ‘ (1); and I beg leave to add this withal, that I do not mean the old Roman language only,
 ‘ which was called *Lingua Prisca*, and that of the Twelve Tables, which was called *Latina*, but
 ‘ also the very Roman language, as it was used by Nævius, Plautus, Ennius, Accius, and
 ‘ Pacuvius; that it is therefore as antient as the Greek, if not older, from which alone I con-
 ‘ clude, that it has been less subject to alteration and better preserved: And one reason among
 ‘ others, for my opinion, is this, that the Latins often begin these words with the letter S,
 ‘ which the Greeks begin with H, as *Sal*, ἅλς; *Semis*, ἡμισυ; *Similis*, ὅμοιος; *Sex*, ἕξ; *Septem*,
 ‘ ἑπτα; *Somnus*, ὕπνος, &c. (2) Now in regard that the same word in a second position or
 ‘ variation of it begins in your language with an H, which, according to the order and method
 ‘ in the dictionary, began with an S, as *Mo hac*, *Mo haighiod*, *Mo hal*, *Mo buil*, when the
 ‘ words, according to their first possessive letters, are *Sac*, *Saighiod*, *Sal*, *Suil*. It is therefore
 ‘ probable, that those Greek words are derived from the words I have mentioned in that lan-
 ‘ guage, which in process of time, was called Latin, in the same manner that the Latins
 ‘ themselves have changed (as Festus has long since observed) *Ferba*, *Fedus*, *Folus*, *Fostis*,
 ‘ and *Fostia*, into *Herba*, *Hædus*, *Holus*, (afterwards *Olus*) *Hofis*, and *Hofia*; or as the
 ‘ Spaniards have changed the Latin *Faba*, *Fabula*, *Fatum*, *Farcina*, *Ferrum*, *Februarius*, into
 ‘ *Haba*, *Habla*, *Hado*, *Harino*, *Hierro*, *Hebrero*, &c. I am persuaded, that this account will
 ‘ be deemed very uncertain and precarious in the opinion of some learned critics, who derive all
 ‘ Latin words from the Greek: But such persons as do never question their authority, cannot
 ‘ make any new discoveries, nor correct old errors. And to what has been said, I will add
 ‘ this, that the Greeks being in power and authority long before the Romans, it is not
 ‘ therefore to be wondered at, that their language began sooner to decline; inasmuch as we
 ‘ often find people of all nations, after coming to a high pitch of grandeur and power, through
 ‘ pride and vanity, dwindled and reduced to a low state, and at other times, in order to chastise
 ‘ and amend them, their language changed (3).

‘ IV. There are no languages now extant that are more useful and necessary for explaining
 ‘ the true names of rivers, loughs, mountains, rocks, plains, countries, cities, and the towns
 ‘ throughout Italy, France, and a great part of Spain, than these two languages. It is likewise
 ‘ acknowledged, that the language spoken by the Rhetii (or the Grisons) on the top of the
 ‘ Alps, between Germany and Italy, and in the old Cantabria of Spain, would be very useful
 ‘ towards making a vocabulary of that kind. But as I have not extended my knowledge so
 ‘ far, neither do I think that their languages (especially the first I mentioned) can be so copious
 ‘ or so well preserved as your language and ours. And therefore if it happened at any time
 ‘ that a gentleman of the Welsh or Irish nation would have occasion to travel into those parts,
 ‘ it is certain he would have much the advantage of any other countryman in undertaking such a
 ‘ work, and making a collection of such-like names in those countries, especially in the moun-
 ‘ tainous parts of them, and comparing them with the names of his own country; and

(1) J. Ger. Vossii Etymologicon linguæ Latine, Fol. Amst. 1659. (2) Vide S. H. p. 29. c. 3. (3) Vide Page 35. Class 10.

‘ certainly such a gentleman might with more ease than any other write an Etymologicon of
 ‘ any of those languages, and I believe every one of you will agree with me in that, if you
 ‘ please to be at the trouble of reading the first title of this book, and the first and second letter
 ‘ of Ægidius Menagius, his Etymological Dictionary. It is far from my thoughts to throw
 ‘ any reflection on the work of that learned, ingenious, and eloquent author: It is neither my
 ‘ custom, nor agreeable to my inclination, to censure any well-meaning writer, though he were
 ‘ ten degrees inferior to that great man; all I have to say is this, that had he studied the British
 ‘ language and yours, though he had been ignorant of any other, but what is spoken in his
 ‘ own country, (viz. in Armorica or Bas-Bretagne) he would have acquired a considerable share
 ‘ of glory above the learned linguists of Europe, and consequently of that honour he has so
 ‘ well merited for that excellent piece which he wrote.

‘ V. The fifth motive or inducement for publishing dictionaries of our languages is, that
 ‘ with their help, after being corrected, men of learning and other gentlemen might be the better
 ‘ able to read, for their pleasure and diversion, our poetry, histories, and our laws, which are
 ‘ still in being; and which ought never to be lost, but preserved carefully to give some light
 ‘ to learned persons, and knowledge to antiquaries. I know it is a common and prevailing
 ‘ opinion amongst you, as it is with many of ourselves; that there is little or nothing in our
 ‘ old manuscripts worth the reading: but to that I answer, That never did any antiquaries or
 ‘ criticks repine for spending some part of their time in this study; and that the old poetry and
 ‘ romances in each of these languages were as witty and pleasant, as those of any other languages
 ‘ that were written at the same time.

‘ VI. There is a sixth reason, and I think a very just one, for publishing dictionaries and
 ‘ grammars in these languages; and it is this, That they may be very useful and helpful to
 ‘ those that have taken upon them the care of souls, and to those likewise who have any office
 ‘ or place of trust over the common people: as concerning those who propose, it were better
 ‘ to teach all manner of persons in the three kingdoms to speak English; I will readily agree
 ‘ with them in that, as being of universal advantage in order to promote trade and commerce; but
 ‘ those gentlemen do not inform us how that is to be accomplished. We have been now, for
 ‘ several hundred years, subject to, and conversant with the English and Scots in the lowlands
 ‘ of Scotland; and yet how many thousands are there in each kingdom that do not yet speak
 ‘ English? and therefore it was my whole design, and what I have still at heart, that this book
 ‘ may prove somewhat useful in this respect, as also in those I have already mentioned. Which
 ‘ if it be, I do not doubt but some other gentleman, more able and better qualified, will under-
 ‘ take to improve and make some additions to this work which I have begun; and I am not
 ‘ without hopes, but that this my first labour, and product of this kind, will at your leisure
 ‘ hours, be kindly received from the hand of

Your humble servant,

From Oxford,
 May 1, 1706.

E D. L H U Y D.

N U M B. III.

A Translation of the Welsh Preface, to Mr. Lhuyd's Glossography.

To the W E L S H.

IN regard I have in this book written to the inhabitants of Cornwall, in the antient Cornish; and also to those of Ireland, and the highlands of Scotland, in the Irish; I find myself obliged, not out of any necessity, but as a due respect, to address myself to the Welsh in our mother tongue; and to acknowledge, with the antient Druids, that *that after all countries have been viewed, the native soil yields the best prospect*: but lest the unusual letters, and this unaccustomed orthography, should too much interrupt you, be pleased before you proceed any further to observe the pronunciation of the letters at this mark*. And seeing I do not at all assume any authority of teaching others their alphabet, but leave all to their own orthography; so I desire but the same liberty, and I hope no men of learning will think me rash or imprudent for chusing my alphabet. That is no greater liberty than what every Welsh author has taken, who has written on the same subject; and there is no other written language, but has often changed either its letters, or the pronunciation of its letters, or both.

You will read in the beginning of the book, that it was not out of any humour of finding fault with the common orthography of the Welsh, Irish, &c. that a particular alphabet has been used therein, for the antient languages; but because the words, when so written, are easier and more familiar to the English, and other strangers, than their learning the several alphabets of the Welsh, Armorick, and Irish. For there are a great many learned men throughout England, the kingdom of France, and among the Germans and † Goths, who may be desirous to know the affinity of the Welsh, with other languages, though not so willing to learn, like school-boys, various alphabets a-new, and retaining constantly in memory the mutable pronunciation of the letters: so altho' there be a necessary reason for that orthography in a book of this nature, there is no occasion at all of using it in a book entirely Welsh, where each writer may either retain the common alphabet, or that of the learned Dr. David Dee of Hiradhig; or any of those used by Dr. Griffith Roberts, Dr. John David Rhys, Mr. Henry Salisbury, &c. As for this present orthography, my reasons for chusing it are, 1. The restoring of the letters antiently used by the Britains, and thereby rendering the oldest British manuscripts, somewhat more familiar and legible to posterity. 2. On account of assigning a proper and unalterable pronunciation to each form of letter or character. 3. For the sake of writing nearer to the pronunciation of the words; as is necessary and customary almost every age in each other living language. 4. For taking off the objection made by the English and others, for our doubling initial letters; and for coming nearer to that orthography which is most general. 5. And lastly, On account of alleviating the expence in printing such Welsh books, as may hereafter be published in Oxford.

First, the old letters which are here restored are *a*, *F*, *3*, *i*, without a point or tittle, *F*, *r*, *t*, and *u* for *w*. And these I have often met with not only on stones in divers places of Wales, but also in old books written on goat-skin parchment, as I have shewed more particularly in the beginning of the Cornish Grammar, and at the end of page 221. But although these are the same letters, yet they are not used here, but in one pronunciation constantly; whereas in the old books each of them have two, or three, or more; as you find made out by example in the same grammar. Secondly, *By the proper and inseparable sound of each form or figure of letters*; my meaning is, that there ought to be a distinct character for every distinct sound, and that therefore the alphabet of the Greeks, in that they have the letters *χ*, *φ*, *ς*, *θ*, is preferable to that of the Romans and others who instead thereof use *ch*, *ph*, *rh*, and *th*; because it is more con-

* X. *χ*, *ch*; *δ*, *dh*; *p*, *ff*; *ng*; *i*, without a prick, as *y* in the word *Fydhlon*, &c. *λ*, *ll*, *g*, *rh*; *r*, *s*, *t*; *th*, *u*, *w* in the word *wafiad*. V. f. † The Welsh word *Lbyxlyn* comprehends Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; as does also; the Irish *Loxlyn*.

gruous to say or write in grammar, that we change one letter for another of the same class; as *kany*, *χany*; *telyn*, *thelyn*, &c. than that we change one letter into two, by writing *chany* and *thelyn*. Thirdly, *To write nearer the pronunciation of the words*; as when we write, for example, *axe* [or *axæ*] instead of *achau*; *dexre* for *dechrau*; *krigmor* for *crucmaur*; *kadualodar* for *Cadwaladar*, &c. I am not ignorant that some learned men have writ against this method; but seeing they have no other argument than the keeping up the common, and, as they suppose, the old manner of writing, every one may do as he thinks fit: for the common orthography is not that which was antiently used by the Britains; which, as I have particularly shewn in the Cornish Grammar, has been variously altered. Neither would it be commendable, were it old, to continue any orthography very disagreeable to the received pronunciation of the words. And for this reason, the French have of late, though they had a long time accustomed themselves to their old orthography, found it more useful to write nearer to their pronunciation; and the same may be said of the English and several other languages. Fourthly, neither is the doubling of *d*, *l*, and *u*, a very old custom; and because it is an eye-sore to such as are unacquainted with our language, I should think it more proper to write, according to the method of Mr. Henry Salisbury, distinct single letters for each of them; using the Greek *λ* for *ll*, in regard there was but one sort of *l* in the old British and Latin. For where letters are wanting, nothing seems more natural, than to borrow them out of that antient language that is of the nearest affinity; and I do not know that the British and Irish come nearer to any of the old languages than they do to the Greek. I chose also to write *u* for *w*, according to the oldest Welsh, and Scottish alphabets; and also according to the general pronunciation of *u* vowel in the Latin, amongst all foreigners. Fifthly, These old letters being already at the Oxford printing-house, it would be considerably cheaper, printing thus, than with letters of the same magnitude, according to the common orthography; every sheet containing thus, a great many more words, &c. And this is all I have to say at present, about the antient letters of the Britains.

The next apology, which probably will be expected from me, is that for the tediousness of the time, since my first journey into Wales, and yet no book published; except one Latin tract of natural history in Octavo: I have but little to say herein, but that it is common in all countries and at all times, to run down such as publicly engage themselves in any unusual enterprise, unless they finish it with more than ordinary expedition. And also that sometimes even worthy gentlemen judge rashly; either through the wrong suggestions of others, or for want of a due notion of the undertaking. It was not my design, neither did I promise when I began to travel, to traverse the countries so particularly as I have done, nor through all those I have been at; nor for near so long a time. Neither was it then my design or promise to write a work so large, as this, with God's assistance, is like to be when finished; nor indeed to spend the tythe of the pains I have taken with this foundation or first volume.

Now if I have spent more time and money in my travels, for the sake of more experience and knowledge; and if I have taken more time and pains to instruct myself in those languages required; and to publish an account of them for the information of others, and use of posterity, than I promise; I was in expectation and am still, that if I had not the thanks of the gentry of Wales, I should not however have much of their displeasure. As for the time, whoever will look into the first leaf of the learned Dr. Davies's dictionary, and reflect wicħal on what small helps I could have from other books excepting his alone, towards this work; he will acknowledge, I presume, that I have had no great time to be very idle; the first four years after my return from Lhydaw, or Bretagne, in the kingdom of France. If the printer has, since that, been too tedious, because he had other men's works in hand at the same time, that fault cannot be laid at my door; because I have no authority over him. Their custom is, without acknowledging what they have in hand already, to undertake all they will be intrusted with, lest work or money fail, lest other workmen be admitted into their printing-house; and to neglect any work where the authors are the undertakers, rather than that of the London booksellers, unless they are threatned by those who have authority to turn them out of the printing-house. And, if others complain to those, they will spare no sort of untruth to excuse themselves: and it is their profit and interest to be all in the same story.

I am

I am very sensible that it had been less expensive to the common people of Wales, Cornwall, Ireland, and Scotland; if I had given an account of these languages, in so many distinct books, and do also acknowledge that such a work had been useful in each country. But that would have been one piece of service, and unless myself and the learned gentlemen I have consulted, have been much mistaken, the collating of the original languages of the isle of Britain is another. For by the placing together and comparing of the words; we acquire often a clearer notion of their origin and acceptation in the old manuscripts. And this method is much nearer and readier for the use of any that may hereafter be disposed to write a learned copious dictionary of either of these languages. Moreover, as you find by the catalogue of their names, this book was never intended for the use of the common people; but was written at the command of some of the greatest persons of Wales; and for no small number of the learned nobility and gentlemen of England, who have a curiosity of comparing with other languages, the Irish, Cornish, and Armorick, as well as the Welsh.

As for the inhabitants of Cornwall and Armorick Britain, although they live amongst English and French; their language shews, as you see plainly by this book, that they were antiently Britains. But you will doubtless be at a loss for that infinite number of exotic words, which, besides the British, you will find in the Irish of Scotland and Ireland. There are for this, as seems to me, two reasons: I say, *as seems*, because we have no authority of histories or other means, that may lead us into the truth, but comparing of languages. In the first place, I suppose that the antient colonies of Ireland were two distinct nations co-inhabiting, Guydhels and Scots: That the Guydhels were the old inhabitants of this island, and that the Scots came out of Spain. So far therefore as their language agrees, either with us or the other Britains, the words are Guidhelian: and for the rest, they must be also either Guydhelian, lost by our ancestors, or else antient Scottish. So the second reason for their having so many unknown words, is, for that the Welsh, Cornish, and Armorick Britains have lost some part of their old language, in regard they were for the space of almost 500 years, viz. from the time of Julius Cæsar to Valentinian the Third, under the government of the people of Rome, as I have shewed more particularly in the first section of this book. And thus it is possible a great many of those words which seem to us exotick, may be old British, though we do not know them: according to those examples I have instanced in p. 4, c. 1. Nor was it only North-Britain that these Guydhelians have in the most antient times inhabited; but also England and Wales: whether before our time, or contemporary with us, or both, is what cannot be determined. But to me it seems most probable that they were here, before our coming into the island; and that our ancestors did, from time to time, force them north-ward: and that from the Kintire, or Foreland, of Scotland, where there is but four leagues of sea; and from the country of Gallaway and the isle of Man, they passed over into Ireland; as they have that way returned, backward and forward, often since. Neither was their progress into this island, out of a more remote country than Gaul; now better known by the names of the kingdom of France, the Low-Countries, and Low-Dutch.

Having now related what none have hitherto made mention of: viz. First, that the old inhabitants of Ireland consisted of two nations Guydhelians and Scots. Secondly, That the Guydhelians descended from the most ancient Britains, and the Scots from Spain. Thirdly, That the Gwydhelians lived, in the most antient times, not only in North-Britain, (where they still continue intermixed with Scots, Saxons, and Danes) but also in England and Wales. And Fourthly, That the said Gwydhelians of England and Wales were inhabitants of Gaul before they came into this island. Having been so bold, I say, as to write such novelties; and yet at the same time to acknowledge that I have no written authority for them; I am obliged to produce what reasons I have; and that, as the extent of this letter requires, in as few words as may be.

I have already proved at large in the first and second sections of this book, that our language agrees with a very great part of theirs; and in the Irish grammar you will also find, that the genius or nature of their language in their changing the initial letters in the same manner, &c. is also agreeable to the Welsh. And as, by collating the languages, I have found one part of the

Irish reconcilable to the Welsh; so by a diligent perusal of the New Testament, and some manuscript papers I received from the learned doctor Edward Brown, written in the language of the Cantabrians, I have had a satisfactory knowledge as to the affinity of the other part with the old Spanish. For though a great deal of that language be retained in the present; yet much better preserved do we find it, amongst the Cantabrians. Now my reason for calling the British-Irish Gwydhelians, and those of Spain, Scots, is because the old British manuscripts call the Picts, Fitchid Gwydhelians; and the Picts were Britons without question, as appears not only by the name of them in Latin and Irish; but by the names of the mountains and rivers in the lowlands of Scotland where they inhabited. And there probably they are yet (though their language be lost) intermixed with Scots, Strat-clyd Britons, old Saxons, Danes, and Normans. As for the entitling the Spanish-Irish, Scots, there wants no authority; the Irish authors having constantly called the Spanish colony, Kin Skuit, or the Scottish nation. No more therefore need be said to prove the Gwydhelians antient Britons. And as to the Scots, it is only necessary we should produce examples of the affinity of the old Spanish with the present Irish, which we have not room to do here, but in these few words following, where the Scottish Irish-words lead, and the Cantabrian, which is the old mountain or Pyrenæan-Spanish, are written after the English interpretation.

- A, *acha*, a Dike or Mound, a Bank; *Acha*, a Brek, *pyed*, motley; *Bragado*, a *pyed* Ox. Hisp. Rock.
Adhark, a Horn. *Adarra*, a Horn; also a Brugh, a Town; *Burgua*.
Bough.
Aghartha, Deaf; *Gor Gorthor*.
Aile, Shame; *Ahal*, ahalque.
Airneis (aivneis) Cattle. *Avre*, abrec.
Alga, Noble; *Algo*. See the Irish Dictionary.
Aodhaire, a Shepherd; *Arza*, ardi, a Sheep.
Aoil, the Mouth; *Ahole*, aholic. *Mat.* 4, 4. 12.
34. 15. 11.
Aon, good, excellent; *On*.
Ar, our; *Ure*, gure.
Ar, Slaughter; *Hara*, heri. *Act.* 8. 32.
Arcoir, near, neighbouring; *Hurco*.
Aras (atheras) a House, a Building; *Etchera*.
Arfac, old; *Gaharra*.
Arc and *Arcan*, a Pig; *Urrun*. *Mat.* 8. 31, 32.
Afaith, enough; *Asco*.
Afnic, Milk; *Ezne*, Eznec.
Ahafc, a Word; *Hitz*, Hitzac.
Athair, a Father; *Aita*, aita.
Athcha, to desire; *Esca*.
Avail, Death; *Hivil*, hil.
Bacadh, *baça*, to see, to look; *Baguist*, *Beguia*, the Eye.
Bal, ar bal, If, if so that; *Baldin*.
Balla, a Skull; *Bull*, Bull-hegar; *Mat.* 27. 33.
Banailte, a Nurse; *Banlitu*, Ballitu.
Beach, beixin; a Bee; *Abexon*, Hisp.
Beas, a Hand; *Bethe*.
Beat, a little; *Batzu*.
Biogharax, a two Year old Heifer; *Bigaren*, the second, also a Heifer; *Heb.* 9. 13.
Birtan, soon, quickly; *Bertan*.
Brek, *pyed*, motley; *Bragado*, a *pyed* Ox. Hisp.
Brog, a Shoe; *Abarca*, a Wooden Shoe. Hisp.
Brugh, a Town; *Burgua*.
Caill, Injury, Damage; *Cailte*, *Act.* 27. 10.
Cailleach, a Cock; *Oilloac*, a Hen.
Can, until; *Aiceno*.
Cruineacht, Wheat; *Garia*, garian.
Cealg, (Ceilgin) deceit, Celaten.
Cean, a Head; *Gaine* in Compound Words.
Cear, a Tinker; *Acetrero*.
Ceo, Mist; *Hea* and *quea*, Smoke.
Cia (cia an) who; *Ceinea*, ceinec.
Ciocar, a ravenous Cur; *Chacurra*.
Cioghar, wherefore; *Cerga*, cergatic.
Cionas, how; *Kein*.
Cior, a Jaw; *Cara*, a Face. Hisp.
Colla (Codladh) Sleep; *Loo*.
Comhar (O Comhar) Lat. e regione) comarca, a Country.
E'as'—Not (in compound words) *Ez*.
Eafadh, a Disease; *Eritas*.
Eafgar, a Fall; *Eror*.
Fadadh (& 'ada') to stretch; *Heda*.
Fearryra, & *Earrya*, Male, Masculine; *Arra*.
Fohraich, Wages; *Soriac*. *Vid.* F. S. p. 22.
Col. 1.
Gach, All; *Guzia*.
Gadaiche, a Thief; *Gaichta*.
Gaoi, a Lye; *Gue*, gue, *Guric*.
Ger, Sower; *Garraza*.
Thaire, (Yaire) Laughter; *Barri*, iri.
Ghearg, Red; *Gorria*.
Gheunav, to make; *Equin*.
Ghocar (Docar) difficult; *Gogorra*.
Gigilt, to tickle; *Kigli*, Killi, Quili.

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|--|---|
| <p>Goirrige (Oirie) <i>Imprudent</i>; Erhoa.
 Iar (iar) iar, equiren, <i>to follow</i>.
 Itheadh, <i>to eat</i>; Iate, <i>Meat</i>, 2 Cor. 9. 10.
 Ah ir <i>strong</i>; Lodia, <i>fat</i>.
 Lár, lairín, <i>the Earth</i>; Lurra, <i>Mat.</i> 5. 5.
 Larraina, <i>Luc.</i> 3. 17.
 Leanv, <i>a Child</i>, Lienu; <i>Mark</i> 12. 19. <i>Aet.</i> 17.
 28, 29.
 Loit, <i>a Wound, a Hurt</i>; Lot.
 Luath, <i>Quick</i>; Lehiath.
 Mala, <i>a Satchel</i>, &c. Maletas.
 Maol, and Maodhol, <i>a Servant</i>; Mútil, Mut-
 hilla.
 M-ear, <i>a Finger</i>; Erhia, <i>Luc.</i> 2. 20. 16. 24.
 Meafa, <i>small Fruit</i>; Mahatfic, <i>Grapes</i>.
 Mire, <i>Madness</i>; Erhoa.
 Nagav, <i>Winter</i>; Negua.
 Nox, <i>which</i>; Noc, <i>when</i>.
 Obair, <i>Work</i>; Obra.
 Olan, and Loo, <i>Wool</i>; Ille.
 Ore, <i>an Egg</i>; Arrac, arraul, arrault, <i>Ze. Lib.</i>
 11, 12.
 Ofcean, <i>above</i>; Gaineán, gainera, gaineco.</p> | <p>Pog, (Poc.) <i>a Kiss</i>; Pot. <i>Mat.</i> 26. 48.
 Re, <i>at</i>; Ri.
 Re, <i>by</i>; Ra.
 Ris, <i>through</i>; Rez.
 Sabhrios (& haibrios) <i>Riches</i>; Abraftas.
 Saleadh, <i>Filtb</i>; Salsuts, <i>Mat.</i> 15. 18.
 Sao'har (Saothar) <i>Work</i>; Sari, <i>Wages</i>.
 Se, <i>Six</i>; Sey.
 Searghtha, <i>dry</i>; Searra.
 Sguaile, <i>a Shadow</i>; Itzale.
 Siubhal (& Hiubal) <i>to walk</i>; Ebili.
 T—obar, and Th—obar, <i>a well</i>; (Ithubhri)
 Ithurri.
 Tocceach, <i>Rich</i>; Datec, <i>Full</i>; <i>Mat.</i> 6. 22.
 Ua and Uadh, <i>a Grave</i>; Oea, <i>a Bed</i>.

 <i>Angli, Bed; lectum vocitant, Cambrique Sepul-</i>
 <i>chrum;</i>
 <i>Lectus enim tumuli, mortis imago sopor.</i>
 <i>Audoeni. Epigr.</i>

 Uidhadh, (ghuydhadh) <i>a Prayer, Entreaty</i>; Or-
 thoits.</p> |
|--|---|

Much more might be added to these, not only out of the Cantabrian, but also out of the present Spanish; notwithstanding the great alteration of that language by the Latin and Arabick. Seeing then it is somewhat manifest, that the antient inhabitants consisted of two nations; that the Guydhelians were Britons; and that Ninnius and others wrote many ages since is an unquestionable truth, when they asserted the Scottish nation's coming out of Spain: The next thing I have to make out, is, that that part of them called Guydhelians, have once dwelt in England and Wales. There are none of the Irish themselves, that I know of, amongst all the writings they have published about the history and origin of their nation, that maintain they were possessed of England and Wales. And yet whoever takes notice of a great many of the names of the rivers and mountains throughout the kingdom, will find no reason to doubt, but the Irish must have been the inhabitants, when those names were imposed on them. There was no name antiently more common on rivers than Uysk, which the Romans writ Isca and Osca; and yet as I have elsewhere observed, retained in the English, in the several names of Ask, Esk, Usk, and Ex, Ax, Ox, &c. Now although there be a considerable river of that name in Wales, and another in Devon, yet the signification of the word is not understood, either in our language, or in the Cornish. Neither is it less vain labour to look for it in the British of Wales, Cornwall, or Armorick Britain, than it would be to search for Avon, which is a name of some of the rivers of England, in the English. The signification of the word in Irish, is Water. And as the words, Coorn, Dore, Stour, Taine, Dove, Avon, &c. in England, confess that they are no other than the Welsh Kûm, Dûs, Yfaur, Táv, Divi, and Avon, and thereby shew the Welsh to be their old inhabitants, so do the words, Uisk, *lûx*, Kinuy, Ban, Drim, *lexbia*, and several others make it manifest, that the Irish were antiently possessed of those places: Forasmuch as in their language the signification of the words are "water, lake, a great river, a mountain, a back or ridge, a grey stone". As for the word, Uisg, or Uisge, it is so well known, that they use no other word at all for water. And I have formerly suspected, that in regard there are so many rivers of that name throughout England; the word might have been antiently in our language. But having looked for it in vain in the old Loegrian British, still retained in Cornwall and Bas-Bretagne; and reflecting, that it was impossible, had it been once in the British, that both they and we should lose a word of so common a use, and of so necessary

ry a signification; I could find no place to doubt, but that the Gwydhelians have formerly lived all over the kingdom; and that our ancestores had forced the greatest part of them to retire to the north and to Ireland; and in the very same manner that the Romans afterwards subdued us, and as the Barbarians of Germany and Denmark, upon the downfall of the Roman power, have driven us one age after another, to our present limits. We see then how necessary the Irish language is, to those who shall undertake to write of the antiquity of the isle of Britain; and by reading the first section of this book, it will be also evident, that it is impossible to be a compleat master of the antient British, without a competent knowledge of the Irish, besides the languages of Cornwall and Bass-Bretagne. Nor is it necessary for satisfaction herein, to look farther than our common names for a sheepfold and milch-cattle. For who should ever know the reason of calling a sheepfold, *Korlan*; although he knows *lan* the latter syllable of the word signifies a yard or fold, unless he also knows that Irish call a sheep *Caor*? Or why is it that we call milch cows *Gwartheg-blithion*, unless he knows that *Blathnin* in the same language signifies to milk. And so for a great many words which we have neither leisure nor room to take notice of at present, nor indeed occasion, in regard they are obvious to all observers in the following book. The next thing to be proved, is, that those antient Gwydhelians were a colony of those nations whom the Romans called *Galli*, or *Celtæ*. And this will also appear from a comparison of both their languages. I have observed to you how that may be done in the English preface; and have no room to insert here but the few examples following, where the leading words are Celtick, collected out of old Latin books.

Allobrox. A stranger. *Vet. Com.* in *Juv.* *Bruach* is a country, or borders of a country in the Irish; and *Eile* is other; so that *Ællobrox* was but *Eilbruach*.

Aremorici, maritime people; *Armhuirich* and *Armhoirich*.

Alpes, uplands, mountainous countries, *Servius*. Q. Whether it was for that reason that the Irish have called Scotland, *Alban*, the western part of that kingdom appearing to them very mountainous.

Auseij, the city of *Auchs*, in *Gasgoin*, *Cæsar*. Q. Whether from water or a river of that name.

Axona, the river of *Aisne*; *Aisg* (or *Uysq*) water. *Aisg*, *Aisgon*, *Aicson*, *Axona*.

Bardus, a poet; *Baird*.

Belgæ, a people of *Gaul*, *Cæsar*. See *Fir* and *Firbolg* in the Irish dictionary.

Benna, a sort of cart or waggon, *Fest. Ben*.

Bondineus, an abyss. *Bondhannach*, bottomless; from *Bon*, a bottom, and *gan*, alias *ghan* and *dhan*, without.

Bracca, a sort of garment. The highland plaid is still called *Brekan*, and is denominated from its being of various colours.

Bulga, a budget; *Fest. Bolg*, *bolgan*.

Bolg faighead, a quiver; *Bolg feid*, a pair of bellows, &c.

Cateia, a dart, a spear; *Servius. Gath*.

Celtæ, the Gauls, *Cæs. Gædil*, *Cadil*, or *Keill*, and in the plural, according to our dialect, *Keiliet*, or *Keilt*, (now *Guidhelod*) Irishmen. And the word *Keilt* could not be otherwise written by the Romans, than *Celte*, or *Celtæ*. Neither is there room for a satisfactory knowledge, whether it was not for this reason that the more northern part of this island was called by us *Kelidhon*, and by the Romans *Caledonia*: Or from woods, *Keliadh* being of that signification in the Scottish-Irish to this day.

Crupellarius, a soldier in a coat of mail, one of *Cromwell's* lobsters; Q. Whether from *Cruban*, alias *Crubell*, a crab-fish in Scottish and old Welsh.

Divitiacus, King of the *Ædui*; *Duvtach* was a common name, if it be not yet so amongst the Irish; and it is doubtless the same with *Divodog* in *Ystrad Divodog*, *Glamorganshire*.

Duidæ, wise-men, augurs, soothsayers; *Draoidhe*.

Dunum, in the names of towns, signified a hill, as in the *Uxellodunum*, *Mellodunum*, *Neodunum*, *Vellanaudunum*, *Lugdunum*, *Virodunum*.

Dunum,

Dunum, in the Gædhelian of Scotland, signifies any fortified hill; and therefore a great many of their towns are so denominated. Tin and Din was the word that answered to it among the Britons; whence Tin Sylwy, and Tin Daethwy, in Anglesey, and Dinorwick, in Carnarvonshire; out of Din was made the Dinas for a city.

Goefus, *a champion*. Servius. Gaifgeach. Guds, in the British, is *a youth*; and gwas, gwyx, *a stout lad, a champion*.

Leudus, *a sort of ode among the Gauls*; Versiculos dant Barbara carmina Leudos. Venant. Fort L. 7. C. 8. Laiodh: See Laoi in the Irish dictionary.

Magus, in the names of towns, signified *a field*. As in Magetrobia, Duromagus, &c. Magh, is a field in the Irish, according to their constant orthography, though in the Anglizing of the names they have now changed it into Moy.

Matisco, the town of Vascon among the Ædui. Cæf. Mathuisgo, signifies *good water*; also *field-water, or standing-water*.

Palla, *a sort of garment*. Mart. Fallain, *a mantle*.

Vercingetorix, *a general of the Arverni*. Cæf. Fear cean go turus, signifies verbatim, the head man of the expedition.

Vergasillaunus, another commander of the Arverni. Fear go saelan, the standard-bearer. Another signification is the king's armour-bearer. See Saeghlán in the Irish dictionary.

Vergobretus, says Cæsar, signified a chief magistrate in the language of the Ædui. *Liscus qui summo Magistratui præerat, quem Vergobretum vocant Ædui, qui creatur Annuus, et vitæ necisque in suos habet protestatem.* Cæf. de Bell. Gall. L. 1. Now fear go breath, signifies a judge; verbatim, *the man that judges*. And it was by taking notice of this word, that I first suspected the Gwydhelians to be antient Gauls, a thing I see at present no reason at all to doubt of. Seeing then we find by the antient language of the Celtæ, and by a great number of the old Gwydhelian words, that are still extant in the present French, that the Gwydhelians came originally out of France; some will wonder how it comes to pass, that we find so many Teutonic or German words in the Irish: But the reason for that was, that those people of the old Gaul called Belgæ, spoke the Teutonic, as they do yet; and besides the Celtæ that came hither, and passed some ages afterwards into Ireland, some of the Belgæ came also; and those (as seems probable also to the learned Irish antiquary, Mr. Roderic O'Flaherty) were the very men they called Firbolg; who came according to their tradition, into Ireland long before the Scots. Now in regard that neither the Irish themselves, nor any one else that I know of, have taken notice of the northern words in their language; it seems not impertinent to collate some of them with the English, in regard the Irish is one of the Teutonic languages, though it has antiently borrowed some words from the British, and in the latter ages a great number from the Latin and French. We have no room for supposing (unless it be in a very few examples) that the Irish has borrowed these words from the English: Because they are extant in the old Irish manuscripts written before the union of the two nations. And moreover they have several Teutonic words, that are not at all in English. In the following examples the leading words are Irish, and the English those written in Italic.

Ait, (a place) *at*. An allod, *of old*. Aoide, *youth*. As, *is*. Atan, (a garland) *bat*. Baiter, *water*. Beirim, *to bear*. Beit, *both*. Beither, *a bear*. Buidhe (yellow) *bay*. Briar (a prickly) *briar*. Brok, (a badger) *a brock*. Buidhean, *a band*. Ceachter, *either*. Ceaddaoine, *Wednesday*. Ceart, *right*. † Cing, *king*. Clet, *quill, quillet*. Knaib, *hemp*. Belg. Kennep, Cnap, † *knap*. (i. e. a button) Coinne, (a woman) *queau*. Colbtha, *the calf*. (of the leg) Craos, *to carouse*. Cruadh, *hard*. Cruth, *curd*. Cúan, *a haven*. Scil. caven, chaven, haven. Cuivet, *cheat*. Quin, *when*: Scil. quen, chven, buen. Culaidh, *cloaths*. Da, *to*. Dal, *dole*: et Dailthe, *dealt*. Daor, *dear*. Dath, (colour) *a die*. Deor, *a tear*. Divrim, *to drive*. Dobham, *to daub*. Don, *dun*. Dos, *distle, thistle*. Dorcha, *dark*. Dre, *a dray*. Easog, *weasel*. Eadan, (the forehead) *head*. Faileog, *billock*. Folan, *hollow*. Failte, *healib*. † Faol, *wolf*. Feadan, *Germ.* Fovar, Fovradh, *harvest*. Foil, *while*. Fuil, Fuileadh, *blood*. For, *before*. Frag. *Ger.* Fraw, (a woman, a wife.) Fúath, Fuathradh, *bate, hatred*. Gavarn, *o go*. Gavuin, *calf*.

calf. Gearan, *a groan.* Gonte, *wounded.* Gort, *hurt.* † Grey, *gray.* Grodhairain, *an iron crow.* I & Iagh, *(an island) eye: as bards eye.* Jodars, *towards.* Is, *is.* Layim, *Laighim, to lie, to lig.* Leagh, *a leech. (viz. a physician)* Loch, *black.* Log, *a pool, or pit.* Germ. lock. Dan, *lock.* Luiadhe, *lead.* Lumhan, *a lamb.* Magadh, *mocking.* Meis, *a mess.* Min, *fine.* Moid, *oath.* Muirín, *a burden.* Nochduidhe, *naked.* Ocras, *hunger.* Oir, *for.* Olam, *(to drink) ale.* Olan, *wool, woollen.* Pock, *a buck.* Readan, *a reed.* Readh, *ready.* Sadal, *a saddle.* Saiv, *sweet.* Sar, *(exceedingly.)* Germ. *sehr.* Skian, *ys knife.* Sciev, *shape.* † Skib, *a ship.* Seachan, *shun.* Seadha, *a saw.* Seal, *while.* Seith, *a kyde.* Siavraye, *fairies.* Sioc, *ice.* Sligean, *a shell.* Sneachd, *and.* Sin, *snow.* Smearadh, *besmearing.* Soivskeal, *gospel.* Sread, *a herd.* Seang, *string.* Sreamh, *stream.* Tachailt, *to dig.* Tairisim, *to tarry.* Tairngtheoir, *a drawer.* Tairigh, *a threshold.* Te ango, *a tongue.* Tirm, *dry.* Toirseach, *tired.* Tiugh, *tough. (thick)* Uvan, *an oven.* Uaillyim, *to howl.*

I have nothing else at present to say farther of the language and origin of the Irish. And in regard thus much, as little as it is, offers several notions never yet proposed. I have chosen to publish it first in Welsh. If some of the learned gentlemen of our country shall approve of them, it will be no difficulty to write them more at large in a more general language. As for the nation of the Britons, some better knowledge than I have had of it hitherto would be requisite; and also more room to trace it to its springs, than the narrow compass of this epistle permits: But lest we come to the end of the Preface, without saying any thing at all of it, take what follows relating to one of the dialects of the kingdom of France, on the borders of Spain. Reading the Triades of the isle of Britain, which according to Mr. Vaughan of Hengurt were written about a thousand years since, I could not but take notice of these words; ‘The third silver army of Britain went off with Kasualon ’ab Beli and Gwenwynwin and Gwanar, the sons of Aiu ’ab Nuire, and Arianrhod the daughter of Beli. And those men came from Erch and Heledh; and followed the Cæsarians with their uncle Kasualon. The place where the men now are, is Gasgoigne. Their number was one-and-twenty thousand.’ Of the two other silver armies the author had named before, the first went with Irp-Lyidog to Norway, in the time of Gaidhial. 1. Biri (an legend. G. val Iri?) and the second with Helen Lyedhog and Maxen (i. e. Maximus) Wledig to Bas-Bretagne. And because that is known to have been about the year 384, and that it should therefore seem that the third army went off still later, and consequently not very remote from the time of the author; I imagined he had either mistaken the name of the general, or that there was another Caswalhon ’ab Beli besides the prince that engaged Julius Cæsar. But in regard he calls the Romans Cæsarians, he might possibly (though the order be confused) mean Caswalhon ’ab Belimaur, ’ab Minogan. Be that as it will, since part of his relation is undoubtedly truth: namely, that an army of Britons went out of this island into Britain Armorick; and since the Gasgoignes use a mixed language of French and some other, I imagined it would prove neither wholly lost labour, nor foreign to my purpose to look a little into their language. Some Welsh and Guidhelian words I found in it; but generally speaking, it is the Lingua Romana, or Roman tongue antiently corrupted and intermixed with Spanish and Gaulish. Of the many Welsh and British words I took notice of in it, these following seemed the most remarkable.

G. *Ach*, alas! W. *Och.* *Aco* there *acu.* *Adouzilba*, to bore; *Tylby*, *atylly*, to pierce again. *Amagat*, hid, *Mugut*: *Mugut ir ieir*, &c. *Amuy*, more, *muy.* *Aro*, *aron*, now, *yruan Arriere*, behind; in the Gwydhelian, *Dorein*, W. *arol. ascla*, to cleave; Gwydth. *Scolt.* *Aigo* (an olim *Aisgo*?) water, Gwydh. *Aisge*, *Oisge*, *Uisge.* And it is highly probable that from this word came the Latin *Aqua.* *Barga*, to dress hemp or flax; *Bragio.* *Blutoire*, a meal coffer; *Blaud*, meal. *Bayfaduro*, del *Pabiseau*: *Marque* (says the French interpreter) *qui est à coté du pain lors qu’il a esté pressé au four.* So that *Pabiseau* is the *Pebez* of the Cornish, or our *Pobydh*, a baker. *Bern*, (vern) an alder-tree, *uerrn*; *Guydth.* *Fern.* *Bernard pescaire*, *Bernard* the fisher. P. 1. *Piscur*, B. *Bisgadur*, it is the Gasgoigne name of a hern. *Berret*, a bonnet; *Guydh.* *Beired*, from *Bar*, which in the Armorick is the head or top; in the Cantabrian, *Burua.* *Bigar*, a brieze or horse-fly; *Pigur*, any thing that pricks or stings. *Biou*, an ox, cow, &c. *Bey*, *Boy*, *byuck*,

byuch, biub. *Brama*, to bellow; *Brevy*, which according to the old orthography, was *Bremi*, and *Brema*. *Brassat*, an armful; *Breichiad, Briana*, a mite, a hand-worm; *Brivyn Privyn*, any *Privyn*, any little worm. *Budel*, the post to which cattle are tied in a cow-house; *Bydel*, or *Budbel*. *Cabirou*, rafters; *Keibr*, corn, and arm, *Keibrou, Keibirow*. *Cadeno*, a chain; *Cadwen*, a *Cagal Cagaillou*, sheeps-dung, &c. *Cagal Caglen*; in the plural number, according to the Cornish and Armorick, *Caglou Caire*, a border, *Cur*. *Cayssal*, (ys Cayfal, Scayfar) a tusk, a fang, &c. *Skythyr*. *Caillbols*: *Noussem caillbols*, we are undone; *ne yn goth oll*, we are all lost. *Cap*, the head, top, or summit of any thing, as *Pen* in the Welsh: *Cap d'an*, the end of the year, *Pen i vluaydyn*; and hence that wallicism in Nennius, in *Capite Anni*, speaking of the wood of Loch-Neach. *Carrado*, a drag-full; *Carred*. *Chiu, chiu*, the noise of a chick; *Kiu*, a chick. *Chi*, a dog; *Ki*: in the plural with the Armorick British, saying *Chichou* and *Chichet*. *Claba*, to lock; *cloi*, (*Cloiv. cloib.*) *Clapa*, to beat; *Clapio*. *Cranc*, a crab; *Crane*. *Creze*, to believe; *Corn. Crez*; *W. Credy*, *Crida*, to groan; *Grydhvan*. *Cunb*, before; *Kyn*, or *Cun*. *Cura*, to dress or prepare, *cucirio*, also to beat, *Kyro* or *Curo*: *Cura les lugres*, to beat one's eyes; *Curo i leged*. *Daban*, away; *ibant*. according to some from the Latin, *ab ante*. *Darno*, a piece, *Darn*. *Dibendres*, (*Divendres*) Friday; as if we should say, *Diuenner*, instead of *Dyo Guener*. And so *Dijaus*, Thursday, *Diviau*; *Dimars*, Tuesday, *Diumaurth*; *Dimeres*, Wednesday, *Dyumerxer*. *Dom*, a man; *Dyn*: *Paure dóm*, a poor fellow. (But perhaps this may be only *Dom* for *Dominus*, by way of irony.) *El*, an eye; *Sel* and *Sil* in the old British, whence our Welsh *Sily* and Armorick *Sellat*, to behold. In the Gwydhelian, the common word for an eye is *Súl*: And as their *Sul* is occasionally changed into *Hul*; so was doubtless our *Sél* and *Sil* into *Hél* and *Hil*. *Estan*, tin; *Isten*. *Fay*, a beech-tree, *Fay*; as we find by the compound word, *Fawyd*, i. e. *Guyd-fay*, beeches; for it is a vulgar error to call deal, *Fawyd*, as is usual in N. Wales. *Fenno*, a woman; *i veniu*. *Flac*, weak; *lac*. *Flairou*, a smell; *Fleirio*, to smell offensively. *Fu gairou*, game fire, so they call the bonfires on Midsummer-eve; a custom as well known amongst them and the Armorick Britons, as in S. Wales: *Tan Guare*. *Fourra*, to provoke a dog when barking or baiting, &c. *Herra, Herio*. *Garro* and *Garrow*, a leg of mutton, also a leg of a fowl, &c. *Gar* is a leg in the Cornish and Armorick; but signifies a ham only in the Welsh. *Gourgourial*, excellent; *Rhagoral*: *Gorgoral* would also signify the same thing in the Welsh, from *Gor*, *valde*, and *Goral*, *optimus*; but that it is not in use. *Gourret*, a dilling pig; *Arm. Gudorot*; in Cardiganshire, *Cardid* and *Cardydwyn*. Vid. pig. p. 283. *Cous*, a bitch; *Arm. Kies*, *W. gäst*. *Grapos*, to crawl, &c. *Kropio*. *Graupinnia*, to scratch, *Skrifinio*. *Grougnaut*, the smallest fry of fish; *Guraxiaut*. *Guerlbe*, squint-eyed; an *q. d.* *Guyrlbyg*, crooked sighted; *Guigna*, to wink, *Guinkio*. *Q.* Whether from *Guingo*, to wag, or shake. *Langousto*, a lobster; *Corn. Legeft*. *Laura*, to labour, to plough, *Shavyro*. *Q.* Whether in most antient times the Latin, *Labor, Labero*, &c. might not come from *Lbaur* or *Lar*, which in the Celtick signified the earth; and whether we might not in after ages, when subject to the Romans, borrow our *Lhavyr* from their *Labor*. *Liri*, (an *Liftri, Liftri*) a flag, or flower-de-lis; *Elestr*. *Louga*, to hire; *Lhogi* and *Logi*. *Lugras*, the eyes; *Corn. Lagas*. *Manat*, a handful; *Minait*. *Mandro*, a fox; *Madin* and *Madrin*. in the Irish, *Madre ruadb* (i. e. red dog) is a fox; and in the French, *Madre* is a subtil fellow. *Mano*, a sheep; *Manchuyn*, an *q.* *Chudun man?* *Marra*, a ram; *Mabaren*. *Mémè*, the bleating of a lamb; so in Welsh, *mè*; and *mè bach*, a little lamb. *Mémè*, a lamb or mutton, so called by the children; and so in Wales, as also *Be*. *Muda*, to migrate, or remove; *Mudo*, or *Mydo*. *Mujol*, yellow; applied only to the yolk of an egg, and for a sort of yellow mushroom. *Pic*, a beak, bill; *Pig*. *Pég*, pitch; *Pyg*. *Popou*, a bug-bear; *Bubax*. *Qui*, a field; *Kae*. *Rascaud*, *Rysod*. *Rastel*, a rack, *Rbesel*. *Trexo*, a sow; *Turx*, a hog; so the French, *Truis* and *Truie*, which is but the same word used for a sow. *Triga*, to stay, to dwell long; *Trigo*, *hir-drigo*. *Trouneire*, thunder; *Trane*.

One other affinity they have with the British, is, that the infinitive mood of their verbs ends in *a*; as *barra*, to betray; *barbexa*, to shave; *barrexsa*, to mix; after the manner of the Cornish, who say, *perna*, to buy, where we say *pryny*; and *krena*, to shake, for *kryny*; to *owna*, to fear, for *owni*, &c. and not in *r*, as the French. In an heroick poem written on an expedition of the nobility

nobility of that country into Spain, in the year 1365. Some of the names of the men are also so very like those formerly used by the Welsh, and other Britains, that there is little room to doubt, that they are the very same. Ex. gr. *Mouric*, *Meyric*, and in S. Wales, *Moric*, *Conon*, *Cynan*, *Talairan*, *Tubairan*. *Coirans*, Corn. *Gerens*; W. *Gereint*, *Ganelu*, *Kyndelu*, and *Kynbebu*. *G'leon* (and *Lleon*) *Guallon*. *Guytrad*, *Guertbydb*, &c. Neither can *Goudelyn*, the most celebrated poet of those who have written in that language, be any other than our *Guydhelyn*; though both are probably no other than the same with the Latin *Vitellinus*. But as to the word *Dab*, which they commonly use in compound proper names, as *Dab-Joan d'Ambres*, *Dab-Guesclin*, &c. in regard I am ignorant of its signification, I shall not insist on the conjecture that it is the same with our *ab* or *Davydb 'ab*.—Such readers as are better acquainted with their language and MSS, may soon satisfy themselves therein. Moreover, not more remote are the names of men from those of our nation, than are some names of places that occur in the same poem. As *Cabanos*, *Kevne*, *Kebne*. *Garrgue*, *Carreg*, *Kerrig*. *Buel*, *Buallt*. *Vinnes*, *Uynedb*; (Dial Corn. *Uynez*.) *Blainaco*, *Blaintig*. *Montaudran*, *Minyib Aedbern*. *Montesquiu*, *Menydb Ifkaw*. *Carabodas*, *Caér bedw ne Gaer Vodack*. And whoever would consult the writings of their monasteries, and the lives of their saints, would doubtless meet with a great many more.

I have now little to add, but that it is necessary to caution the reader, that no man is obliged to regard any censure against this book, unless the gentleman that offers it, understands, besides English and Latin, either Welsh, Armorick-British, Cornish, or Irish. I offered it to several of the London booksellers, in order to their publishing it, if they thought fit: But in regard they would not undertake it, I have printed it at my own expence. Now, all that have been conversant in London, know very well, that a book is constantly run down when it appears by the title-page, that it was printed for the Author himself; and not for any of the booksellers: Infomuch that it is very common, not only in booksellers' shops, but also in some coffee-houses, to hear men disparage new books, though they neither understand the nature nor use of them. None can be competent judges of this, but gentlemen of Wales, or the highlands of Scotland, or of Ireland: And in the censure of scholars out of those countries, provided that besides their knowledge of other languages, they continue masters of their own, I shall always readily acquiesce. But for others that pretend to find fault themselves, or offer the objections of absent persons, all lovers of reason and equity will acknowledge, that there is neither necessity nor occasion to regard them.

It may save some expence of time to such as have frequent occasions of perusing the Latin-Welsh vocabulary, if they remember that it is more copious after the letter H, and that it will therefore be best, where there are synonymous Latin words, to consult some word that begins with any letter thence-forward. As for the defect in the preceding letters, you will find how it happened in the second page of the English Preface, Tit. II.

Reading over, when it was too late, the Catalogue of the Names of the Gentry, before the English Preface, I find myself obliged, before I conclude this letter, to acknowledge that I have omitted the honoured Sir Griff. Williams, of Marl, Bart. and also the names of the seats of some gentlemen in Anglesey, and Carnarvonshire, because not written in the paper I received; but it is possible I may have another opportunity of supplying that defect.

As for the remainder of the work, all I can say is, that it is my design, by God's permission, who has been pleased to vouchsafe the finishing this, to publish at least one other as large as it, containing partly a dictionary of the histories of the kings, princes, antient nobility; the towns, castles, churches, and saints; and all other very remarkable men and places of the British nation, mentioned in antient records. But as for the time, I have been already so often deceived in the print-house; and also by wrong calculating myself the labour required in the writing such books, that I have learned, it is in vain to name any time for publishing. In the mean time, whoever is pleased to favour my endeavours, by giving notice of any such old inscriptions, as they shall suppose I have not seen already, or to communicate the use of some old Welsh manuscript on parchment, or copied from parchment, containing any subject not marked with the letter L, in

the catalogue of the Welsh manuscripts, (1) as he may do a publick service by communicating what may be fit to be preserved from oblivion; however he will at the least shew a civility to be gratefully acknowledged, the remainder of his days, by

Your faithful Servant,

E. L.

(1) Vid. L. p. 254.

N U M B. IV.

An Account of several Chronicles and Annals brought to me since the Printing the foregoing Sheets.

THE most valuable collection of Irish MSS. that I have met with in any private hand here in Dublin, next to that of the Lord Bishop of Clogher, was communicated to me by Mr. John Conry; who has great numbers of our historico-poetical composures, and being a perfect master of their language and *profodia*, knows how to make the best use of them. Amongst these, there is

1. An antient copy of the *Annales Senatenfes*, written on vellum, and in a fair character; *Ulster*, but imperfect at the beginning and end: for it begins at the year 454, ten years later than the *Annals*, Duke of Chandois's, and ends, about fifty years sooner, at 1492.

2. There is also, in the like letter and parchment, and the same folio volume, a copy of the *Annals of* annals of the old abbey of Inch-Macreen, an island in the lake of Loghkea; very different from *Inch-Mac* those of the Holy Trinity, an abbey (in the same Loch) of a much later foundation. This book *green* commences at the year 1013, and ends with 1571.

3. He has likewise the original annals of Donegal, or the *Quatuor Magistri*, signed by the proper *Annals of* hands of the four masters themselves, who were the compilers of that chronicle. These were Michael *Donnegal* O'Clerigh, or Clerk, of whom we have elsewhere made mention upon another occasion; Maurice and Fearfeasa Conry, two near relations of the same surname and family with the present possessor of their labours; and Cucoirighe, or Peregrine O'Clerighe. The work is approved, and recommended to the press, by several of their superiors; and the reader will presently have my conjecture as the reason for its being dropped, and continuing still in manuscript. As it now appears it is drawn up in two thick volumes in quarto; whereof the former begins A. M. 2527, and ends A. C. 1171. In the front of this part we have the fore-mentioned subscriptions of the collectors and licensers; and it seems to be as entire as in the year 1636, when they hoped to have had it published with those usual accoutrements. The other volume, before it reached its present owner, has fallen into worse hands; having been robbed of the transactions of more than a whole century of years. For, instead of taking its rise where the former breaks off, we find nothing here before 1335, whence the thread is afterwards spun out to the year 1609.

4. A Choice Collection of Flowers, gathered out of several of the most authentick annals of the *J. Lynch* kingdom, by the judicious Mr. John Lynch; and written with his own hand. They begin at the year 1200, and are continued to 1513 inclusive. The collector was a person of that accuracy of skill, and niceness of taste, in the histories of Ireland, that the reader may rest assured that his calculations are exact; and that no matters of any great moment have escaped his notice.

5. The same we may promise ourselves from the like abstract of annals drawn up by Lynch's *O'Flaherty* great friend and admirer, the late learned Mr. O'Flaherty; whose minutes begin at 1187, and end *ty* with 1327. These are a few loose papers of that gentleman's own hand-writing, and ought to be preserved with due respect; since we all know with what a scrupulous zeal he endeavoured to ascertain its *own time* to every occurrence *under the sun*.

6. I have already had occasion to mention the old *Judicia Coelestia* and other law-books of this *Rej or s* Island. And Mr. Conry can furnish out a very large addition to this stock: he has the decisions

or reports of no fewer than thirty-three of our antient Dempsters; the oldest whereof are judgments given in the first century after our Saviour's incarnation, and the youngest in the tenth. For some of these he acknowledges himself to be indebted to Mr. P. Mahon, the present worthy Dean of Elphin.

Liber
Lecanus.

7. He has a pretty voluminous book, containing no fewer than 957 pages in quarto, of Collectanea out of the famed Liber Lecanus; which, as he first informed me, had its name from Lecane a noted seat of hereditary antiquaries, in the county of Sligo. It seems to want few of the contents of that venerable repository of our primitive records; and the rest appear to be rather transcribed than epitomized: so that this may, in a good measure, supply the deplorable loss which our historians have sustained by that robbery which carried off the original.

H. Ward.

8. From this worthy informer I likewise learned, that father, Hugh Ward, or Vardaëus; quoted often with respect by Archbishop Usher, was descended from the house of Bally Ward, where was seated another antient clan of Irish poets, in the county of Tyrconnel: and these gentlemen derived their Patronymic surname from the appellative Bard; the labial letters, of B. F. M. P. and V. being often interchangeably used in the languages of our old natives. This writer was a Franciscan Friar at Lovaine; where he wrote his posthumous treatise, intituled, *Dissertatio Historica de S. Rumoldi patria, quam Hiberniam esse scriptorum consensu demonstratur*. It was published (4to. Lovan) about a year after the untimely death of its author; who died in the year 1635, when he was engaged in a much more weighty and laborious undertaking, a general history of all the saints of Ireland: which was awhile proceeded in by his countryman and colleague, J. Colganus. In order to provide himself with materials sufficient for such a fabrick, he had some years before sent Mich. O'Cleri hither, as a factor in church-antiquities: but that missionary seems to have exceeded his commission, and to have trafficked chiefly with men conversant in the secular parts of our history. This produced those annals of his, and his three fellow-masters just now mentioned; which as we have already seen, were not perfected till the year after the decease of this their chief patron and supporter. Here was one reason for the failure of those annals in the honour hoped for by the compilers; and Mr. Flaherty has assigned another, which I need not repeat. However, the performance of these associates found a kind acceptance as I have elsewhere observed, with Colgan and Lynch; which is a sufficient recommendation of their pains to all future searchers into the authentick histories of this nation. I cannot but here take notice of the good services done to this kingdom, by Tho. Dempster's robbing us of our Irish saints, and transporting them by scores, into his own Albanian territories. This raised a just resentment in the antiquaries of Ireland: who forthwith betook themselves to arms, and marched out in troops for recovery of their stolen goods. That the Scoti of ancient times, famed for sanctity and learning, were all of them Irishmen, has been clearly proved by our authors Ward, Lynch, and others; who have also occasionally illustrated a great many darker passages in our oldest historians.

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